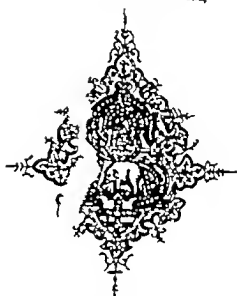


STEELE CUTLER AND SONS,



PRINTERS, NEW YORK

PREFACE.

ELEVEN years have elapsed since the materials collected by Sir H. M. Elliot for this work were first placed in my hands for revision and publication. In bulk the papers seemed sufficient and more than sufficient for the projected work, and it was thought that an Editor would have little to do beyond selecting extracts for publication and revising the press. With this belief I undertook the work, and it was announced as preparing for publication under my care. When the papers came into my possession, and the work of selection was entered upon, I soon found that the MSS., so far from being superabundant, were very deficient, and that for some of the most important reigns, as those of Akbar and Aurangzeb, no provision had been made. The work had been long advertised, and I received the support of the Secretary of State for India, not as a series of Selections from the Papers of Sir H. M. Elliot, but as a continuous "History of India as told by its own Historians." I had thus unwittingly undertaken the editing of a complete History out of very incomplete and disjointed materials. So I had to determine whether to make the best of the matter provided, or to

fill up the blanks and finish the work by my own unassisted labour. Had this prospect been presented to me at the first, I should probably have shrunk from undertaking the task, for I should not only have distrusted my ability, but have felt that the time and labour required were greater than I could bestow. But I had put my hand to the plough, and had promised the publication of a complete history, so I resolved that it should be as perfect as my labour and ability could make it. Happily I have had the leisure and have been blessed with health to finish my undertaking, but although I rejoice over the conclusion, I part with regret from a work which has occupied my constant thought and care for so many years.

I am conscious that there must be many imperfections and errors in the eight volumes. The voluminous extent of the work would not allow of deliberate study, for the utmost span of life I could hope for would not have sufficed for anything like full and careful study of every MS. I have had to examine. Living far away from great libraries, I have had access to few books beyond my own limited collection, and I have seldom enjoyed the advantage of taking counsel with others upon doubtful passages and obscure allusions. The completion of the work has been my grand aim, and to achieve this end, I have often pressed on when I would have preferred to wait and consider—to inquire for other copies of MSS., and to examine and compare the statements of other writers. Nearly, if not quite half of the matter contained in the whole eight volumes, has been supplied by my own pen, and a large portion of the other half

has required extensive revision. Besides all this, and the superintendence of the press, there has been the long and wearisome labour of going through many tedious and lengthy Persian MSS, as well as crabbed translations, in search of passages for publication, and often with little result.

One portion of the work has been subjected to very sharp and hostile criticism. Since the publication of the second volume, in which some extracts from the *Tabakát-i Násirí* appeared, Major Raverty has undertaken a complete translation of that work, and has published a considerable portion. Many years ago the late Lord Strangford characterized Major Raverty as "a ready censurer of the errors and shortcomings of his precursors,"¹ and time has by no means changed his disposition. His work abounds with sarcastic censures cast on other writers, but contains very little in acknowledgment of the assistance he has received from the labours of his predecessors. It is no difficult matter to criticise and point out errors in the best of translations, especially when the original texts vary and are unsettled. If such criticisms are couched in fair and courteous terms, they are acceptable to both authors and readers, but no benefit can accrue to any one from captious and sneering animadversions. Had Major Raverty's criticisms on this work affected only me personally, they should have passed without observation; but for the credit of this publication, I have gone through his observations seriatim, in a few pages supplementary to this Preface, and am greatly rejoiced

¹ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1862, p 54

that such an eager critic has found so little real cause for complaint. I have tried to treat his criticisms in a calm and judicial spirit, and I have given him full credit for such real improvements as his practical knowledge and additional MSS have enabled him to make. For these corrections, but not for his manner of making them, I tender my thanks.

It is not for me to pass a judgment on the value of this publication. But whatever its imperfections, it has been the means of bringing to the knowledge of Europeans, the merits and demerits of many histories, some entirely unknown, or, if known at all, known only by name and repute. It may be that valuable writings still remain undiscovered, but until they are brought to light, this work will serve, not simply as a store of original information, but as a guide to the sources from which critical and diligent investigators may seek for help and enlightenment upon obscure and doubtful matters. It brings down the history of the Muhammadan Empire in India to the close, but it contains little relating to the independent dynasties of the Dakhin. Sir H. M. Elliot included the history of these dynasties in the ultimate scope of his work, and had obtained a few MSS for the purpose, but no translations have been made. There are materials from which these histories might be compiled, and the publication of them would complete the Musulman history of Musulman India.

It only now remains to perform the grateful task of expressing my thanks for assistance received. To Mr. E. Thomas I have been indebted for many valuable hints and observations throughout the whole course of

the work To Dr. Rieu I have written without hesitation whenever I required information about MSS. in the British Museum, and have always received a prompt, courteous, and full reply. I am also greatly indebted to Mr Blochmann, of the Calcutta Madrasa, who has taken a lively interest in the progress of this work, and has pointed out errors and suggested improvements in the spirit of a true scholar. Distance has prevented frequent communication with him, and I regret that I have been unable to profit more by his deep and extensive knowledge of Muhammadan historians The care and intelligence with which the work has been printed by Messrs. Austin has saved me much trouble, and deserves my acknowledgment.

It has been my constant intention to give full credit to those translators whose MSS have been printed in these volumes, to name the sources from which materials have been drawn, and to acknowledge every help that has been rendered. If I have ever failed in doing this, it has been through ignorance or accident, and in spite of my best intentions

The articles in this volume are numerous, and it is not possible to give a complete list of the translators. The bibliographical notices, with the exception of a few compiled by the Editor, are no doubt the work of Sir H. M. Elliot, for although they have been copied out fair by his amanuensis, the original drafts of many of them still remain in Sir Henry's handwriting Some of the Extracts were apparently translated by *munshis*. The following list gives the names of the translators as far as the Editor has been able to ascertain them

- LXXXV.—*Khulāsatu t Tawārīkh*—Editor
 LXXXVII.—*Taskira i Chaghatāi*—Editor
 XCIII.—*Jauhar i Samsām*—Major Fuller
 XCIV.—*Taskira i Anand Bām Mukhlis*—Lieut. Perkins.
 O.—*Tārīkh i Ahmad Shāh*—Sir Douglas Forsyth
 OI.—*Bayān i Wākf*—Lieut. Prichard
 OII.—*Tārīkh i 'Alamgīr Sāni*—Editor
 OIII.— ,, *Manāzil i Futūh*—Major Fuller
 CXVI.— , *Shahādāt-i Farrukh Siyar*—Editor
 CXIX.—*Ibrat nāma*—Editor
 CXXI.—*Tārīkh i Ibrāhīm Khān*—Major Fuller
 CXXVI.—*Gul i Rahmat*—Editor
 CXXVIII.—*Tārīkh i Muzaffarī*—Editor
 CXLII.—*Imādu-s Sa ādat*—Editor
 CXLIII.—*Nigār nāma i Haid*—Major Fuller

Copious Indexes to the whole work, in three divisions, Bibliographical, Geographical, and General, are given at the end of this Volume. The want of partial Indexes has been felt as the Volumes have appeared, but the superior facilities afforded by the complete Indexes now supplied will more than compensate for the temporary inconvenience experienced during the progress of the work.

EXAMINATION OF MAJOR RAVERTY'S CRITICISMS OF THE
TABAKAT-I NA'SIRI' AS TRANSLATED IN VOL II
OF THIS WORK

IN the Preface a reference has been made to Major Raverty's criticisms of a portion of this work They are here noticed and examined seriatim

Major Raverty begins the section relating to the Ghaznávídes with a note condemning the text printed in the "Bibliotheca Indica" and the MSS belonging to the India Office and the Royal Asiatic Society These MSS, according to Major Raverty, "are the most defective and incorrect of any" he has "collated" The Editor of this work used the MS of the Asiatic Society and one belonging to Sir H Elliot, but they were inferior to the printed edition, and so the latter was the text used Major Raverty has collected thirteen MSS, and they may have all the excellences which he attributes to them, but the fullest MSS are not always the best The interpolations of ignorant or half-informed scribes are worse than omissions—for they lead astray and bewilder the reader These MSS, however, have cleared away some errors in the texts that I used, and I have gladly adopted such new readings as seem to be improvements

I—Page 68 The opening of the history of Subuktigin gives Major Raverty occasion for a long and laboured note The translation he gives of the passage is as follows "He had heard that his (Subuktigin's) father used to be called by the name of Kará Bah-Kam, and that his (proper) name was Húk, and that Ghar-gháu in the Turkish language is called Bah-Kam, and that the meaning of Kará Bah-Kam would be the Black Tatar Bull"

Here it is obvious that the sentence about *ghar-gháu* is altogether superfluous, and it may be blotted out without making any difference

in the sense of the passage. This can hardly have been the intention of the author. The original words as given in the printed text are—

سید که بدر مسکین را مرا محکم گشیدی و نامس حق بود و عوعا را
سرکی محکم حواسد و معنی مرا محکم ساد عوعا باشد

Major Raverty gives the variants of eleven MSS. The differences are only in the words here given as *jauk* and *ghaughd*. He adopts the form *Ilak* in preference to *jauk*. After running through all the variants of the other word he comes to the conclusion that the word *must* be *ghajz-ghdo* although the form *ghajz* never once occurs, and then by arbitrarily changing the ع of *ghdo* into گ he brings forth his Black Tatar Bull. Then comes his criticism.

In Elliot (Vol. II. p. 266) the passage in question is thus translated.

His (Subuktigin's) father was called *Jauk* (troop), and in Turki they call a troop *bakkam* (on whose authority I wonder?) so that the meaning of the name *Kard bakkam* is black troop. From this it will be seen that the translator has discarded altogether both عسر علو of MSS 10 and 11 and عوعا of the printed text, and has given the person a Turkish *real*-name as the equivalent (the Persian equivalent, it must be supposed) of his Turkish *wiek*-name so according to this theory حوق means troop and محکم also means troop, but what becomes of the Persian عوعا etc. the translator sayeth not! *Jauk* however is Arabic for a party, a troop, etc., but what محکم may mean remains to be proved. It is unnecessary to follow him through the alterations of letters and the guesses by which he arrives at the conclusion that it means Black Wolf, and suppose this to be in some way identical with his Black Tatar Bull.

The whole of Major Raverty's censure of the translation in Elliot evidently springs from his ignorance of the meaning of the word *ghaughd* which among other meanings has that of company assembly multitude of people. If he had consulted his dictionary instead of indulging in guesses and alterations of letters, he would have seen that the printed text has a clear and coherent meaning and that the translation which he censures is exact and complete, no word is omitted. The unintelligible words of the MS have certainly been discarded, but in favour of the *sydh ghaughd* of the print.

II.—In page 76 Major Raverty begins a long note about Waihind

In this he censures my rendering a passage of Rashídu-d dín at p 47, Vol I, by "uniting near the fort of Dirúna, (the waters) fall into the Nurokirát" Reinaud's rendering of the original passage in Bírúní is, "Near the fort of Dirúna it is joined by the waters of Núr and Kirát" This was unknown to me at the time I had the Persian version, which might be rendered as "the river Núrokirát," or "the river of Núr and Kirát" Curiously enough, Major Raverty cites the Arabic version which decided my reading The words are **لور و قرات** which he translates "into the river of Un Núr and Kúát" But if the first letter is the article *un*, where does he find "into"? The words say simply "into Núrokirát", the word "river" is Major Raverty's addition There can be no doubt that the Arabic translator understood his Persian original to mean "the river Núrokirát," and as the Persian text has that meaning, I made my translation so as to be in accord with both versions Reinaud's translation of Bírúní, "the waters of Núr and Kirát," shows that the Arabic translator of Rashídu-d dín took a wrong, though justifiable, view of his text, and led me into error Major Raverty seems to be so well acquainted with "the *darah* of Núr" that it is a pity he did not describe it more distinctly Sir H M Elliot's knowledge did not extend beyond what this passage supplies

III—Page 80 Major Raverty says "In Vol II page 269 of Elliot a passage is thus translated 'On the same night that he (Mahmúd) was born, an idol temple in India, in the vicinity of Parsháwar, on the banks of the Sind, fell down'" There is nothing like giving a *bold* translation" The words of the text are—

در آن شب که ولادت او بود تختار بهمد که در حدود پرشاور بود بر لب
آب سد شکست

It would be difficult to make a more precise translation of this than the one above given Major Raverty's translation is, "The idol temple of Wahand or Bihand (it may also be read Wahind or Bahind), which was situated on the confines of Barshábur, on the bank of the Sind, split asunder" This shows that the fault is in the text, not in the translator If any MS gives **وهند** instead of **بهمد**, that reading may be readily accepted, but in the absence of such reading, it would have been *bold* to alter the text

IV—Page 90 Major Raverty objects to the rendering of *ghdrat lardand* by "destroyed" in the passage (Elliot, page 271) "Mas'ud ordered him to be made prisoner and his whole force to be destroyed *Ghdrat* means plunder" hostile excursion," and the word 'destroy' is too strong, though it is not to be supposed that the plundering could be effected without killing. Having expressed this censure, Major Raverty should have been careful to be accurate himself, and should not have made one word into two by translating *ghdrat* as 'plundered and despoiled. In the same page he also objects to 'killed' as the translation of *sdhik-i wdik ak*, and says the phrase does not mean killed. *Wdik ak* means both "misfortune" and "death," so that the words do mean "killed," and the translation was allowable, but as the man in question is mentioned afterwards, the translation should have been "When Mas'ud fell into misfortune at Marikala."

V—Page 91 The meaning which Major Raverty assigns to the word *bel* is probable, and although I can find no other authority for it, I have inserted it among the corrections.

VI.—Page 98 Major Raverty translates the words

أخبار سمع داس ورواب کردی

by 'He was a depository of the oral traditions which he was wont to narrate,' and adds a note "Translated by Mr Dowson (Elliot, p 274) 'used to listen to chronicles and write history. As *allddr* means 'chronicles and *sawd* means hearing there is some warrant for the rendering, but how it is twisted into a depository of the oral traditions," I am unable to discover. The word *rwadyat* means 'history narrative, relation tale,' and any one of these may be added to the verb 'he was wont to make.' On reconsideration of the passage, I have come to the conclusion that as *sawd* means 'same report, as well as hearing, the phrase may be more accurately rendered by 'He knew many famous stories which he used to tell.

VII.—Page 101 Every copy of the work collated has (with two exceptions, which have *مرغان*) the word *مرغان* signifying 'birds, etc. as plainly written as it is possible to write but in the printed text *مسرغان* has been substituted, and Mr Dowson of course follows the printed text. As Mr Dowson had only two inferior MSS he certainly followed the intelligible print and gave the translation (Vol. II. p 276) of 'fleet messengers. He would have hesitated long

before he converted *mughán* "birds," "fowls," into "carrier-pigeons," as Major Raverty has done

VIII—Page 102 "The original text is *موارض و موبات* (not *mútán*), which Mr Dowson renders '*disease and murrain*,' and adds in a note, 'The former words (sic) mean literally diseases, but it (sic) is also used for those diseases of the body politic, extraordinary imposts' Does *múnát* also mean '*murrain*' in the body politic?" The printed text has '*awáris o mútán*, and I translated this (page 276) by "diseases and murrain," for which the dictionaries give full warrant The words form one of those reiterative phrases of which the Persians are so fond I knew nothing of *موبات*, and now that I do, I prefer the text of the print and my own translation to Major Raverty's rendering, "(The levying) of heavy contributions in taxes and supplies" The two *sics* which Major Raverty has inserted in his quotation are characteristic It is easy to be seen that by a printer's accident "word means" has been converted into "words mean"

IX—Page 103 "Mr Dowson translates (page 277) 'He bestowed no favours upon any one, and hence apprehensions about his rule took possession of the hearts of the people'" Major Raverty's rendering is, "Awe of his authority was implanted in the hearts of all people" The difference is not very great, but I prefer my own rendering, and hold to it Major Raverty quotes the text—

ندین سب هستی ارسلطوب او در دل خلق متمکن شد

and has incorrectly written *هیستی* for *حیستی*.

X—Page 104 Major Raverty translates the passage which stands in the print—

چند باره و قصه بنا فرمود

by "he founded several towns" He adds a note "In Elliot's India, Vol II p 277, this passage is translated, 'several fortified places and towns were founded,'" and expatiates upon the fact that "*Kasbah* does not mean fortified places" The words are rightly translated, for *bárah* means "walls, fortifications," and *kasbah* means "towns"

XI—In the same page 104, Major Raverty translates the words—

سادات کرام و علمای با نام

by "illustrious Saryids and dignified Ulamá" This had been rendered in Elliot (Vol II p 277) by "illustrious nobles and learned men of re-

pute.' The difference is small, and quite unworthy of notice but as it has been dragged forward, it may be remarked that one translation is partial, the other complete, and that *bd-adm* means 'famous, having a name, rather than "dignified"

XII.—Page 106 Here Major Raverty has hit a real but not an important blot. The sentence (Vol. II. p. 278) 'He restored to the nobles,' should read 'he confirmed.'

XIII.—Page 107 Major Raverty translates the opening sentence of the reign of Malik Arslán as follows: Malik Arslán i Abdnl Mnluk, son of Sultán Mas úd, ascended the throne in the year 609 A.H. at Garmstr itself and assumed the sovereignty of the empire of Ghaznín.' He adds the following note: 'The original is *بحر حود* *بحر مسر*. The passage is translated in Elliot (Vol. II. p. 278) thus: Malik Arslán Abu l Malik (sic) ascended the throne A.H. 609 (A.D. 1116), and brought Garmstr and the kingdom of Ghazni under his rule. I wonder what throne he ascended if it was not that of the kingdom of Ghaznín?' The words of the text (p. 22) are

ملك ارسلان ابواللوك (sic) در مسر و حرمسار ملك مسر
و گرمسرو ممالك عرب در صرف حود داس

These words will bear no other meaning than that assigned to them in Elliot, and Major Raverty might have seen that they accurately represent the text. Adopting for once his own style of criticism, I may say of his translation I wonder of what empire it was that Malik Arslán assumed the sovereignty of, if it was not that of Ghaznín?

XIV.—In page 318 Major Raverty translates the passage rendered in Elliot (Vol. II. p. 284) the inaccessibility of the mountains of Rásidí, which are in Ghor by the natural impregnability of the strong mountains which are in Ghor and he has a note: The word *rsidit* is not a proper name, but the plural of *rsidak*, which means strong mountains. The words of the printed text are

حصان حال راسات

and here the word is treated more like a proper than a common noun. A few lines lower the order of the words is reversed, and we have *rsidit jidil*. Johnson's definition is *Rdsyat* (pl. *rsedsi*) firm (mountain). He does not give *rsidit*, but he again explains his plural *rsedsi* by firm (mountains). Meninski is fuller. He says

Rásiyat is the feminine of *Rási*, which he explains "Firmus ac immotus persistens, *uti mons*" The translation in Elliot was made by a *munshi*, whose rendering was "hills of Rásiát" The *munshi*'s word "hills" has been changed into "mountains" in Sir Henry Elliot's own hand, so that the translation has the weight of his authority The word *rásiát* is used in a curious way, but Major Raverty's explanation is worthy of consideration

XV —In page 319 Major Raverty's MSS enabled him to correct the words Faj Hamísár, which were given from the printed text in Elliot (page 285), into "Faj (deñle, pass) of Khaesár" He adds, "Khaesár is a well-known place, and is mentioned in a number of places throughout the work" The correction is acceptable, but faults of the text afford no ground for repeated sneers at the translators

XVI —Page 351. I willingly accept the rendering "fastened up the skirts of their coats of mail," or rather "threw back (*báz sadand*) the skirts of their coats of mail," instead of the words, "throwing off their coats of mail," which appear in Elliot, page 287 That the heroes should throw off their armour when about to creep under and rip up two elephants is, however, not so improbable as Major Raverty deems it The Waterloo Life-Guardsman is said to have told the Prince Regent that he "would have liked fighting in his shirt sleeves better than in a cuirass"

XVII —Page 441 In page 291 of Elliot there is a note as follows "Sang-i Surkh, a strong fort in Ghor, probably near the Hari river" Major Raverty deems this "impossible" He says, "It is the name of a pass near the Halmand river about N N W of Ghaznín on the route from that city and also from Kábul into Ghúr" This is a matter of opinion, and may be left to the reader's judgment, but Major Raverty's local knowledge must be taken into account

XVIII —Page 532 In page 302 of Elliot there is the following passage "He took the city of Multán, and Hindústán, Dewal, etc, and all as far as the sea" Major Raverty has "He possessed himself of the city of Multán, and Sindústán and Diwal as far as the sea-coast" A note to Sindústán adds, "That is, Siwastán, also called Shiw-astán, by some Hindu writers Siwastán is turned into Hindústán in Elliot's India" The printed text has "Hindústán," and again the translator is blamed for being true to his text I have met with

Siwistán in various forms, but I have not seen either "Sindustán" or Shiw-astán"

XIX.—Page 534 Here a real error is noted. The words in Elliot (Vol. II. 303) "After the victory of Nandna tarí the Mughal prince," should read, 'After the victory of Nandana, Tarí (or Toll) the Mughal prince' This fault in the punctuation was overlooked by the Editor

XX.—Page 539 The words لسكر حلج ار حمل لسكر حوارر سان This is translated in Elliot (p. 303) The army of Khilj consisting of all the forces of Khwárizm Raverty's rendering is, a body of [the tribe] of Khalj a part of the Khwarazmi forces.' In this the first *laskar* is expunged, and the hypothetical 'tribe' is substituted. The words of the text are not precise. Literally they read, The army of Khilj out of the army of the Khwárizmis

XXI.—Page 541 In page 304 of Elliot there is the following The Fírozí college at Uch was consigned to the care of the author On the provocation of the army of Bahráw Sháh in 624 Sultán Sa'íd Shamsu-d dín encamped in sight of Uch. Major Raverty translates, The Fírozí college of Uchchah was committed to the charge of the author together with the office of Kásí of the forces of 'Aláu-d dín Bahráw Sháh This is an undoubted improvement, but the words in the printed text (نامصاب) will not allow of it. As, however Major Raverty makes a note about the Kásí-ship it may be assumed that some of his MSS have نصاب instead of اصحاب and the amendment may be admitted

XXII.—Page 556 Here there is a note about the difference between consenting and making peace and another concerning the leg below the knee (page 308) in preference to the short word shin used in Elliot. These are unworthy of further notice.

XXIII.—Page 559 The correction about the *lāstās* in page 309 of Elliot had been made, upon the suggestion of Mr Thomas, before Major Raverty's book appeared.—*Chronicles of the Pathán Kings* p. 111

XXIV.—Page 565 Major Raverty here shows that in the last line of page 310 the words (the author) should be inserted after he to prevent the ambiguity which has arisen from closely following the text.

XXV.—Page 566 In page 153 of the printed text there is the following curious passage—

و بمامت سلاح آن جماعت ار پارهاي بي سز بود چنانچ جوش
و برگستوان و سپر و خود همه قطعه قطعه بر رشم خام برهم بسته و دوخه
Major Raverty says that "the printed text is correct, except that برسم
is altered to برشم, but برشم, not رشم, is *silk*" It is unpleasant to give
a flat contradiction, but I am forced to say that the print has رشم, not
رشم. He then gives the translation from Elliot (p 311) thus italicised

"The only *weapons* of the enemy were *bamboo spears*, and their
armour, *shields* and *helmets* consisted only of *raw silk* strongly fastened
and sewed together' A 'shield' and 'helmet' of *raw silk* would be
curiosities certainly" (Not greater perhaps than the cotton-armour
described by the author in p 352 of Raverty, and 287 of Elliot)
Major Raverty's rendering is, "The whole of the defensive arms of
that host were of pieces of the spear-bambu, namely, their cuirasses
and body armour, shields and helmets, which were all slips of it, crudely
fastened and stitched, overlapping (each other)" This is a paraphrase
rather than a translation Major Raverty is a soldier, still I must
assert that *silk* means offensive not "defensive arms," and is rightly
translated "weapons" The other part of the passage is open to
doubt *Kita' kita'*, "*bits and bits*," but of what? Formerly I took it
to mean bits or hanks of silk, now I believe that the words refer to the
bamboo mentioned in the previous sentence, and that the whole should
read "The only weapons of the enemy were bamboo spears, and so
their armour and shields and helmets consisted entirely of pieces (of
bamboo) strongly bound and sewn together with raw silk" Major
Raverty quotes a letter written by an officer in the Dufflah expedition
in December, 1874, which says, "Each man fastens on his
cane-work helmet, a sort of close fitting skull cap . Round his
loins over the hips he wears a number of thin bamboo or cane rings
unattached to one another" This seems to make the matter clear

XXVI—Page 572 Here Major Raverty gives a local name as
Náran-goe (or Náran-koe), and adds this note "In Elliot, Vol II
page 314, it is turned into 'Kúní' in one place, and sixteen lines
under into 'Náikotí'" This should have been stated thus "The
translation in Elliot scrupulously follows the text in reading 'Kúní,'
and lower down 'Náikotí'" Against the correctness of Náran-goe it
would be presumptuous to say anything without seeing the MSS, but
Major Raverty from his own showing is not very certain

XXVII.—Page 574 Major Raverty's rendering is more accurate, and has been placed among the Corrections.

XXVIII.—Page 581 In Elliot (p 317) there is the following passage "He had with him some travellers' bread, which he took from a bag on the back of the mule" Major Raverty gives a paraphrase, not a translation, of the passage, and says He had along with him on the ass, a few cakes of bread, with some (little) dainty by way of provision for the journey after the manner of travellers. To the word "dainty" he adds a note 'Meat, fish, vegetables or the like, eaten with bread to give it a savour in Elliot it is styled *travellers bread*, and the ass is turned into a mule!' The rendering in Elliot is literal. The words for the food are *Nān-i Khurīsh : safrīdān* literally 'bread for travelling food. In the next line it is called *safrah*, which the dictionaries explain as "travelling provisions. What ground is there here for animadversion and why are these few simple words amplified into a few cakes of bread with some (little) dainty by way of provision for the journey after the manner of travellers ? The word for Major Raverty's 'ass' and Elliot's mule is *darda-gosh* long-eared an epithet, not a name I find that the *munsifi* who made the translation first wrote *ass* and afterwards changed it to 'mule. He may be credited with a reason for doing so

XXIX.—Page 583 Upon the last line but one in page 317 of Elliot, Major Raverty quotes and says, *built a fort for his residence!* The printed text has 'fortress of Baskot. True, but it would have been candid to say that a note gives *ba-sulūnat* which means for the residence. Major Raverty adopts 'Baskot' or 'Bazankot," and his MSS may justify the reading, but he does not venture upon any explanation of its position

XXX.—Page 583 In Elliot (p 318) there are the words he came with a body of men from his native country Major Raverty quotes the text allows that the word *synd'* means collection, and that *shd'* means followers, dependents, and yet expresses his astonishment (11) at the rendering 'body of men.' He finds reason apparently in his MSS for altering the word *shd'* into *satyd* and translating to better his means." This may be right, but it is not so decidedly preferable as to merit adoption. When Major Raverty says

in support of his view that the individual in question "was merely a priest, and did not travel attended by 'a body of men,'" he forgets that priests and holy men often have many followers and disciples "A number of followers" is a preferable rendering

XXXI—Page 583 I cannot admit Major Raverty's improved rendering of the words در بارگاد تذکرہی گشتہ آمد by "He was called upon to deliver a discourse in the audience hall," but I am not satisfied with the *munshi's* rendering in Elliot (p 318), "His name was mentioned in the Court" It says rather, "Having recited a commemorative (speech or ode), he came to Court" Or perhaps we may express the author's meaning more clearly by saying, "He came to Court and delivered a eulogistic speech"

XXXII—Page 587 Here Major Raverty says there is nothing to warrant the translation of *Atráf i mamálik i Lakhnauti* (the words of the printed text) by "the territories of Lakhnauti" How came he then, in page 354, to translate *atráf i bilád Lakhnauti* (text, p 138) by "the different parts of the territories of Lakhnauti"?

XXXIII—Page 600 This, the last criticism upon Elliot (p 320) which I have to review, is a gem of its kind "The word *bázargán* does not mean 'horse-dealer' any more than *ass-dealer*, for it signifies a merchant or trader" True, beyond question But this particular merchant was at the head of a drove (*galah*) of horses If, as it appears, he was one of a party of merchants who sold horses, what was he, if not a horse-dealer?

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

[Attention is called also to a short list in each Volume]

VOLUME I

- Page 67 *Baladi* is probably "the quality of ginger so called ('country ginger'), which is often mentioned in the mercantile handbook of Balducci Pegolotti (circa 1340) as well as by Nicolo Conti, and at a later date Barbosa"—*Yule*, in Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, vol. 11, new series
- „ 67. *Badru*—"A conjectural reading. In a previous passage (p. 66) the word appears in the form of *Báwaruí*. *Bábákuri* is a Turkish word for a chalcedony or agate, and may possibly be identical with *Baicarui*, which in that case would represent the chalcedonies and agates which have so long been a product of Cambay"—*Yule*
- „ 69 *Jamálu-d dín*—"The two *Jamálu-d dín*s mentioned are to be distinguished. The one here called Shaikh *Jamálu d dín* is called by Wassáf *Jamálu-d dín* 'Abdu-r Rahman Ut Thaibi, 'the Great Farmer General and Lord of the Marches of India,' and we see here that he became more or less of a ruling Prince in the Peninsula a good many years before the time when standard histories recognize any Muhammadan rule in those parts. He is, perhaps, the *Tchamalating* whom Pauthier's Chinese extracts show to have gone on a mission from Ma'bar to the court of Kublai Khán in or previous to 1281, and the *Silamuting*, whom they show as ruler of Ma'bar in 1314, was, perhaps, his grandson Nizámu-d dín, of whom Wassáf speaks (see *Pauthier*, pp. 601, 604, and *Hammer's* History of the Ilkhans, II 206). The other, *Jamálu-d dín* Ibráhím, bore the title of Mahku-l Islám, and was Farmer General of Fárs in the time of Arghun Khán and his successors, with great authority in the Persian Gulf. His contract with Takíu-d dín, the brother of the Indian *Jamálu-d dín*, is also mentioned by Wassáf, who was himself secretary to the Persian official, and conducted his correspondence with India"—*Yule*
- „ 69 *Sundar Bandi*—Marco Polo's statements are in striking conformity. "When that traveller was in Ma'bar, he found it under the rule of five brothers, of whom one, called Sender-Bendi Devar, ruled that province which was near Ceylon, which held supremacy over the pearl fishery, which was the best and noblest province of Southern India, and which was called *Solu* [*Chola* or *Sola*], indications which point to Tanjore and Ramnad, whilst another brother, called Asciar (*Ishwar*?) ruled at Kail

In Ramusio a version of Polo the conformity is even closer for that version, like Rashidu-d din's account, makes the brother princes not *five*, but four in number. Polo, too speaks of the horse trade in almost the same terms as the text, though he puts the prices that horses then reached still higher viz. 500 *sappi* of gold, worth more than 100 marks of silver."

—*Fule*

Page 72. *Ghuris*.—*Read Ighara*. In another place Rashid says the members of the Kaan's cabinet were *Tajke Cathayans, Ighars* and *Arkhans* (nestorian Christian).—*Fule*

" 72. *Zardandan*.—"The old friends described precisely under that name by Polo their head-quarters were at Yunchang on the Chinese frontier of Burma. —*Fule*

" 79. *Shah* the Kaan's officer. *Read Sing* or *Shing* as the Sank of the note suggests. *Shing* is a great city in which the high and mighty council holds its meetings. As the Kaan generally resides at the capital, he has erected a palace for the sittings of the Great Council called *Sing*. *Sing* do not exist in all the cities, but only in the capitals of great provinces which, in fact, form kingdoms, ranking with Bagdad, Shiraz, Iconium and Bdm. In the whole empire of the Kaan there are twelve of these *Sing* (Rashidu-d din, an extract by Klaproth, *Journ. As. ser. II.* tome xi). —*Fule*.

VOLUME II

" 26 Line 2. For "setting" *read* "shooting stars."

19 Line 8. For "twenty two" *read* "two hundred."

" 49 To "*Kendakhat*," add note. See Vol. I. p. 249

" 266 See Note No. 1 page xi *supra*

" 269 To the word *Ind* add a note. Some MSS *read* "Wahind" instead of "be Hind, and "Wahind" no doubt is correct. See *supra* page xiii, Note III

" 271 line 6 For "Mas'ud ordered him" etc., *read* "Mas'ud gave orders so that they took him prisoner and plundered his army"

" 271 line 7 For "When Mas'ud was killed" *read* "When Mas'ud was unfortunate, (*Le* when he was defeated)" See *supra* page xiv Note IV

271 Paragraph 2 line 8 For "even an elephant could not stand before him" *read* "his arrow stuck in any iron target. The doubtful words in the text were *bel dhan* literally "an iron shovel" and the dictionaries afford no further information. So *bel* was taken as a misprint for *pel* and supposed to mean "an iron-like elephant." Major Raverty says that *bel* signifies a plate of iron placed on a post used for tilting at, and as a butt for arrows. This gives an intelligible sense to the passage.

" 274 N VII line 3. To the words "and used to listen" add a note. This would perhaps be more correctly rendered by "He knew many famous stories which he used to tell. See *supra* page xiv Note VI

" 276 Note 2 for "words mean," *read* "word means."

" 276. No. XI line 10 for "He restored to the princes," *read* "He confirmed, etc. —*Raverty*

" 284 To "*Raslat* mountains" add the note. See Vol. VIII page xvi Note XIV

285 line 2. For "*Faj Hanisar*" *read* "*Paj Khazsar*" and add a note. Major Raverty's MSS. gave the correct form "*Khazsar*" The word *faj* means

- "a Broadway especially between two mountains" See *supra* page xvi, Note XV
- Page 287, line 19 For "throwing off their coats of mail," read "throwing back the skirts of their coats of mail" (so as to have their legs free) See *supra* page xvi, Note XVI
- „ 291 To the note on Sang-i Surkh, add Major Raverty says "A pass on the Hindmand river about N N W of Ghazni on the route from that city, and also from Kábul into Ghor"
- „ 302, line 4 from bottom To the word "Hindúst'án," add a note Major Raverty states that his MSS read "Sindustán," which he considers to be a form of the name "Siwistán" See *supra* page xvi, Note XVIII
- „ 303, paragraph 2, line 4 For "Nandua-tari," read "Nandana, Tári" See *supra*, page xviii, Note XIX
- „ 303, near the end of paragraph 2 To the word *Khicānizm*, add a note See Vol VIII page xvi, Note XX
- „ 304, line 2 For "consigned to the care of the author On the provocation of the army," read "consigned to the care of the author, together with the office of *lazi* of the army," and put a full stop after Bahram Sháh A new reading of the text requires this alteration See *supra* page xviii, Note XXI
- „ 309, paragraph 2 For "erused his name," etc, read "caused the *khutba* and the coins to be established in all the territories"—*Thomas, Chronicle of the Pathán Kings*, p 111
- „ 310 In the last line after the word "he," insert "(the author)"
- „ 311, line 15 For "consisted only of raw silk," substitute "consisted entirely of pieces (of bamboo) strongly bound and sewn together with raw silk" See *supra* page xviii, Note XXV
- „ 314 To the names "Kum" and "Nárkot" add note See Vol VIII page xix, Note XXVI
- „ 314, No 6, line 7 For "came dutifully to Deokot," read "came to Deokot and discharged the duties of mourning" See *supra* page xx, Note XXVII
- „ 317, last line but one "A fort for his residence," add note Major Raverty's MSS give "the fort of Basankot" instead of the words "*ba-sukunat*" of the printed text See *supra* page xx, Note XXIX
- „ 318, line 11 See Note XXX *supra* page xx
- „ 318, middle of page To "his name was mentioned in the Court," add note The author's meaning may perhaps be better rendered by "He came to Court and delivered a eulogistic speech (*tazkire*)" See *supra* page xxi, Note XXXI
- „ 344 "Infidels of Changiz Khán." Adopt the variant reading in the text, "Infidels of Jájāgar"
- „ 358, end of paragraph 3 For "Sálin-nawín" read "Sálin Náyín (Mughal)"
- „ 362 To Note I add See Thornton, vol iii "Mewassee," *Journ As Soc Beng* 1874, page 240, and *infra*, Vol III p 138
- „ 375, last line For "Tilibhat (Pilibhit)," read "Talpat"
- „ 393, to Note 2, add, "Properly Chol or Chol-jarad See *infra*, Vol III p 409, Vol IV p 94"
- „ 398, line 7 Put the semicolon after Darbela, and the comma after Jaisi
- „ 465 For "*Kanzu-l Mahpúr*," read "*Kanzu-l Mahfuz*"
- „ 509, in Note 1 For "*Zanzan*" read "*Zauzan*"
- „ 530 Strike out the note Ajúdhan in the Panjáb must be intended

VOLUME III.

- Page 101 last line, *read*, "In this campaign Yak lakhi the private servant of the Sultan was slain by the Miwattis." Yak lakhi was a name like Hazâr dinâri. See J.A.S.B. 1874 vol. I. p. 287 The passage of Firahia referred to in the note is in Vol. I. p. 256.
- 258, 261 "Hasan Kāngu." The name is so written here and in other places, but the better known form is "Gāngu."
- " 260 8 lines from bottom. To the name "Karu," add note: "Kari or Kaira."
- " 265 For "1350 A.D." *read* "1351"
- " 287 To Twelfth Mukaddima add note: "Acceded the throne Safar 745 A.H. (June, 1314 A.D.)"—*Tārīkh-i Mubtairah Shāhi*.
- " 360 "*Ashraf-i Mamluk*," *read* "*Ashraf-i Mamluk*."
- " 400 For "1403" *read* "1303 A.D."
- " 401 To the note add "See p. 481 *infra*."
414. To the word "*Siyadala*," add as a note "Yashwala."
- " 421 8 lines from bottom. For "Passing by Rudanah," *read* "not passing over the river" and add note "See *infra* page 483."
- " 471 For "Balander," *read* "Bilander"
- " 481 To the note add reference "See p. 401"
- " 546 line 8 To the word silent, add note: See p. 224, *supra*
- " 624 note. *Shahr-gersah*.—Some light may perhaps be thrown on this passage by referring to the story in which, in consequence of a vow a camel was offered for sale at two rupees, but not without the cat on its neck at the price of 250. This is referred to in the Bāgh o Bahār, in the Story of the First Darwesh, "The two are to be sold together not the garden alone, like the cat on the camel's neck." As in corrupt boroughs in England a worthless article often brought a high price when a vote went with it, or as, in the high political excitement of former days, straws were offered for sale in the streets and seditious broadsides were given away with them.

VOLUME IV

- " 9 "*Sar-jardah-dār*" *read* "*Sar-jardah dār*"
- " 23 line 2. "Main," *read* "Main" and for the note "Mina?" *substitute* "Main or Munj is a name of a subdivision of Banghar Rājputa inhabiting Sirhind and the Bahat Doh. —Blochmann's *Ata-Alibari* p. 626."
- " 54, 11 lines from bottom. For "Main," *read* "Main."
- " 63 end of paragraph 2. Insert "the" before "Mawla."
- " 144 Add to Note 1 "Briggs' Ferishta, vol. II. p. 81"
- " 233. Add to Note 1: The correct name is Siyurghatmah. —*Blochmann*
- " 261 To "Maldani Rao" add a note "Properly "Medini Rao."
- " 289 Add to the Memoir of Shaikh Zain the note given as an Addendum in Vol. V also the reference "See Proceedings of As. Soc. of Bengal, 1873, p. 166."
- " 307 To Fath Khan Hirawi, add a note "See Proceedings of As. Soc. Bengal for December 1873"
- " 321, middle. For "Kutb Shāh, King of Bengal," *read* "Kutb Shāh (or Khān) officer of the King of Bengal, and add note: See *infra*, p. 323."

- Page 365, line 3 For "Muyid Beg," read "Muayyad Beg "
- „ 385, last line, "Mauláná Muhammad Binor" Add note "Probably Banúrí, from the town of Banúr (vide *supra*, p 249), north of Ambála, a place famous for its saints and learned men "
- „ 507, paragraph 2 "Patna;" add note More probably Panna
- „ 540, paragraph 2 For "Saklain," read "Siklain," and for "Husu," read "Hisn "
- „ 551 "*Lafgandais*," add note This probably means *tufangddis*, even if it is not a mistranscription of that word

VOLUME V

- „ 41, paragraph 2 For "Kanwárs," read "Gawárs" or "Gowars," and add note See *infra*, p 193, and Journ As Soc Beng for 1874, Index
- „ 35, in note 5 For "*audhalli*," read *andhalli*
- „ 45, four lines from end. "Kanjárs" This should no doubt be read "Ganjárs," i.e. treasurers
- „ 152, middle "Ammi Kulsúm," read "Umm Kulsúm "
- „ 167, last line For "Sháh" read "Sáh "
- „ 173, line 7 from bottom For "the mine," read "the other mine "
- „ 189, line 2, paragraph 3 For "Bahakrá," read "Báikrá "
- „ 199, line 6 "Chinese house" Add note "One built of enamelled tiles "
- „ 246 To note at foot of table add "The 14th year began on the 24th Ramazán The 15th on the 3rd Shawwál. For date of Akbar's death, see Blochmann's *Áin-i Akbari*, vol 1 p 212 "
- „ 246 Note 1 For *Khalifa Ildhi*, read "*Khalifatu-llah* "
- „ 259, end of paragraph 2 "*Ghazals* in mystic language," read "*Ghazals* of Háfiz, who is called *Lisdmu-l gharib* See Vol IV p 510 "
- „ 265, note 2 For "reputed," read "adopted "
- „ 273, note 3 For "Sanjari," read "Sijuzi" Sístán, or Sijstán, makes its adjective Sijuzi, and although the text has Sanjari, there is no doubt Sijuzi is the right word
- „ 278, paragraph 2 For "Khari, Janúba, Bhukiyál, and Ját," read "Khattri (or Khattar), Janúha, Bhúgiyál, and Chibh" See Blochmann's *Áin*, pp 456, 487
- „ 280, line 2 from end. For "Kulchín," read "Kúchín "
- „ 300, paragraph 2 For "Fath Khán Tibati," read "Fath Khán Battani "
- „ 323, paragraph 3, line 8 For "'Alí Kulí," read "Muhammad Kulí "
- „ 330, paragraph 1 "Kháng-sawár," properly "Khing-suwár "
- „ 384, paragraph 1 For "Kísú," read "Gesú "
- „ 395, middle To "Safar" make a note "The *Albar-ndma* says Rajab, which must be right "
- „ 407 For "Tánsaní," read "Tausaní," and erase the note
- „ 427, paragraph 3, line 1 "Jalesar," read "Jalair "
- „ 430 In note "Tannú" According to Mr Blochmann he was called "Nathu," which means "dwarf"—*Áin-i Akbari*, vol 1 p 38
- „ 463, line 1 "Husam," read "Hasan "
- „ 478 Addnote "For date of Badáúní's death (1004), see Journ As Soc Beng for 1869, p 143 "
- „ 571, line 4 For "Shabri," read "Sheri "

VOLUME VI.

- Page 150 Add note: "Asad Beg died in the third year of the reign of Jahāngir and left 16 *lacs* of rupees behind him"—*Kāngir Khān*.
 " 368, line 3 of note. *Srībota*," *read* *Srīkoto*.
 " 423, lines 6 and 7 "*Mubdrak Khān*," *read* "*Mukarrab Khān*."
 " 433 end of second paragraph. *Tirbung*" *read* "*Trimbak*."
 " 509 paragraph 3, line 1: "*deserted*," *read* "*defeated*."

VOLUME VII

- " 71 In note For "*478*," *read* "*578*."
 " 63 paragraph 2. For *Kunwar Rāi* *read* "*Kunwar Rām*.
 " 305, 306. For "*Khān Zamān*," *read* "*Khān Zamān Khān*."
 " 392, line 6 After "*Mu'izzu-d dīn* *over*" "*(Jahāndār Shāh)*"
 " 403-4 "*Muhakkim Singh*," *read* *Mahkam Singh*.

VOLUME VIII

- 1 0 line 4 from bottom. For "*Bhāo Wīrwā Rāi, with*," *read* "*Bhāo with Wīrwā Rāi*.
 " 116 last paragraph To the word *Nawāb* add note The eunuch *Jāwūd Khān* see post, pp. 120, 133
-

CONTENTS OF VOL. VIII.

	PAGE
Examination of Major Raverty's Criticisms of the <i>Tabakát-i</i>	
<i>Násmí</i> as translated in Vol II of this work - - - - -	21
Additions and Corrections - - - - -	XXIII
LXXXIV — <i>Mukhtasari-t Tawárikh</i> - - - - -	1
✓ LXXXV — <i>Khulásatu-t Tawárikh</i> , of Subhán Rái ✓ - - -	5
LXXXVI — <i>Haft Gulshan-i Muhammad-Sháhi</i> , of Muhammad	
Hádí Kámwar Khán - - - - -	13
✓ LXXXVII — <i>Tazkira-i Chaghatái</i> , of Muhammad Hádí Kámwar	
Khán - - - - -	17
✓ LXXXVIII — <i>Tárikh-i Chaghatái</i> , of Muhammad Shafi', Teharání	21
LXXXIX — <i>Burhán-u-l Futúh</i> , of Muhammad 'Alí - - - -	25
XC — <i>Kanzu-l Mahfúz</i> - - - - -	37
✓ XCI — <i>Tárikh-i Hindí</i> , of Rustam 'Alí - - - - -	40
✓ XCII — <i>Tárikh-i Nádiri-u-z Zamání</i> , of Khushhál Chand -	70
XCIII — <i>Jauhan-i Samsám</i> , of Muhammad Muhsin Sádiki -	72
✓ XCIV — <i>Tazkira</i> , of Anand Rám Mukhlis - - - - -	76
XCV — <i>Nádri-náma</i> , of Mirzá Muhammad Mahdí - - -	99
XCVI — <i>Tahmásp-náma</i> , of Miskín - - - - -	100
XCVII — <i>Bahru-t Tawárikh</i> - - - - -	101
XCVIII — <i>Muhammad náma</i> - - - - -	103
XCIX — <i>Tárikh-i Muhammad Sháhi</i> , of Yúsuf Muhammad	
Khán - - - - -	103
✓ C — <i>Tárikh-i Ahmad Sháh</i> - - - - -	104
✓ CI — <i>Bayán-i Wáki'</i> , of Khwája 'Abdu-l Karím Khán	124
✓ CII — <i>Tárikh-i 'Alamgír-sání</i> - - - - -	140
CIII — <i>Tárikh-i Mandázu-l Futúh</i> , of Muhammad Ja'far	
Shámlú - - - - -	144
CIV — <i>Jám-i Jahán-numá</i> , of Muzaffar Husain - - -	158
CV — <i>Fa'hatu-n Názi'in</i> , of Muhammad Aslam - - -	163

	PAGE
CVI.— <i>Tārīkh</i> : <i>Faiz Baksh</i> of Shoo Parshád	175
CVII.— <i>Hadikatu-l Akhlām</i> , of Murtazá Husain	180
CVIII.— <i>Jám</i> : <i>Jahán namá</i> of Kudratu llah	184
CIX.— <i>Ma-dairu-l Umard</i> of Sháh Nawáz Khán Sam shámu-d daula	187
✓ CX.— <i>Tazkiratu-l Umard</i> of Kowal Rám	192
CVI.— <i>Sawánuh</i> : <i>Albark</i> , of Amír Haidar Husaini	193
✓ CVII.— <i>Siyaru-l Mula-alkhkhairin</i> of Ghulám Husain Khán	194
CVIII.— <i>Mulakkhkhaun-t Tawdrīkh</i> of Farzand Ali Husain	199
CVII.— <i>Tarīkh</i> : <i>Mamúlik-i Hind</i> of Ghulám Básit	200
✓ CVV.— <i>Chakr Gul-dar Sáryá</i> : of Hari Charan Dás	204
✓ CVI.— <i>Tārīkh</i> : <i>Shahadat</i> : <i>Farrukh Siyar</i> of Mirzá Muhammad Baksh	232
CVVII.— <i>Wáli dt</i> : <i>A farí</i>	234
CVVIII.— <i>Bakru-l Ma'waj</i> of Muhammad Ali Khán Ansári	235
✓ CVIX.— <i>Ibrat namá</i> of Fakir Khairu-d dín Muhammad	237
✓ CVX.— <i>Chakr Gulshan</i> of Rám Chatar Mán	235
CXXI.— <i>Tārīkh</i> : <i>Ibráhim Khán</i>	257
CXXII.— <i>Lubbu</i> : <i>Siyar</i> of Abu Tálib Londoni	298
CXXIII.— <i>Anudf</i> : <i>A saf</i>	300
✓ CXXIV.— <i>Tārīkh</i> of Jágul Kishwar	300
✓ CXXV.— <i>Gulistan</i> : <i>Rahmat</i> of Nawáb Mustajáb Khán	301
CXXVL.— <i>Gul</i> : <i>Pahmat</i> of Sa ádat Yár Khán	302
✓ CXXVII.— <i>Sakhsu-l Akhbár</i> of Sarup Chand	313
✓ CXXVIII.— <i>Tarīkh</i> : <i>Muzaffari</i> of Muhammad 'Alí Khán	316
✓ CXXIX.— <i>Sháh namá</i> or <i>Muawwaru-l Akhlām</i> , of Shoo Dás	331
CXXX.— <i>Ikhlasu-t Tawdrīkh</i> , of Sawan Singh	332
CXXXI.— <i>Mir-at-i Asfáb-namá</i> of Sháh Nawáz Khán	332
CXXXII.— <i>Intikhabu-t Tawdrīkh</i> of Mirzá Músitá	334
✓ CXXXIII.— <i>Sa ádat</i> : <i>Jawed</i> , of Harnám Singh	336
CXXXIV.— <i>Ma'danu-s Sa'ádat</i> of Saryud Sultán Ali	354
✓ CXXXV.— <i>Majma'u-l Akhbár</i> of Harukh Rái	355
CXXXVI.— <i>Kdahifu-l Akhbár</i> of Ináyat Husain	372
✓ CXXXVII.— <i>Zubdatu-l Akhbár</i> of Umráo Singh	374
✓ CXXXVIII.— <i>Muntalhab-i Akhládu-t Tawdrīkh</i> of Rám Parshád	375
CXXXIX.— <i>Akhbár</i> : <i>Muhabbat</i> of Nawáb Muhabbat Khán	316

	PAGE
J CXL — <i>Tārīkh-i Sháh 'A'lam</i> , of Manú Lál - - -	393
✓ CCLI — <i>Sháh 'A'lam-náma</i> , of Ghulám 'Alí Khán - - -	393
✓ CXLII — <i>'Imádu-s Sa'adat</i> , of Mír Ghulám 'Alí - - -	394
CXLIII — <i>Nigár-náma-i Hind</i> , of Saiyid Ghulám 'Alí - - -	396
X CXLIV — <i>Muntakhabu-t Tawá'ikh</i> , of Sadásukh - - -	403
CXLV — <i>Ashrafu-t Tawá'ikh</i> , of Kishan Dayál - - -	411
CXLVI — <i>Jinánu-l Firdaus</i> , of Mirzá Muhammad Yúsufi -	413
CXLVII — <i>Tārīkh-i Henry</i> , of Saiyid Muhammad Bákn 'Alí Khán - - - - -	414
CXLVIII — <i>Balwant-náma</i> , of Fakír Khairu-d dín Muhammad	416
✓ CXLIX — <i>Yádgár-i Baháduri</i> , of Bahádur Singh - - -	417
CL — <i>Jám'i'u-t Tawá'ikh</i> , of Fakír Muhammad - - -	425
CLI — <i>Jám-i Jam</i> , of Saiyid Ahmad Khán - - -	430
CLII — <i>Mayma'u-l Mulúk</i> and <i>Zubdatu-l Gharáib</i> , of Mu- hammad Rızá - - - - -	432
CLIII — <i>Alhbárát-i Hind</i> , of Muhammad Rızá - - -	436
CLIV — <i>Miftáhu-t Tawá'ikh</i> , of Thomas Wilham Beale -	441
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INDEX - - - - -	1
GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX - - - - -	x
GENERAL INDEX - - - - -	xlii

HISTORIANS OF INDIA.

LXXXIV

MUKHTASIRU-T TAWÁRÍKH

THE author has nowhere given a distinct title to his work, though he says it is a *mukhtasir*, or abridgment, of the accounts of ancient Sultáns

Neither the name of the author nor the date of the composition is given, but as, amongst the general authorities which he mentions in his Preface, the latest is the *Ihbal-náma Jahángirí* of Mu'tamad Khán, we may fairly assume that the work was written early during the reign of Sháh Jahán

The author tells us that next to the knowledge of God and His Will the most important information to acquire is that derived from history, and that acquaintance with the circumstances of former kings, and their nobles and counsellors, is equal to the cup of Jamshíd and the mirror of Alexander, that it also leads to reflections upon the instability of kings and kingdoms, which are always treading the road of annihilation for when exalted autocrats, with their powerful families, their experienced ministers, their countless armies, and exhaustless treasures, with all their pomp, splendour and dominion, are swept from off the earth, and no vestige of them remains, what doom can inferior creatures expect?

After these moral reflections, he proceeds to inform us, that though he was endowed with a very small capacity, yet as he

associated much with the great, and with the chief officers of the government, and had heard many historical anecdotes during his intercourse with them, he thought it expedient to combine this information with that which he had derived from authentic histories, and compose a work calculated to yield gratification to those who should peruse it. The histories he quotes are the *Tārīkh : Mahmud Ghaznavi Tārīkh : Sultān Shahabū-d dīn Ghorī Tārīkh : Sultān Alau-d dīn Khilji Tārīkh : Sultān Muhammad Shāh, Tārīkh : Sultān Ghiyāsu-d dīn Tughlik Shāh, Tārīkh : Sultān Firoz Shāh Tārīkh : Afāghana, Zafar nāma Timuri Akbar nāma of Abul Fazl, Tabakāt : Akbari, Ikbal nāma Jahāngiri, and Rājratn*

He devotes his work chiefly to the Sovereigns of Dehli but he also adds a short account of the Kings of Gujarāt, Mālwa, the Dakhin, Bengal Jaunpur Kashmīr Sind and Maltān all which provinces, after undergoing various vicissitudes, came to be included within the Empire of Jalālu-d dīn Muhammad Akbar

The copy which I have examined is unfortunately imperfect. It contains none of these minor histories and does not carry down the Dehli history later than 962 A.H., just before the accession of Akbar, but this is of very little consequence, for the *Mukhtasiru t Tawārīkh* has been followed verbatim by the better known *Khulāsat u Tawārīkh*, which exhibits one of the most impudent plagiarisms that even India can produce for the *Khulāsat* mentions every conceivable authority in existence, but carefully excludes this one, from which, up to a certain period, it not only derived its chief information, but its very language, even in many instances to the transcription of the poetical quotations.

CONTENTS.

Preface, pp 1 to 10—Praise of India, its fruits, animals, flowers, cities, etc., pp 11 to 30—Indrapat, Tughlikābād, and ancient Dehli, pp 30 to 35—Description of Shāh-Jahānābād, pp 36 to 38—History of the Hindu Kings of Ujjain Dehli etc. pp 38 to 84—The Ghaznavide Dynasty pp. 84 to 110—The

Ghorians, Khiljís, Saiyids, and Afgháns, pp. 111 to 238—Bábar, pp. 238 to 253—Humáyún, pp. 253 to 290

SIZE—8vo The imperfect volume consists of 352 pages of 15 lines to each page.

The following extract is among the passages copied by the *Khulásatu-t Tawárikh*, and shows a ridiculous tendency to exaggeration [The translation was made by a *munshi*, and was revised by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

The only copy I have seen of the *Mukhtasir-u-t Tawárikh* is in one of the Royal Libraries at Lucknow.

EXTRACT

A Description of Hindústán

India is a very large country, and it is so extensive that other countries are not equal to a hundredth part of it. Notwithstanding its extensive area, it is populated in all places. It abounds in all quarters and every district with cities, towns, villages, caravanserais, forts, citadels, mosques, temples, monasteries, cells, magnificent buildings, delightful gardens, fine trees, pleasant green fields, running streams, and impetuous rivers. On all the public roads and streets strong bridges are made over every river and rill, and embankments also are raised. Lofty minarets are made at the distance of each *kos* to indicate the road, and at every two *parasangs* inns are built of strong masonry for travellers to dwell in and take rest. At each inn can be obtained every kind of food and drink, all sorts of medicine, and all kinds of necessary instruments and utensils. On all roads shadowy and fruitful trees are planted on both sides. Wells and tanks are dug which contain fresh and sweet water in abundance. The passengers go along the roads under the shadow of the trees, amusing themselves, eating the fruits and drinking cold water, as if they were taking a walk among the beds of a garden. The merchants, tradesmen and all travellers, without any fear of thieves and robbers, take their goods and loads safe to their dis-

tant destinations The whole of this country is very fertile, and the productions of Írán, Turán and other climates are not equal to those of even one province of Hindustán In this country there are also mines of diamonds, ruby, gold, silver, copper lead, and iron The soil is generally good and so productive that in a year it yields two crops, and in some places more. All kinds of grain, the sustenance of human life, are brought forth in such quantities that it is beyond the power of pen to enumerate Of these productions the *sulhdds* rice is the best. Its qualities and flavour are beyond all praise It is equally palatable to kings and the common people It is incomparable in tenderness and sweetness, and has a very agreeable smell and taste. The rich and great men, and those who are fond of good living think that no other food is so excellent Men of refined and delicate taste find great relish in eating the fruits of Hindústán A separate book would have to be written if a full detail were given of all the different kinds of fruits which are produced in spring and autumn, describing all their sweetness, fragrance, and flavour

LXXXV

KHULÁSATU-T TAWÁRÍKH

OF

SUBHÁN RÁÍ.

THIS is a well-known general history of India. It was composed by Munshí Subhán Ráí Khatrí, an inhabitant of Pattiála. Many copies fail to give the name of the author,¹ and the *Ma-ásiru-l Umará* quotes the work merely as being written by a Hindú, without giving his name, in a passage which has been wrongly translated, as being "written in Hindú language"²

It was written in 1107 A.H (1695-6 A.D.), and occupied, we are told by the author, two years in its composition. This, however, may be doubted, for the work is chiefly a copy from the *Mukhtasiru-t Tawárikh*, noticed above, although there is no acknowledgment of the extent to which the author is indebted to that anonymous work. Notwithstanding which, he has the impudence to tell us in his Preface, that he has stolen nothing from any one, but composed the work himself—a declaration which, as he was under no necessity to make it, of itself excites suspicions of his honesty.

The author indulges in the same moral reflections, and assigns the same reasons for writing this history, as had already been given by the author of the *Mukhtasiru-t Tawárikh*, and have been quoted in that article

¹ This is the case with the one in the *Mackenzie* Collection (vol ii p 121), where it is stated that the author "describes himself as the translator of the *Singhasan Battisi*, the *Padmavati*, and *Rajdvali*,"—a statement not authorized by any copy I have seen

² *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, vol iv p 269

The opening chapters, which are the best portion of the work, give a good account of the products of Hindústán, and its Geography, as known in the time of Aurangzeb. He confines the history of the Ghaznivides to the transactions in India alone, and in consequence absurdly reduces the number of their reigns to seven. In the reigns of the early Kings of Dehlí he does not enter into much more detail; yet, notwithstanding the briefness of the narrative, he occasionally indulges in poetical quotations and needless digressions; as where he describes the seasons of spring summer autumn and winter in the Ghaznvide history, and gives us an account of the various games in the reign of Kai Kubád of fireworks, and of a famine, in the reign of Jalá'u-d dín and of wine and its effects, in the reigns of Shaháb-u-d dín and Aláu-d dín.

His accounts of the reigns of the first four Mughal Emperors are copious, considering the nature of the work but he has said very little of Sháh Jahán, excusing himself on the ground of Wáris Khán having already written a copious history of that Emperor's reign. His account of the contests between Aurangzeb and his brothers is very full, and he closes with the period when that Emperor has succeeded in getting rid of his rivals, and has no longer a competitor for the throne. Beyond this period he enters into no particulars, though he wrote in the fortieth year of the reign.

He gives no separate history of the independent monarchies of India, such as of the Dakhin, Bengal, Gujarát, etc., but merely gives a brief account of each king's reign, when he comes to mention the final absorption of each province in the Mughal Empire. Thus, the Kings of Multán are treated of in the reign of Bábar the Kings of Málwá, Gujarát, Bengal, Kashmír, Sind and the Dakhin in the reign of Akbar. The accounts of the Kings of Multán and Kashmír are given at greater length than the others.

The work is better known to the public by the Urdú translation called the *Arzáh : Maáfi*, of Mir Sher 'Alí Jafarí, with

the poetical designation of Afsos, son of Saiyid 'Alí Muzaffar Khán, and one of Dr Gilchrist's chief coadjutors in the editing and correcting of his useful Hindústání publications, such as the *Bágh-i Urdú*, a translation of the *Guhstán*, *Kuhyát-i Saudá*, and *Nasr-i Be-nazir*. The beginning of this translation was printed in Calcutta in a folio volume in 1808. Sher 'Alí Afsos represents that he has not made a literal translation, but added or rejected as he thought proper. He has made the greatest alterations in the accounts of the *súbas* and *sarhárs*, and the least in the accounts of forts, and none at all in the revenues of the provinces, as he has no means of bringing down the information to his own time. [He has kept, he says, many passages relating to the miracles and marvels of *Súfis* merely for conformity with the original work; and for the same reason he has retained many marvellous statements about Hindú devotees and temples, although they are contrary to reason, and he is not the man to believe them] The beginning of this translation had already been made, when, at the instigation of Mr Harington, he was induced to continue the work from the time of the Muhammadan Emperors. The latter portion has never been printed, but is stated by M. Garcin de Tassy to exist in manuscript in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta ¹

There is little to indicate that this work was written by a Hindú, except that the date of composition is recorded, not only in the Hiyra and Julús years, but in the era of the Kali-yug, Bikramájít, and Sáliváhana ²

The *Khulásatu-t Tawárikh* professes to be founded on the best authorities, no less than twenty-seven being quoted by name, of which those which are the rarest are the *History of Mahmúd Subuktigin* by Mauláná 'Unsurí, *History of Sultán Shahábu-d*

¹ *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoue et Hindoustani*, vol 1 p 31

² [It is written with the intolerance and virulence of a bigoted Musulmán, and carefully records many stories about Musulmán saints and their tombs. So it would appear to have proceeded from the pen of a Musulmán rather than a Hindú. But this, though a ground for presumption as to the authorship, is by no means conclusive.]

din Ghori History of Sultan 'Alau d din Khilji, *Tārīkh : Firoz shahi* by Izzu-d din Khālidkhānī,¹ the *History of the Afghans* by Husain Khān the *History of Akbar* by Atā Beg Kazwīnī, and the *Tārīkh : Bahādur shahi*, containing the history of Gujarāt. Whether these works were really read and examined may be questioned for there is nothing in this history which would seem to be derived from these unusual sources of information.

Many verses some said to be original, and some extracted from various authors, are inserted in different passages of the narrative, to which they were considered appropriate.

[Colonel Lees, in his article upon Indian Historians in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (vol iii) has bestowed very great praise upon the author of the *Khuldsatu t Tawdrikh*. He says, "It is one of the most carefully compiled general histories of India I know of. The author commences with the Pāndus and brings his narrative down to the end of the year 1107 A.H. It was continued for some years later by another hand and here I may mention, as an instance of how desirable it is to print the texts of all the valuable histories of India compiled in former times we can that the author of the well known *Siyar i Muta akhkhirin*, who wrote his history when Lord Hastings was Governor General, has transferred almost the whole of this work to his pages verbatim without ever once mentioning the author's name. A more glaring instance of plagiarism it would be impossible to conceive yet the author of the *Siyar* has a great reputation especially among European writers, and the name of the modest Subhān Rāi the real historian, is probably wholly unknown. To make matters worse, this dishonest copyist says, in the preface of his book, that he found a few pages of an old book, prepared by some *musakh* for one of the Muhammadan Emperors, which he made use of, but it was full of mistakes, which he corrected. This is nothing else but a barefaced falsehood, for if there are mistakes in Subhān

¹ [This work and its author whose name has not been found elsewhere, are not given in a MS. belonging to the R. Asiatic Society to which I have referred.]

Rái's history, he has copied them all, and made very many of his own besides. Another dishonest writer translated the same history into Hindústání, and giving it a new name, the *A'áish-i Mahfil*, passed it off as an original composition. He was, however, more honest than the other, as, though he denies that his book is a translation, he acknowledges *some* obligation."

Col. Lees and Sir H. M. Elliot are thus in direct antagonism, but if Sir Henry's judgment was correct, Subhán Rái was the great plagiarist, and he must be deprived of the praise which Col. Lees has bestowed upon him. The discovery of the *Mukhtasaru-t Tawárikh* makes it possible also that the author of the *Siyar* was veracious, when he said that he used the book of an old *munshí*. Still, his statement was disingenuous, for the *Khulásatu-t Tawárikh* could hardly have been unknown to him, and it would have been more honest to have made some direct reference to that well-known work. The censure cast by Col. Lees on the author of the *A'áish-i Mahfil* is still less deserved, for Sher 'Alí, in his title-page, states that his book was "derived from the contents of the *Khulásatu-t Tawárikh*." Like many other authors and translators, he has magnified his own labours, but the book is not a mere translation. To say nothing of the elegance of the composition, there is a good deal of additional matter in it, and it contains accounts of things which happened long after the date of the *Khulásat*, such as the establishment of the British Government, and the building of Calcutta.]¹

CONTENTS

Preface, p. 1—Hindústán, its products and men, p. 12—, Descriptive Geography of the *súbas*, p. 28—Hindú Rájas, p. 94—The Ghaznivides, p. 172—Muhammadan Kings of Dehlí,

¹["Quoique cet ouvrage ait pour base un livre Persan intitulé *Khulásatu-t Tawárikh*, qui est dû au *munshí* Subhán Rái de Patála, on peut le considérer néanmoins comme originale soit à cause de la quantité de faits qu'Afsos a puisés ailleurs, soit parceque souvent loin de répéter les assertions hasardées de l'auteur Persan il en a rectifié les erreurs"—Garcin de Tassy, *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoue et Hindoustani*"]

p 106—Reign of Bābar, p 204—Reign of Humāyūn, p 310—
Reign of Akbar, p 347—Reign of Jahāngir p 441—Reign of
Shāh Jahān p 470—Reign of Aurangzeb, p 487

SIXE—Quarto, containing 534 pages of 19 lines each

The *Khulāsat-i-Tawdrikh* is one of the commonest works in India, and is not rare in Europe. There are several copies in the British Museum. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has a very good copy, with a few leaves deficient at the end, and there are two copies in the Royal Asiatic Society's Library.

Several copies, even from such widely distant places as London, Calcutta, Delhi, Patna, and Sahāranpur all conclude with stating the date of Aurangzeb's death, which, as the work was composed in the fortieth year of his reign, must have been added by some transcriber in a very early copy; for though it is not improbable that any transcriber should add the date of the Emperor's death, yet, unless the original entry had been very early, so many copies could not have concurred in giving it in the same form and words.

[The Editor has translated the account of Delhi, but has not thought it necessary to give extracts from the historical part of the work.]

EXTRACT

The Metropolitan Province of Shāh Jahān-abād

[In Hindu and Persian histories I have read that in ancient times the city of Hastināpūr was the capital of the rulers of Hindūstān. This city stood upon the bank of the Ganges, and a great deal has been written about the (great) extent and size of this city in that age. It is very populous at the present time, but nothing like what it was in those old days. When dissensions broke out between the two royal races the Kauravas and Pāndavas, the latter removed from Hastināpūr to the city of Indraprast on the Jumna, and made it their capital. A long while afterwards, in the year 440 of Bikramājīt, Rāja Anang Pāl

Tona¹ built the city of Dehlī near to Indarprast. Afterwards Rái Pithaurá, in the year twelve hundred and something of Bikramájít, built a fort and city to which he gave his own name.

Sultán Kutbu-d dín Aibak and Sultán Shamsu-d dín Altamsh occupied the fort of Rái Pithaurá. In the year 666 H_{ijra} (1267-8 A.D.) Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Balban built another fortress, which he called Shahr-zaghan.² In the year 686 H_{ijra} (1287 A.D.) Sultán Mu'izzu-d dín Kai-Kubád built another city of handsome edifices on the Jumna, to which he gave the name of Kílú-garí. Amír Khusrú extols this city in his *Knánu-s Sa'adam*. Sultán Jalálu-d dín Khiljí founded the city Kúshk-l'al (red palace), and Sultán 'Aláu-d dín the city of Kúshk-Sirí and made them their respective capitals. Sultán Ghiyásu-d dín Tughlúk Sháh, in the year 725 H_{ijra} (1325 A.D.), raised the city of Tughlúk-ábád. His son, Sultán Muhammad Fakhru-d dín Jauná, founded another city, and erected in it a palace of 1000 pillars. He also built some other fine mansions of red stone (*rukham*). In the year 755 H_{ijra} (1354 A.D.) Sultán Fíroz Sháh built the large city of Fíroz-ábád, and having cut the river Jumna, he conducted the water to his city. Three kos distant from the city he raised another palace, containing in it a lofty pillar, which still remains standing on a little hill, and is commonly called the *lath* of Fíroz Sháh. Sultán Mubárák Sháh founded the city of Mubárák-ábád. In the year 943 H_{ijra} (1536 A.D.) Nasíru-d dín Muhammad Hum-áyún Bádsháh, having restored and repaired the fort of Indarprast, gave it the name of Dín-panáh, and made it his royal residence. Sher Sháh Afghán, having pulled down the city known as Kúshk-Sirí, built another one. Salím Sháh, his son, in the year 953 H_{ijra} (1546 A.D.) built the fort of Salím-garh, which still stands in the river Jumna, opposite the citadel of Sháh-Jahán-ábád. Although each of the rulers of Hindústán founded a city, and made it the seat of his government, still in all parts of the dominions Delhí is famous as the capital of all the rulers of Hindústán. In the year 1048 A.H. (1638 A.D.), and in the twelfth

¹ [Tomár]

² [The *Araish-i Mahfil* calls it "Marzaghan"]

year of his reign Shaháb-ud dín Muhammad Sháh Jahán Bád sháh : Gházi Sáhīb-Kirán : sháh built a city near Dehlí which he named Sháh Jahán ábád. Through the building of this great city, all the cities which have been mentioned as having been built by former kings have been eclipsed, and are included under the general name of Shah Jahán ábád, just as the many rivers which fall into the Ganges are known only by the name of Ganges]

LXXXVI

HAFT GULSHAN-I MUHAMMAD-SHAHÍ

OF

MUHAMMAD HÁDÍ KÁMWAR KHÁN.

MUHAMMAD HÁDÍ KÁMWAR KHÁN is the author of this general history, which was written in A. H. 1132 (A. D. 1719-20), in the second year of Muhammad Sháh's reign, after whom he names the work, though he dedicates no portion of it to an account of that Emperor

In a very wordy Preface, the author informs us, that, from an early period of his life, he took a delight in reading the history of kings and saints, and that, in consequence of his entering the service of the Emperor Aurangzeb, "the destroyer of all signs of superstition and idolatry," and being employed in the Dakhn, he was for a long time precluded from pursuing his favourite occupation. He subsequently appears to have been reduced to great distress, "from the occurrence of certain miserable accidents, and he conceived a disgust for all the world and everything in it, insomuch that no taste for any kind of occupation remained in his mind "

In these afflicting circumstances 'Ináyatu-llah Khán, "the best of ministers," came forward to assist him, and he accompanied that officer on his return to the capital. While residing there, he seems to have been contented with his lot, for he tells us, with some exultation, that he considered the corner of a house, and an old mat to sit on, better than the lofty palaces of the lords of splendour and magnificence, and that he pursued his old studies with avidity. He preferred wandering among the pleasant leaves

of a book to a walk among the parterres of a flower-garden, he altogether abandoned the fruitless attendance upon the gates of the proud and arrogant, and shook sorrow and discontent from the skirts of his heart.

While he was so happily occupied in the revival of his former pursuits, he met with a severe affliction in the loss of his dearest friend, who is spoken of in such terms that we are led to conclude his bereavement to have been that of his wife, whose name the usual Oriental delicacy respecting females prevented his revealing for the information of his readers. The fire of grief burnt up the harvest of his hopes, destroying the stock of his patience, and nothing remained to him but sighs and tears."

From this stupor of grief he was aroused by no human aid. On this occasion an invisible angel and a divine inspiration told him not to sorrow as one without hope, but to occupy his mind by composing some work which might serve to hand down his name to posterity. In compliance with this philosophical advice, so secretly conveyed to him he addressed himself to his task, and the result is before us, which he trusts will render the perusal of any other history devoted to the same period unnecessary.

The *Haft Gulshan : Muhammad-sháhi* is scarcely worthy of the important preliminaries which heralded its birth. But the author did not confine himself to this general history, he wrote four years afterwards a much more important work, called the *Tazkira : Chaghatái*, which is the subject of the next article, and he is the same Muhammad Hádí who wrote the Introduction and Conclusion of the *Autobiographical Memoirs of Jahangir* (No. LVI.)

The present work may be considered an abridgment of *Firishá*. It comprises a general history of India, including all the minor dynasties but the Kings of Dehli are not carried down later than Bábar and at the conclusion of the account of that conqueror we are promised a completion of the history of the Tímúrian family in a second volume which promise has been fulfilled in the *Tazkira : Chaghatái*.

This history is divided into Books and Chapters, principally styled Rose-gardens (*Gulshan*) and Rose-bushes (*Gulban*); and as it contains seven Books, it is entitled *Haft Gulshan*

CONTENTS

Preface, p 1—Book I, in three Chapters: Chapter I, The Kings of Dehlí, p 10, II, The Kings of Jaunpúr, p. 183; III, The Kings of Málwá, p. 193—Book II, in two Chapters. Chapter I., The Kings of Gujarát, p 225; II, The Kings of Khándesh, p 262—Book III, in one Chapter, The Kings of Bengal, p 276—Book IV., in five Chapters Chapter I., The Báhmańi Sultáns, p. 283; II, The Kings of Bījápúr, p. 330; III., The Kings of Ahmadnagar, p 382; IV, The Kings of Haiderábád, p. 417, V., The Baríd-sháhi Dynasty, p 432—Book V, in two Chapters. Chapter I, The Jáms of Sindh, p. 436, II, The Kings of Multán, p 440—Book VI., in one Chapter, The Kings of Kashmír, p. 449—Book VII., in one Chapter, The Saints and other Holy Personages of Hindústán, p. 469.

A short extract is given as a specimen.

SIZE—8vo, comprising 495 pages of 11 lines each.

This history is not common in India. I only know two copies, of which the best is in the possession of the Rája of Tirna, in Central Doáb

EXTRACT.

The Báhmańi Sultáns.

The narrators of ancient history, after much investigation, have related with great exactness and precision that there was a person by name Hasan, who lived in a state of extreme indigence, and was a servant of one Gángú, a Brahmin, who held some rank and honour in the Court of Sultán Muhammad Tughlik, King of Dehlí. This astrologer possessed a small piece of land, which the King had granted to him for his

maintenance, and he employed Hasan to till it. One day, as Hasan was driving the plough, he saw a hole in the ground, and on examining it, he discovered there a jar full of gold *mohurs*. He covered it with earth in the same manner as he found it, and informed Gāngu of it. Gāngu took Hasan to the King, and represented the matter to him. The Sultān praised Hasan for his honesty, admitted him among the commanders of a hundred,¹ and took him into his favour. Gradually his rank increased to such a degree, that he was appointed, above all the Mughal mercenaries Governor of Kulbarga² and its vicinity. Gāngu the astrologer his old master, on examining his horoscope found signs of his becoming a King and received a promise from him that, in the days of his sovereignty he would assume the name of Gāngu as part of his royal title.

Sultān Muhammad Tughlik being a very cruel prince, put the *amirs* of Sind Dakhn, and Gojarāt to death. But the Almighty God saved Hasan from destruction. The Sultān having invested him with the title of Zafar Khān, and conferred on him Bhakkar which was one of the dependences of Bhakhrī in *jāyir* went to Gojarāt, and thence turned his course towards Thatta, where the army of death attacked him and sent him to the world of nonentity.

¹ Briggs reads the passages where these words occur as "*Amir Jodida*," "the new officers," a term given to the newly-converted Mughals and he has a note upon them in volume 3 p. 429. But the original of that passage, and of all others where the words occur give "*Amirā-i Sada*" which would imply that they were "Commanders of a hundred men." [See *sayrd*, Vol. III p. 252, note.] Nūru'l Hakk styles Hasan a Turk Sipāhī, so that he must have been enrolled among the foreign mercenaries. Firishta calls him an Afghan.

² This city received the name of Hasanābād. Col. Briggs says that this name, which was given to Kulbarga by Hasan, is most inconsistently written in all the MSS of Firishta as Ahsanābād but it is not so in the lithographed copy nor do the verses, which record its foundation, admit of any other reading than Hasanābād. [Irdat Khān calls it Ahsanābād.—See Scott's Dakhn, vol. II. p. 2, and *sayrd*, Vol. VII p. 534.]

LXXXVII

TAZKIRA-I CHAGHATAÍ

OF

MUHAMMAD HÁDÍ KÁMWAR KHÁN.

[THIS work is sometimes called *Tárikh-i Chaghataí*, but it must not be confounded with the history bearing that title by Muhammad Shafi' Wárid (No. LXXXVIII) The author of the *Tazkira* was Muhammad Hádí Kámwar Khán, who has been already noticed as the author of the *Tatimma-i Wáki'át-i Jahángíri* (No. LVI.),¹ and the *Haft Gulshan* (No LXXXVI.) The *Tazkira-i Chaghataí* is a general history of the Chaghataí sovereigns in two parts. The first commences with an account of the origin of the Mongols, and of Changíz Khán, and goes down to the death of Jahángír. The second part, which is the more important and useful, begins with the death of Jahángír, and ends with the seventh year of Muhammad Sháh, A H 1137 (1724 A D.)

In writing about this author, Colonel Lees says, "I do not know the exact limits of the period within which this author flourished, but it is evident that he was contemporary with Aurangzeb for a considerable portion of his reign, and, for some portion of the time, at least, had good opportunities of obtaining accurate information I find that in the forty-fifth year of his

¹ *Suprà*, Vol VI p 392

reign, he went, in company with the Paymaster General Kifāyat Khān bin Arshad Khān, Khāfī, to Ahmadābād, and as he has brought down his history only to the sixth year of Muhammad Shāh's reign, or A.H. 1136,¹ and Khāfī Khān has continued his to the fourteenth year of the same reign, or 1144 A.H., we may conclude that Kāmwar Khān was not the later of the two. He opens his history modestly stating that he commenced it after he had completed the compilation of the *Haft Gulshan* (No LXXXVI.) He continues, 'I humbly crave the students of history regard less of the impropriety of the words I have used, or the want of elegance in my style, to take into their consideration, and do me the justice to remember that without any royal order and without the aid or assistance of any of the nobles of the times, which in an undertaking of this important nature is very necessary how many nights I have turned into days and *sic* *versed* and what anxiety of mind I have suffered, in communicating the information contained in this history in a new form. The author was appointed Controller of the Household of Prince Muhammad Ibrāhīm and received an increase of pay and the title of Kāmwar Khān, in the second year of the reign of Bahādur Shāh Shāh 'Alam, and he received a *khil'at* from the Emperor in the following year. He was in a position then to know what was going on and the apparently straightforward manner in which he has written his history inspires the confidence of the reader."

From incidental observations in the pages of the book, it appears that the author was *dhawā bakshi* and *khānasmān*, in the time of Bahādur Shāh, and that he afterwards held the office of *ddrogha* of the treasury of the *akadīs*. In the later years of the work it is little more than a record of appointments and promotions, with the concomitant presents and offerings.²

¹ [“So far the Bengal Asiatic Society's copy. Mr. Morley says the Royal Asiatic Society's copy is continued for another year.”]

² [See Mr. Morley's Catalogue, and Col. Leese's Article, Journ. R. A. S. (New Series), vol. vi. p. 455.]

EXTRACTS

Accession of Sháh Jahán.

[Yamínu-d daula Ásaf Khán, 'Azam Khán and other nobles defeated the army of Shahriyár in the vicinity of Láhore They entered the city, made Shahriyár prisoner, and blinded him Bulákí and the other sons of Dámyál and Khusiú were put in chains, and imprisoned in the fort of Láhore]

Death of Bahádur Sháh

[Bahádur Sháh died on the night of the 20th Muharram, 1024 A H (9th Feb 1615). Great confusion immediately followed in the royal camp, and loud cries were heard on every side The *amirs* and officials left the royal tents in the darkness of the night, and went off to join the young princes Many persons of no party, and followers of the camp, unmindful of what fate had in store for them, were greatly alarmed, and went off to the city with their families Ruffians and vagabonds began to lay their hands upon the goods of many The streets were so crowded that it was difficult to pass along them, and houses could not be found to accommodate the people Several persons were to be seen seeking refuge in one little shop. Friends and relations were unable to answer the calls made upon them. Great disturbances arose in the armies of the Princes, and none of the great men had any hope of saving their lives The soldiers loudly demanded their pay and allowances, and joining the unceremonious servants, they made use of foul and abusive language, and laid their hands on everything they found. Fathers could do nothing to help their sons, nor sons for their fathers. Every man had enough to do in taking care of himself, and the scene was like the day of judgment Informers brought in news that Prince Muhammad Karím, son of Prince 'Azímu-sh Shán, had left his own camp and gone off towards that of Mahábat Khán and Khán-zamán, sons of the

late Khán khánán, and no one knew what his intentions were. Every one, small and great, looked upon Azímu sh Shán as the successor ; for he had soldiers, artillery, elephants, treasure, and implements of war two-fold more than all his three brothers. Except *Amru l umar* Bakhshu l Mulk (*Zu l fikár Khán*) all the royal nobles were in his favour. It was probable that he would draw up his forces at once, and not give his adversaries time to assemble theirs.]

LXXXVIII.

TÁRIKH-I CHAGHATAÍ

OF

MUHAMMAD SHAFÍ', TEHARÁNÍ

[THIS work is also found bearing the names *Mir-átu-l Wáridát* and *Tárikh-i Muhammad-Sháhi*. The author was Muhammad Shafí'-i Teharání, whose poetical soubriquet was Wárid. He tells his readers that he was born in Hindústán, but that his father, Muhammad Sharíf, and his ancestors, were natives of Teharán. Up to the age of forty-one he had done nothing to hand his name down to posterity, and while he was regretting his wasted life, and considering what work he should undertake, he was visited by his friend, Mirza 'Ináyatu-llah 'Atúfat Khán, at whose instance he composed this history. He goes on to say, "From the year 1100 A.H., the greater portion of what I have recorded I have myself seen, and that which I heard from trustworthy persons I took the utmost pains in sifting and inquiring into, and whatever statements I had the slightest doubt about I discarded. But from the commencement of the war of the late Sultán Muhammad A'zam up to the present time, or for twenty-two years, I have seen everything with my own eyes." The work is written in an elegant, but somewhat difficult style. It begins with the history of Bábar, and includes part of the reign of Muhammad Sháh down to the withdrawal of Nádir Sháh in 1739. He closes his work with the following statement

"After the departure of Nádir Sháh, a Royal Order was issued to the following effect: 'All public officers should occupy

themselves in the discharge of their ordinary duties, except the historians. These should refrain from recording the events of my reign, for at present the record cannot be a pleasant one. The reins of Imperial or Supreme Government have fallen from my hands. I am now the viceroy of Nádír Sháh. Notwithstanding that the nobles and great officers of the Court, hearing these melancholy reflections of the Emperor, in many complimentary and flattering speeches recommended him to withdraw this order, His Majesty would not be satisfied. Consequently being helpless, all the historians obeyed the royal mandate, and laid down their pens "

The work is not a very long one. The copy used by Colonel Lees was a royal octavo of 608 pages, 15 lines to the page. There is a copy and several extracts of the work in the library of Sir H. M. Elliot.¹

EXTRACT

(Nádír Sháh) calling Burhánul Mulk before him, sent him to the presence of Muhammad Sháh, having determined upon this treaty that the Emperor of Hindústán should come to have an interview with him and that he should not be sparing of his money and goods. He on his part would hold fast to the treaty and the sovereignty and the whole kingdom, as formerly should remain in the possession of his brother monarch.

Burhánul Mulk was admitted to the presence for the purpose of delivering this message. Next morning Nizámul Mulk went before the Sháh to arrange matters, and the Sháh came as far as the door of the tent to meet him.

The following day Muhammad Sháh proceeded there riding in a light litter. As he entered the tent, Nádír Sháh came respectfully forward, and they taking one another's hands, sat down

¹ [This article has been chiefly derived from Col. Lees' article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (n.s. vol. iii.), and his translations of the two Extracts above quoted have been adopted but the passages had been picked out by Sir H. M. Elliot, and were translated for him by a *muallim*.]

together upon the same *masnad*. The coffee-bearer first presented coffee to Nádir Sháh, and he with his own hands courteously presented it to Muhammad Sháh, and said, "Since you have done me the honour to come here, you are my brother, and may you remain happy in the empire of Hindústán "

After two hours, Muhammad Sháh returned to his own camp, and diffused comfort among the dejected chiefs of Hindústán. It had been determined that both Kings should march together towards Sháh-Jahánábád. So on Friday, the 8th of Zí-l hijja, in the year 1151 A H (8th March, 1739), the two Emperors reached Dehlí. Nawáb Burhán-u-Mulk was present there at the time, but on the following morning he died. On the night of the third day from that Friday, this extraordinary circumstance occurred, that some people of Hindústán raised a report that Muhammad Sháh had made away with Nádir Sháh. When this rumour spread through the city, every man cut down with his sword each vanquished one without compassion. The Persians, hearing of the murder of their master, lost all self-control, and three thousand or more of them were put to death.

About midnight, the officers of Nádir Sháh, frightened and trembling, represented the state of affairs to the Sháh. The Sháh, angry at being aroused, said, "The men of my army are maliciously accusing the people of Hindústán, so that I should kill a number of them, and give the signal for plunder." But when this information was repeated over and over again to the Sháh, he seized his sword, and in the Mosque of Rasadu-d daula (which is situated near the court of the superintendent of the police), he himself made that sword a standard, and issued the order for slaughter.

From that night till five hours of the following day, man, woman, animal, and every living thing which came under the eyes of the Persians, was put to the sword, and from every house ran a stream¹ of blood. At last Muhammad Sháh mounted, and went to the Sháh to make intercession for God's people. Nádir

¹ *Lit* "A Tigris"

Sháh, out of consideration for him willingly acceded to his wishes, gave orders that the Persians should immediately cease from further slaughter, and desist from this unseemly work. In short, a proclamation of quarter was made, and the cry of this glad tidings resounded on all sides.

After this, Nádir Sháh remained for some days, and collecting a great deal of treasure and wealth he set out towards the capital of Irán. On the way to Lattí, the ruler of Sind, who had come out with hostile designs, was defeated by Nádir Sháh with very little trouble, and obliged to submit. On the day Nádir Sháh set out for the capital of Irán, a notice was sent to Fulád Khán, the superintendent of the police of Hindústán, intimating that not one of the Persians remained in Hindústán.

LXXXIX

BURHĀNU-L FUTUH

or

MUHAMMAD 'ALĪ.

THIS rare work, immediately after the usual praises of the Creator and the Prophet, commences with an eulogium on History. It informs us that stories of ancient heroes operate as a warning to posterity, and those relating to the manners and customs of great men and powerful monarchs form a rule for the existing sovereigns of the world. For proud men and warriors, History is the surest means of knowing what acts every one has performed according to his power and understanding, what balls were struck by what bats, and how the games were won; how the swords of revenge were drawn against enemies, and how they were destroyed, how some by their arts, machinations and prudence, saved themselves from the hands of their adversaries, and how others, by the force of their arms and courage, conquered the countries of the world, what heroism warriors have displayed, and how with their swords, battle-axes, arrows, lances and daggers, they have cut off or broken the heads of foes, and darkened, as with night, the fields of battle with the dust of their feet. From History also may be known what learned man flourished at what time, when a certain poet composed his poems, at what time a certain prose work was compiled, what miracle was performed by such a saint at such a time, what physician flourished at such a period; what calligrapher acquired fame in his profession, and at what time.

"As the advantages," he continues, "of this branch of learning are clearly obvious and the motives to study it have been fully shown, this mean and sinful person, this criminal, shameful, forlorn, and abashed, embarrassed and distressed this drowned in the ocean of fault and sin; this bad character and blackfaced one, this hoper of forgiveness from God, the Protector of great and small, viz. Muhammad Ali, son of Muhammad Sâdik al Hasanî al Naishâpurî-al Hanafî, compiled this history which is extracted from many other similar works, in an exceedingly condensed form, and to the extent of his power took great care in adjusting the dates. Thus the periods of the births and deaths of the different kings, and the actions of different governors, may be found in the course of these narratives. He has produced a polished mirror, in which are reflected all the prophets, saints, learned men, poets, sovereigns, princes, philosophers, ministers, *sayids*, and physicians. Having for many years dived into the depths of books, he brought out these pearls from those oceans."

The works which he quotes as his authorities are the *Rauzat-u-Safâ*, *Habib-u-Siyar Firishta*, *Rauzat-ul Akbâr 'A'lam-ârd*, *Jahân kushâ*, *Tazkiratu-l Fukahâ*, *Tazkiratu Shu'arâ*, *Zafar namâ*, *Tabakât : Akbari*, *Futûh : 'Asam Kufi*, *Guzidah of Hamidullah Mustaufi*, *Mas'ûdi*, *Aftab-i Tawdrikh*, *Jahân-ârd*, *Nizâmnya*, *Wazef Mu'ayyan*, *Majalis-ul Muminin*, *Lubb-i Tawdrikh*, and *Akamgiri*.

The author dedicates his work to Nawâh Burhânul Mûlk Sayid Sa'âdat Khân upon whom he bestows a long and laboured eulogy. In other parts of the work he takes every opportunity of landing his patron, and at page 329 says that he alone is capable of competing with the Mahrattas, at the dread of whom all the other nobles of the Empire had at that time lost heart, and become alarmed. It is in compliment to his patron's title of Burhânul Mûlk that his work takes its name of *Burhânul Futûh*—"the demonstration of victories."

The work was composed in A.H. 1148 (A.D. 1735-6)—and

Chap. ii Fátima, p. 100, iii Hazrat Ali, p. 101 Sec. 1 His birth and death, p. 101, 2 His children, p. 102 — Chap. iv Imám Hasan, p. 103 Sec. 1 His birth and death p. 103, 2 His children p. 103 — Chap. v Imám Husain, p. 103 Sec. 1 His birth and death, p. 104; 2 His children, p. 105 — Chap. vi Imám Zainu l 'Abidin, p. 106 Sec. 1 His birth and death, p. 106, 2 His children, p. 106 — Chap. vii Imám Muhammad Bakir p. 106 Sec. 1 His birth and death, p. 106 2. His children p. 107 — Chap. viii. Imám Jafar Sádik, p. 107 Sec. 1 His birth and death, p. 107, 2 His children, p. 107 — Chap. ix. Imám Musa Kázim, p. 107 Sec. 1. His birth and death p. 107; 2 His children, p. 107 — Chap. x. Imám Ali son of Musa Razá, p. 108 xi. Imám Muhammad Takí p. 108 Sec. 1 His birth and death p. 108 2 His children p. 108 — Chap. xii Imám Ali Nakí, p. 108 Sec. 1 His birth and death, p. 108, 2 His children, p. 108. — Chap. xiii. Imám Hasan Askari, p. 108 xiv Muhammad Mahdí p. 109, xv The relatives of Muhammad p. 110 xvi. The companions of Muhammad, p. 112 Sec. 1. The companions of his flight, p. 112, 2 The Ansárs, p. 116; 3 The pretended converts, p. 119 4. His dependents who had no less rank than the companions, p. 121. — Chap. xvii. Some of the Sayyids, p. 122

Book III.—The Khalifas, p. 126 — Chap. i. The first four Khalifas, p. 120 ii. The Umayyide Khalifas, p. 139 iii. The Abbáside Khalifas, p. 144; iv The Ismaílian Khalifas who ruled in Egypt, Hijáz and the western countries, p. 148

Book IV —Some of the Sayyids who governed in Andalusia, p. 150

Book V—History of the Persian Kings, in nineteen Chapters, p. 152 — Chap. i. Táhirian Kings of Khurásán, p. 152 ii. Saffárians of Sístán and Khurásán, p. 153 iii. Samánians, p. 153 iv Ghaznivides, p. 156; v Buwaihides, or Dailamas, p. 159, vi. Saljúkiens, p. 163 Sec. 1 Those who reigned in Irán, p. 163 2. Those who governed in Kirmán, p. 168 3 Those who ruled in Rum, p. 168 — Chap. vii. Khwá

rizm-sháhí, p. 169, viii Isma'ílians, etc, p. 171; ix. Atábaks of Músal, p. 173, x Atábaks of Ázraibúján, p. 174, xi Atábaks of Fárs and Shíráz, p. 174, xii. Atábaks of Lúristán, p. 175, xiii Ghoriáns of Khmíásán, p. 175, xiv Kúrís of Hirát, p. 176, xv. Kings of Mázandarán, p. 177 See 1 Ancient Kings of Mázandarán, p. 177, 2. Modern Kings of Mázandarán, p. 179 —Chap xvi. Kings of Rustamdán, p. 182, xvii Kings of Sístán, p. 184, xviii Sultáns of Lár, p. 185; xix Shurwán-sháhí, p. 187.

BOOK VI.—Chiefs of Arabia, p. 188 —Chap i Sultáns of Júza, p. 188; ii Sultáns of Yemen, p. 189, iii Sultáns of Misr and Shám, p. 192, iv Hamadámites, p. 195; v 'Akílites, 196, vi. Asadídes, p. 197

BOOK VII.—House of Changíz Khán and its branches, p. 197 —Chap i. The house of Changíz Khán, p. 197, ii Ilkámians, p. 213, iii Chaupámians, p. 214, iv Kará-khitáians, p. 215, v Muzaffáriáns, p. 216, vi Sarbadária Kings of Sabzáwár, p. 220, vii Sultáns of the Kará-Kúínlú, p. 221, viii Sultáns of the Ak-Kúínlú, p. 222.

BOOK VIII —Tímúr and his descendants who ruled over Írán and Túrán, p. 224.

BOOK IX —Saflaví Kings, p. 240

BOOK X —Osmánlís of Rúm, p. 276.

BOOK XI —Shaibání descendants of Changíz Khán, p. 290.

BOOK XII —Kings of Dehlí —Chap. i Kings who ruled before Tímúr, p. 295, ii Descendants of Tímúr who reigned in Hindústán, p. 299

BOOK XIII.—Minor Dynasties of Hindústán, p. 340 —Chap i Báímaní Kings of the Dakhín, p. 340, ii. Nízám-sháhí, p. 343, iii 'Ádil-sháhí Kings of Bījápúr, p. 345, iv Kutb-sháhí Kings of Haidarábád, p. 347, v 'Imád-sháhí Kings of Bírár, p. 350, vi Barídiá Kings of Bídár, p. 350, vii Kings of Gujarát, p. 351, viii Sultáns of Málwá, p. 353, ix. Sultáns of Khándesh and Burhánpúr, p. 354; x Sultáns of Bengal, p. 355, xi Sultáns of Jaunpúr, p. 359, xii Sultáns of Sínd, p. 359, xiii.

Sultáns of Multán, p 360 xiv Kings of Kashmír, p 361
 xv Sultáns of Little Tibet, p 363

BOOK XIV—Muhammadan religions and learned men, p 364—Chap. i Learned *Sháfas*, p 364; ii Learned *Sunnís* p. 370

BOOK XV—*Súfis* and great Saints, p. 383

BOOK XVI—Celebrated Poets—Chap i. Arabic Poets p 302, Persian Poets, p 393

BOOK XVII—Miscellaneous occurrences since the establishment of the Hijra era, p 407

BOOK XVIII—Tribes of Arabia and Persia p. 409—Chap i Those of Arabia, p 409, ii Those of Persia, p 412

Conclusion—Chronological Tables of Dynasties p. 415

SIZE—Small folio containing 426 pages with 18 lines to a page

The *Durhdu-i Futúh* is quite unknown I am fortunate enough to possess the autograph of the author written in the year of composition, and no doubt the identical one presented to Nawáb Sa ádat Khán and stolen from the Royal Library I procured it in a *bázár* at Lucknow

[The Extracts were translated by a *munshi*, and corrected by Sir H. M. Elliot. They differ in some respects from a new copy of the *Mir-átu-s Saqá* belonging to Sir Henry]

EXTRACTS.

In this year (1121 A.H. 1709 A.D.) in consequence of the rebellion and disturbances which were raised by Tárá Báí, wife of Samblá, son of Sivá, Mír Ahmad Khán, Governor of Burhánpúr was killed in the month of Safar and great tumult arose in that city equal to what may be expected in the day of resurrection In the city besides Saiyid Zanu-d din Khán *Kotwál* who was left for its protection, there was also the father of the compiler of these leaves, who was appointed master of the royal ordnance. Mír Ahmad Khán had sent them with orders to defend the ramparts of the city wall, and fortify the bastions.

They used all their efforts to save the city and repel the enemy. The insurgents laid siege to the fort for eighteen days, and made great endeavours to take the city. They succeeded in burning many villages, and most of the *mansabdárs* who had accompanied Mír Ahmad Khán were taken prisoners by the enemy, who extorted something or other from all of them. From Fídwíyat Khán Bakhshí 25,000 rupees were taken, and in the same manner some gave one thousand, and others less. Sharafu-d dín Khán, accountant of the household expenses, being well versed in the art of music, declared that he was a singer of Mír Ahmad Khán, and thus easily obtained his release. The other nobles said that they were barbers, and, after shaving, obtained their freedom from the place of destruction without paying any money. With Mír Ahmad Khán, nineteen relatives of his were slain. Zafar Khán, who was one of the respectable inhabitants of the city, and had no one equal to him in bravery, though severely wounded, escaped into the city with the greatest difficulty. Sharza Khán Dakhnî, surnamed Sayyid Rustam Khán, one of the chief nobles who resided at Bálápur, in Bírár, came with the utmost speed to relieve Burhánpúr, and as he had a large force, the enemy raised the siege and took to flight. His Majesty granted the governorship of Burhánpúr to Sayyid Rustam Khán.

Various events which have occurred during the Hija era

A. H. 14 —Discovery of the composition of gunpowder.

A. H. 64 —'Abdu-llah, son of Zahír, built the temple of Mecca.

A. H. 75 —Money first coined by the Muhammadans. The *dínár* was a coin of Rúm, and the *du ham* of Persia.

A. H. 180 —Fall of the tower in Alexandria in an earthquake.

A. H. 237 —A great fiery meteor appeared in 'Askalan, which was for a long time suspended between heaven and earth.

A. H. 242.—A dreadful earthquake occurred and inflicted great damage throughout the world.

A. H. 244.—A terrible noise was heard in Akhlát about the

time of midnight, and numerous men were alarmed to death. In Irák hailstones fell which were one yard in diameter.

A. H. 252 — A great famine raged in Baghdád, and the inhabitants of the city, to the number of about one-fourth, were starved to death.

A. H. 260 — Tulun built a large tower over the tomb of Mu'ávin, and it is one of the curiosities of the world.

A. H. 278 — Rise of the Karmathians in Kúfa.

A. H. 279 — Books on Natural Philosophy were written, and the practice of selling and buying books was first introduced.

A. H. 284. — In Egypt such darkness prevailed, that lamps were kept lighted for three days, and in Basrá red and yellow storms blew.

A. H. 286 — In Bahraín Abú Sníd Habání became chief of the Karmathians.

A. H. 288 — In the West Abu Abdu-llah introduced the doctrines of the *Shí'as*.

A. H. 328 — Stars fell from the sky, which appeared like birds of fire, and which greatly terrified the people.

A. H. 330 — The Euphrates overflowed with such violence, that half of the city of Baghdád was inundated.

A. H. 337 — The Euphrates again overflowed, and three-fourths of the city was covered with water.

A. H. 346 — The reflux of the Persian Gulf took place to such a degree, that new islands appeared. Re and Tálikán were destroyed by the violence of an earthquake.

A. H. 349 — A great quarrel broke out between the *Shí'a* and *Sunní* sects, and the latter prevailed on account of the abundance of the descendants of Háshim and the assistance of Mu'izzu-d daula.

A. H. 351 — The *Shí'as* predominated, and reproachful sentences against the first Khálifs were engraved on doors and mosques in Baghdád.

A. H. 352 — By the orders of Mu'izzu-d daula Dailamí, mournings for the death of Imám Husain (peace be on him!) were openly observed.

A.H. 358.—The words “Rise for a virtuous purpose” were introduced in the *ásán* by orders of the descendants of Fátima.

A.H. 363.—The *lhutba* of the descendants of 'Abbás was abolished in Mecca, by order of Mu'izzu-d dín Allah 'Alawí, and the words above mentioned were then also introduced into the *ásán*.

A.H. 368 —'Azdu-d daula sent money to construct the fort of Medína.

A.H. 382 —A Shaikh came into the Court of the Khalífa of Baghdád from Yájúj and Májúj.

A.H. 389.—Flags were first carried in commemoration of the death of Imám Husain (peace be on him!), and the *Mansias* or elegies, in commemoration of the event, were first read with loud cries and lamentations.

A.H. 398 —The *Sunnís* obtained superiority over the *Shi'as*, and a great earthquake occurred in Dayúz.

A.H. 400 —The *Jáma' Masjid* was built in Egypt in the time of Hákim-i Billah 'Alawí Isma'ilí

A.H. 407 —The *Shi'as* of Wásit were put to flight by the *Sunnís*, and the temple *Bartu-l Muhaddas* was demolished

A.H. 413 —Occurrence of intense cold in the country of 'Irák, which froze the water of the watercourses and wells

A.H. 428 —A great famine raged in all the countries of the world, and about one-tenth of the people were starved to death

A.H. 432 —A dreadful earthquake occurred in Tabríz

A.H. 434 —Another earthquake occurred which destroyed Tabríz

A.H. 440 —The wall round the city of Shíráz was completed by Abú-l Mukárim, a Dailamí chief

A.H. 442 —A comet appeared

A.H. 443 —A fight took place between the *Sunnís* and the *Shi'as* in Baghdád, and the former were victorious

A.H. 444.—The quarter of Baghdád in which the *Shi'as* resided was destroyed

A.H. 450 —The *Shi'as* obtained power over the *Sunnís* in Baghdád by the assistance of Basásarí (may peace be to him!)

A.H. 451 —The *Sunnīs* overcame the *Shīʿas*, and Basāsarī was slain

A.H. 452.—A great famine occurred in Egypt, and the people were reduced to a deplorable condition.

A.H. 454.—The Tigris overflowed, and Baghdād was inundated.

A.H. 456 —A great conflagration took place in Damascus and the sepulchre of Banī Ummāyā was burnt.

A.H. 462 —Famine raged in the country, and a pestilential disease broke out in Egypt, the *Khutba* of Fátima was abolished in the country of Hijāz.

A.H. 466 —The Tigris was again swollen and Baghdād inundated.

A.H. 503 —The Fīringīs took the fort of Tripoli after a siege of seven years, and they also obtained possession of the forts of Bānias, Tarsul and Akrad.

A.H. 504.—The Fīringīs took the forts of Beyrout, Ayānif, and the stronghold of Saīdu.

A.H. 505 —The foundation of the fort of Mashhad Mukaddas was laid by the exertions of Amīr All.

A.H. 514.—Tombs of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were discovered in the well known ravine.

A.H. 515 —Baghdād was burnt, and some of the pillars of Yamāni fell down

A.H. 517¹—A total eclipse of the sun took place, so that the stars appeared during the day

A.H. 516¹—The *Shīʿa* creed was promulgated in the country of Kharbājān.

A.H. 518 —Saifu I Islām issued, after many years, a prohibition to the learned men in Mecca and Medīna, that the words " Rise for a virtuous purpose " should not be cried out in the *ḍada*.

A.H. 600 —White dust fell from the sky

A.H. 654.—A red flame was seen in the vicinity of Medīna, and Baghdād was inundated by the river

A.H. 669 —Damascus was inundated by the overflowing of the streams.

¹ *See in orig*

A H 682.—A large flood came and inundated Damascus a second time

A H 692 —The flame again appeared in the vicinity of Medína.

A.H. 694 —The water of the Nile fell, and a great famine occurred in Egypt.

A H 695.—A terrible famine raged in the cities of Egypt and Syria, and men ate dogs, cats, and even their own children.

A H. 700 —The Ílkhání almanacs were invented

A H 701 —A pestilential disease broke out among men and all classes of animals

A H 718 —The astrologers were prohibited from pronouncing their predictions in Damascus, and a great famine took place in the continent and the islands.

A H 728 —The court-yard of the temple of Mecca was newly laid down

A H 731 —The canal was brought into the city of Aleppo

A H. 739.—A great earthquake occurred in Western Tripoli.

A.H. 740 —Fire descended from the heavens on the coasts of Syria and burnt many houses

A.H. 746 —The palace of Kísra was demolished on the 4th of Safar

A H 749 —A dreadful plague ravaged the cities of Egypt and Syria

A H 802 —Fire caught the temple of Mecca and injured it.

A H 819 —A great pestilence broke out in most of the cities of the world.

A.H. 836 —A comet appeared.

A H 842 —The foundation of a *Jáma' Masjid* was laid in Adarna.

A H 844 —The *Jáma' Masjid* was completed

A.H. 862 —Discovery of the New World by Columbus.

A H 877 —A total eclipse of the sun took place on the 27th of Rabí'u-l awwal, and the stars appeared during the darkness

A H 883.—A great plague occurred in Mecca.

A H 884 —Damascus was burnt

A.H. 901 904 —The rivers were greatly swollen, and pestilential diseases broke out in all the cities of Rûm

A.H. 903.—A *Jâma' Mayîd* was founded in Constantinople.

A.H. 912 —The Portuguese took possession of some of the coasts of India.

A.H. 1012 —The medicinal properties of tobacco were discovered, and it was used in smoking as it is now

A.H. 1030 —The water of the Bay of Constantinople was frozen by excess of cold.

A.H. 1099 —A pestilential disorder broke out in Burhânpur and the Dakhn, which continued till A.H. 1104, and destroyed half the people.

A.H. 1116-1119 —A great famine occurred in Burhânpur and the Dakhn and many men died of hunger

A.H. 1140 —The rain fell very copiously in Burhânpur and the river Táptí rose so high that it inundated one-tenth of the city, and destroyed one-fourth of the houses.

A.H. 1148.—Towards the end of the year such a violent earthquake occurred in Kashmir, that it destroyed about two thousand houses

XC.

KANZU'L MAHFUZ

"THE GUARDED TREASURY" is so peculiar a name, that it probably represents the date when the work was first commenced, 1142 A.H. The narrative, however, is brought down to the year 1150 A.H., or eight years subsequent.

The second volume only of this work has come into my possession, and in that nothing is stated with respect to the name and position of the author. The first volume seems to have been devoted to miscellaneous subjects. We are told incidentally, in a passage at the beginning of the second volume, that, amongst other things, it contained a Treatise on Knowledge. There could have been nothing on history, for that subject is exhausted in the second volume. The names of authorities are not given in any general form, but the *Tabakát-i Násiri* and *Tabakát-i Akbari* are quoted. The only portion that can be considered original is the first portion on the duties and observances of kings and ministers, which is profusely illustrated by quotations from the *Kutub*.

This work is very rare. I have seen but one copy, which is in the possession of Sa'idu-d dín Ahmad Khán, of Murádábád. As before mentioned, it is deficient in the first volume. It was transcribed in 1188 A.H., in the *Nast'aliq* character.

CONTENTS

On the Duties and Observances of Kings and Ministers, pp 1 to 50—The 'Umayyide and 'Abbáside Khalífs, pp 57 to 62—Ghaznvides, pp 63 to 78—Kings of Dehlí before Bábar, pp 73 to 141—Tímúrian Dynasty, down to Muhammad Sháh, pp

141 to 283—Kings of the Dakhin, pp 283 to 300—Sultáns of Gnjaráť, pp. 301 to 315—Sultáns of Málwá, pp 316 to 330—Sultáns of Bengal, pp. 331 to 335—Sultáns of Jaunpur pp 336 to 339—Rulers of Sindh, pp. 339 to 342—Rulers of Multán pp 343 to 346—Sultáns of Kashmír, pp. 346 to 357—Brief Description of Hindustán, pp 357 to 358

Size—Large 8vo , 358 pages, each comprising 22 lines.

EXTRACT

In the city of Agra there was a large temple, in which there were numerous idols, all adorned and embellished with precious jewels and valuable pearls. It was the custom for the infidels to resort to this temple from far and near several times in each year to worship the idols, and a certain fee to the Government was fixed upon each man, for which he obtained admittance. As there was a large congress of pilgrims, a very considerable amount was realized from them and paid into the royal treasury. This practice had been observed to the end of the reign of the Emperor Sháh Jahán, and in the commencement of Aurangzeb's government but when the latter was informed of it, he was exceedingly angry, and abolished the custom. The greatest nobles of his Court represented to him that a large sum was realized and paid into the public treasury, and that if it were abolished, a great reduction in the income of the State would take place. The Emperor observed 'What you say is right, but I have considered well on the subject, and have reflected on it deeply, but if you wish to augment the revenue, there is a better plan of attaining that object by exacting the *jizya*. By this means idolatry will be suppressed, the Muhammadan religion and the true faith will be honoured, our proper duty will be performed, the finances of the State will be increased, and the infidels will be disgraced.' On hearing this, all the nobles and ministers of the throne admired and praised the wisdom of the Emperor who added, that "by this plan the money would be saved, because the infidels came several times in a year and paid only a

little into the treasury ; but they will pay the *jizya* only once a year, and the Government income will be increased, which is the grand object." This was highly approved of by all the nobles , and the Emperor ordered all the golden and silver idols to be broken, and the temple destroyed. The revenue of the Government was much increased , it not only exceeded *lacs*, but came up to several *lacs*. The *jizya* was collected from all, great and small, Hindús as well as rebel infidels, in all parts of the Empire, which extended on three sides to the sea. The Government officers also made great exertions in levying it, and in no case acted with indulgence and partiality. Consequently Islám acquired great predominance, and the Muhammadans were so dreaded that, for instance, if a Hindú went riding on his horse, and a peon of the office which collected the tax caught him, the colour of his face instantly changed, and he began to coax the peon ; but until he had shown the receipt for the *jizya* of the year, he could not stir a step from the place without being taken to the office. But at present the rule for the *jizya* is totally abolished.

XCI

TÁRIKH I HINDÍ

or

RUSTAM ALÍ

THE author of this work is Rustam Ali, son of Muhammad Khalfi Sháhábádí. He gives as the immediate reason of writing the *Tárikh i Hindí* that contemporaries, from excessive attachment to this world, neglected entirely to ponder on their existence either as regards its origin or end, and from their firm belief, under the delusions of their evil passions, in the long duration of their lives in this world of imitations, pursued a presumptuous and vain line of conduct. So he entertained a desire to commit to writing a brief account of just kings, and how they controlled oppressors and tyrants, in the hope that, while it might prove a lesson to the wise, it would not fail to draw the attention of intelligent readers to the instability of all earthly pleasures, and the short duration of human life, and so induce them to withdraw their affections from this world.

The execution of his intention was, however suspended for a time by necessities, which compelled him to travel from city to city in search of employment and subsistence until at last he was fortunate enough to take up his abode in Bhopál. Here, for a period of three years, he subsisted on the munificence of certain great men and many sincere friends, more especially on the liberal support of Nawáb Yár Muhammad Khán, a just nobleman, under whose administration the inhabitants of the dependencies

of Bhopál enjoy the blessings of peace." As the wants of the author were thus supplied, he attained peace of mind, and was enabled to compose the work which was the object of his heart's desire.

The *Tárikh-i Hindí* was composed in the year 1154 A. H. (1741-2 A.D.) as we learn, not only from an ambiguous passage in the Preface, but from an express declaration to that effect at the beginning of the tenth chapter. The history also closes at that period, though towards the end of the work the twenty-fourth year of Muhammad Sháh is mentioned, which would make it a year later. Only six pages, however, preceding this passage, the author reiterates the statement that the work was composed in the twenty-third year of Muhammad Sháh's reign. It may be considered altogether a useful compilation, as it is not copied verbatim from known authors, and in the latter part of it the author writes of many matters which came under his own observation or those of his friends. Amongst the works which he most frequently quotes are two, of which no traces can be obtained,—the *Siyar-i Hindí* and the *Faiúzát-i Akbarí*. The former is frequently mentioned, from the time of the Slave Dynasty to the reign of Farrukh Siyar, and must, therefore, be a general History of India. The quotations from the *Faiúzát-i Akbarí* are rarer, but extend from the time of Mahmúd Ghaznaví to the time of Muhammad Sháh. It appears to be partly a religious work, containing some historical anecdotes, for in the conclusion, in the chapter upon holy men, he says that it was composed by Sháh Ghulám Muhiu-d dín, and dedicated to his spiritual teacher, Saiyid Sháh 'Alí Akbar, after whom it was called *Faiúzát-i Akbarí*. Other works incidentally quoted are the *Tárikh-i Bada'uni*, *Habíbu-s Siyar*, *Khulásatu-t Tawárikh*, *Tárikh-i Akbar-sháhi*, *Tárikh-i Farrukh Siyar*, *Tárikh-i Jahángiri*, *Mu-át-i Mas'údi*, *Tárikh-i Shahábi*, and the *Tárikh-i Mahmúdi*. It is probable that the last two are familiar works disguised under uncommon appellations.

The author is fond of indulging in poetical quotations,

sentences from the Kurán, and moral reflections. But the quotations have been excluded from the following Extracts.

This History is divided into an Introduction, ten Chapters (*tabaka*), and a Conclusion

CONTENTS.

Preface, p. 1—Introduction, on the Creation, the instability of the world and an account of Hindustán, p. 8—Ochap. I. On the Hindú Rájas preceding Islám p. 56—II. The Ghaznavides and Ghorians, p. 124—III. The Khiljí Sultáns, p. 176—IV. The Tughlik-sháhí Sultáns, p. 193—V. The Khuzr khánians p. 216—VI. The Lodí Afghán Sultáns, p. 225—VII. The early Tímúrian Kings, p. 257—VIII. The Sur Afghán Dynasty p. 279—IX. The minor independent Dynasties, p. 326—X. The later Tímúrian Kings, p. 348 Conclusion—On the holy learned, and excellent men and poets, whom the author has conversed with or heard of p. 595

SIZE—8vo containing 651 pages, each of 11 lines

The only copy which I know of the *Tárikh-i Hindí* was obtained for me by the kindness of Miyan Faujdár Mohammd Khán, from the library of Nawáb Sikandra Begam of Bhopál and being in the possession of the descendants of Yár Muhammad Khán, the patron of the author, it is perhaps unique. But though there may be more copies in Bhopál, it is probable there are very few beyond the precincts of that city

[The Extracts which follow were translated by a *munshi*, and revised by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

EXTRACTS.

Reign of Abu-l Fath Násiru-d dín Muhammad Sháh.

This Prince was a lover of pleasure and indolence, negligent of political duties, and addicted to loose habits, but of somewhat a generous disposition. He was entirely careless regarding his subjects. As is well known this Emperor so long as *Asiru-l umarâ* Husain Ali Khán lived, strictly observed, by virtue of the efficient management of that great Sayyid all the ancient

laws and established rules of his ancestors. The achievement of all undertakings, the arrangement of all political affairs, and the execution of all wars were carried on in an excellent manner by the wisdom of that high nobleman. The Emperor decided all disputes without partiality, according to the Muhammadan law; but when some of the nobles, natives of this country and of Túrán, overcome by their evil passions, and merely through envy and malice, put that well-wisher of the creatures of God to death, to the great mortification of poor people and all good subjects, the Emperor became master of his own will, and, actuated by his youthful passions and folly and pride, resigned himself to frivolous pursuits and the company of wicked and mean characters. This created a spirit of opposition and enmity towards him in those very nobles who, from their malicious disposition, had been the instruments of the death of Husain 'Alí Khán. The Emperor, on account of the rebellion of the nobles, the fear of his own life, and the temptations of his evil passions, shut up the gate of justice and gave no ear to complaints. As the splendour and delight of the garden of this world, and the verdure and fruitfulness of the fields of this earth, depend upon the flow of the stream of the equity and justice of Kings, so the withering of the trees of this world is caused by the hot winds of the negligence and carelessness of rulers and dissensions among well-disposed nobles.

In a short time, many of the officers of this kingdom put out their feet from the path of obedience to the sovereign, and many of the infidels, rebels, tyrants, and enemies stretched out the hands of rapacity and extortion upon the weaker tributaries and the poor subjects. Great disorders arose in the country, which shall be briefly related, according to each year of the reign, if God please.

FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN.

At the end of this year, Sharfu-d daula Irádatmand Khán, with a body of nobles, was sent against Rájá Ajít Singh, who,

having broken out into open mutiny, and taken possession of Ajmir and Sámbar, had reached as far as Nárnaul. He was accompanied by Rájú Jai Singh Suwál, Muhammad Khán Bangash, and Gopál Singh, Rájú of Bhadéwar, at the head of an army of about one hundred thousand horse and more than two hundred elephants. Rájú Ajít Singh, on hearing the news lost all courage, fled from Nárnaul, and took refuge in the fort of Garh patti. Here he held out for some time, and at last, mounting a camel, went off to Jodhpur. He then sued for peace, and made over his son Dhankal Singh, to the nobles to carry to Court. In the mean time, Ajít Singh was slain by his younger son, Bakht Singh, and Dhankal Singh, upon reaching the Court, obtained the investiture of the chiefship. He returned to his country, and became its ruler. His brother Bakht Singh, besieged the fort of Nágór and having driven out the Rájá of that place became himself master of it. In the same year Rájú Jai Singh founded a magnificent new city between the towns of Amber and Sangánir and called it Jaipur after the name of Suwál Jai Singh.

SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

Nizámu l Mulk, being disgusted with the Emperor went towards Marádábád and Samhhál under the pretence of hunting. When he had gone as far as the Ganges, near the town of Garh Muktesar he at once turned aside from his course, and proceeding via Kol and Jalesar crossed the Chambal and went towards the Dakhín. The Emperor on hearing of this, sent orders to Mubáriz Khán, appointing him governor of that province, and instigating him to destroy Nizámu l Mulk. Mubárizu l Mulk, in consideration of the obligations he owed, went from Haiderábád towards Aurangábád. Nizámu-l Mulk sued for peace, but Mubáriz Khán was destined for the honour of martyrdom so he did not listen to his advances and rashly engaged in fight. The brave warriors, having boldly fought, put many insurgents to the sword. By chance,

Mubárizu-l Mulk was slain, and Nizámu-l Mulk, in perfect security, obtained the governorship of the Dakhn. Muhammad Sháh, on being informed of this, was obliged to confer the post of minister, which was vacated by Nizámu-l Mulk, on I'timádu-d daula Kamru-d dín Khán, and sent a *farmán* to Nizámu-l Mulk, appointing him governor of the Dakhn, and bestowing on him the rank of vicegerency and the title of Ásaf Jáh.

SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

In this year a person, having assumed the name of Sábír Sháh, went to Kumáon, and represented to the Rája of that place, whose name was Debí Singh, that he was one of the princes of the house of Tímúr, and thus obtained repeated orders on the functionaries below the hills at Kásípúr and Rudarpúr, to the effect that they should give him a red tent, such as is usual for the royal family, as well as some troops to accompany him. Having carried these orders into effect, they collected no less than forty thousand Rohillas Shaikh 'Azamatu-llah Khán, who in those days was the governor of Murádábád and Sambhal, was sent to quell the insurrection, with a body of fifteen thousand horse and twelve elephants. In a single attack he overthrew the Rohilla army. The Afgháns were dispersed, and many were put to the sword. Sábír Sháh fled towards the east, and went to Burhánu-l Mulk, who, having captured him, sent him to the Emperor, under the custody of Muríd Khán, a noble of high rank, and he was ordered to be imprisoned.

NINTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

A dispute arose in the Emperor's audience chamber between Muzaffar Khán and Burhánu-l Mulk, because the latter officer, in the province of Oudh, had taken possession of the *jághírs* of *mansabdárs*. It continued many days, and at last Mír Jumla Yár Khán was appointed by the Emperor of the World to decide

it. He was of opinion that Burhānu l Mulk should resign the governorship of Oudh and Muzaffar Khān the office of superintendent of the ordnance. The former situation, in consequence of the removal of Burhānu l Mulk, was given to Muzaffar Khān and Burhānu l Mulk was to be appointed governor of Málwā. This decision was approved and confirmed, and the office of the superintendent of ordnance, which was vacated by Muzaffar Khān, was entrusted to Sá du-d dīn Khān, in whose place Sher Afghān Khān was appointed steward of the household. Muzaffar Khān, with the intention of going to the province of Oudh, pitched his tents near Patparganj and Burhānu l Mulk marched towards Málwā, but when the latter reached Ágra, he at once crossed the river Jumna, and went towards Oudh. Muzaffar Jang was consequently obliged to proceed to Ajmír as the government of that province included Nárnaul and Sámbar.

TENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

Muhammad Khān Bangash Ghazanfar Jang with an army of eighty thousand horse and more than a hundred elephants, proceeded to the province of Alláhábád, to fight against Rāja Chatrásál. After great exertions and many actions the fort of Jitgarh, where he resided was taken. Chatrásál fled for refuge to the Zamindárs of Jharna and Purna, and the whole territory came into the possession of the Khān.

Burhānu l Mulk led an army against the fort of Cháchandí near Sháhábád Kannauj the chief of which was Hindú Singh, a Chandela Rájput. He was, however not to be subdued but Rāja Gopál Singh Bhadauria, who accompanied Burhānu l Mulk, under the pretence of making peace, went to Hindu Singh and told him that it was not expedient to quarrel with the Emperor's nobles, that he should leave the fort for three days, and he called God to witness that, after three days, when peace would be concluded the possession of the fort should be restored to him. Hindu Singh was deceived, and left the fort, and with his family and

property pitched his tents at some distance. The third day, by the order of Burhānu-l Mulk, Rāja Gopál Singh, breaking his word, took the fort and *samindarí* into his own possession. Consequently Hindú Singh, having no remedy, prepared to fight with the army of Burhānu-l Mulk, which amounted to about sixty thousand horse, but, baffled in his attempt, retreated towards the territory of Chatrsál. As a punishment for violating his promise, Rāja Gopál Singh soon hastened towards his own destruction. After his death, his son, Antrat Singh, was confirmed in possession of that district.

ELEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN.

The brother-in-law of Tahawwur Khán, named Muhammad Afzal, according to the Emperor's orders, succeeded Tahawwur Khán as his heir in the *samindarí* of Sháh Jahánpúr, and took possession of it. 'Abdu-llah Khán and Zuhúru-llah Khán, brothers of Táju-d dín Khán, who had fled away towards Shamsábád-maú, in conjunction with Mír Khurram 'Alí, a relative of the author, collected eight thousand horse of the Rohilla tribe, and advanced towards that city. Muhammad Afzal came out against him with a large body of Afgháns. A most fierce battle was fought near the city on the banks of the Garra. Muhammad Afzal was slain, and 'Abdu-llah Khán became master of the *samindarí*.

Mír Mushrif, who was one of the principal officers of the great Emperor, departed from this perishable world to the everlasting regions, and was buried in a garden which he had himself made.

TWELFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN.

Sayid Míran, who was truly a man of great virtue and devotion, went on a Friday to the *Jáma' Masjid* of Dehlí, and, in order to attract attention to the wrongs of the oppressed

people, prohibited the reading of the *khutba*, upon which, the *Haziris* of the artillery, under the Emperor's orders, put him to death. From that day disturbances arose throughout the kingdom, and enemies and rebels gained more and more power every day. The Emperor greatly regretted this event, but to no purpose.

It was reported to the Emperor that the base enemy (the Mahrattas)¹ having crossed the Nerbadda, had attacked Girdhar Bahádur the Governor of Málwá, and plundered his camp.

The Emperor also received intelligence in this year that Báji Ráo Mahratta, having collected an army of 100 000 horse, had come to assist Rájá Chatráál, and had besieged Muhammad Khán Bangash in Jitgarh. The time of the decadence of the Empire had arrived, and in retaliation for shedding the innocent blood of Saiyid Míran no plan of repelling the enemy proved effectual. From that time to this the power and dominion of that tribe has daily increased. The siege of Jitgarh lasted for six months, and within the fort one *seer* of flour was sold for eighty rupees. At last, Chatráál obliged Muhammad Khán to evacuate the fort, and having given him back some of the horses which he had plundered from him, allowed him to depart. In the way the Khán met with his son, Kaura Khán at the head of twelve thousand horse, and both father and son returned to their native city Farrukhábád which had been founded in the name of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar. From that time the population increased every day and gradually it became a very large city.

In this year in the month of Shu'bán a great tumult arose in the *Jáma' Masjid* to avenge the death of a Musulmán who was slain by a Hindu of the name of Subh Karan. The Hindus were assisted by the Royal *mutasaddis* (or writers). On Friday at about 3 o'clock, a great fight took place. Seventeen men were killed within the *Masjid* and Sher Afghán Khán, the Emperor's steward, having received a wound, escaped by the assistance of Roshanu-d daula.

¹ Throughout the Mahrattas are designated simply as *ghazis* "enemies."

THIRTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

Muhammad Khán Bangash Ghazanfar Jang was appointed Governor of the province of Málwá, on condition of his chastising the enemy. When he went there, he sometimes fought with them, sometimes connived at their proceedings, and in this manner managed to prolong the period of his government.

FOURTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN.

Information was received that Muhammad Khán Ghazanfar Jang had crossed the Nerbadda, and joined Nízám-ul Mulk. He was removed from the government of Málwá, and Rája Jai Singh Sawái was appointed in his stead.

In this year Mír Jumla Tarkhán, one of the greatest nobles, and a man of learning and a friend of the learned, who was chiefly engaged in the study of the natural sciences, according to the will of God, departed this transitory world. This Mír Jumla was called Mír 'Ibádu-llah. He came to Hindústán from Samarkand in search of his father, Mír Abú-l Wafá, who had become *kásí* of Benares. By degrees he himself was appointed *kásí* of the province of Bengal, and when Prince Muhammad Farrukh Siyar became governor of that province, he made him his tutor. During the time of this Prince's reign he was reckoned one of the greatest nobles of the State, and had the conduct of all political affairs in his hands. At last, through the hostility of the Saiyids, he was deprived, after the murder of Farrukh Siyar, of all the insignia of nobility, but, by the favour of Husain 'Alí Khán, he was again raised to his former rank and *jághir*, as well as to the office of *Sadr-u-s sudúr*. He was a person of exceeding generosity, and gave away *lacs* of rupees. He was often heard to say, that as regards the works of this world, he had only one desire unfulfilled, which was that he had never been able to give any person a present of one *lakh* of rupees. He loved knowledge and learned men,

because by means of his learning he had reached the Emperor's Court, and obtained his rank.

In the same year at the instigation of Rája Jai Singh, the vile enemy took possession of Málwá, and the Rája himself added to his own territory many *parganas* which belonged to the Emperor in the vicinity of Amber. Dhankal Singh, Rája of Márwár, sacked the district of Rowári which is thirty *kos* from Dehlí and took thirteen *lacs* of rupees from the authorities of that place. The enemies in all parts of the country stretched out their hands to ravage and plunder.

FIFTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

Wazíru l Mulk l *timádu-d daula* Kamru-d dín Khán, with 70 000 horse, marched from Dehlí against Udáru, the *Zamindár* of Kora Jahánábád, who had killed Ján Nusár Khán. Udáru, on receiving the intelligence, retired from the district, and Kamru-d dín Khán returned to the seat of Empire through Kanauj and Farrukhábád.

SIXTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

Muzaffar Khán, brother of Khán daurán Khán accompanied by Jai Singh and other Rájas, was despatched with a large army against the enemy but being informed at Sironj that they had crossed the Narbadda, and gone to the Dakhin, he returned to the capital.

SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

According to the Emperor's orders, *timádu-d daula* Kamru d dín Khán Nusrat Jang with a large army many elephants, and heavy ordnance, moved towards the enemy through Ágra, and Amíru l umará Bahádur Samsámu d daula Mansúr Jang with many nobles and Rájas and at the head of an army said to amount to 90 000 horse, and a large park of artillery marched through the territory of Mewát. But through the misrepresen-

tations of Rájá Jai Singh, he was induced to give orders not to commence an action. One day, however, as 'Alí Hámd Khán, one of the chief nobles, had left camp, he encountered by chance a body of the enemy. Although he had no force with him at the time, yet with his few attendants he repulsed the assailants, and returned to the camp in safety. As the *Amín u-l umará* would not engage with the enemy, one of the nobles named Tír-andáz Khán deserted him, and departed with three hundred horse with the intention of going to Dehlí, upon which a party of the enemy, acting, it is said, under the instructions of Rájá Jai Singh, hastened in pursuit, and having overtaken him, surrounded him on all sides like a swarm of ants and locusts. Tír-andáz Khán showed great courage, and after fighting nobly, met with the honour of martyrdom. Of his followers some were killed, and others fell prisoners into the hands of the enemy.

In the mean time, one of the enemy, by name Malhárj, with a body of 45,000 horse, overran some of the *parganas* of Rájá Jai Singh, and laid siege to the fort of Sámbar. After three days the city was taken and plundered. It is said that nine hundred inhabitants of the city were killed and wounded. He took a contribution of one hundred and fifty thousand rupees, besides two elephants and some horses from Fakhru-d dín Husain Khán, son of Udú Afghán Khán, the then governor of the place, and returned to oppose the army of the *Amín u-l umará*.

The *Amín u-l umará*, deceived by Rájá Jai Singh, returning to the capital without coming once to action, arrived on the 17th of Zí-l hijja. I'timádu-d daula, who had gone to oppose the enemy *viá* Ágra, fought with Pílújí Mahratta, near Narwar.

At last, he also, leaving the result of the war, returned to Dehlí on the 29th of Zí-l hijja in the same year.

EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The enemy went to the territory of Mewár, which is ruled by the Ráná, reached the city of U'dípúr, and having taken a con-

tribution from the Ráná, turned towards Márwár, plundered the city of Mirtá, took some tribute from Bakht Singh, Rája of Nágor, and then arrived at Ajmír. The Mahratta chiefs alighted from their horses, and with the utmost respect visited the tomb of the great and venerable Khwája, and thence advanced to the fort of Kupaagar. Rája Sáwant Singh had busied himself in strengthening the fort with heavy guns. The army of the enemy seeing no way of success, retreated, after suffering much loss, towards Jaipur. In the mean time, Yádgár Khán Ráo Sayyid Kirpáran and Najábat Alí Khán, the nephew of Husain Alí Khán, went to Jai Singh, to request his interposition in coming to some accommodation with the enemy. All these officers, with the concurrence of Rája Jai Singh, gave the enemy in the district of Kishangarh a sum of twenty *lacs* of rupees on the part of the Emperor to induce them to return to the Dakhin when they themselves returned to Dehli.

During this year Burhánn I Mulk Saádat Khán went towards Kora Jahánábád. The chief of that tract, named Bhagwant, son of Udáru, who before this, having killed Ján Nisár Khán, governor of that place, had greatly injured and oppressed the peasantry on receiving the news of the Burhánn I Mulk's advance marched forward with a body of vagabonds amounting to twenty five thousand horse and foot. The army of Burhánn I Mulk, excepting himself and two thousand horse, had not yet crossed the Ganges, when suddenly the army of that ringleader of the infidels appeared. After both parties had met, much fighting ensued. Bhagwant Singh himself shot an arrow which wounded Burhánn I Mulk in the arm. But that lion of the field of courage immediately drew it out, and in turn shot that vile infidel in the forehead and sent him to the next world. Many of his followers were slain, and the rest fled away. Burhánn I Mulk victoriously returned to camp and ordered him to be flayed, and his skin to be filled with straw. His head and that of his son were placed on the points of spears and sent to the capital.

In the beginning of Sha'bán of this year the compiler of this work saw with his own eyes the skins and heads of both those unfortunate wretches hanging in the *bázar* of Dehlí near the Police Office

NINETEENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN.

The Mahiatta armies entered the territory of Bhadáwar, the chief of which, Amrat Singh, collected an army, advanced from the town of Ater with the utmost intrepidity, and gave battle at the distance of a *kos* from that town. It is commonly reported that the army of the Rájá consisted of seven thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, and forty-five elephants, while that of the invaders amounted to near one hundred thousand horse. The war continued for one month; and although the territory of Bhadáwar lay close to the capital, yet that Emperor, the asylum of negligence, took no measures for the expulsion of the foe. It is said that one of the brothers of the Rájá, who had long cherished hatred against him in his own bosom, joined with the enemy, who, at his instigation, left half of his army to confront the Rájá, and sent the other half through the towns of Gohad and Barhad to the town of Ater, which they began to plunder. The Rájá was obliged to retreat, fighting all the way with the enemy, and got safe into the fort. Although the enemy had plundered much treasure and property, yet he took besides a contribution of twenty *lacs* of rupees in cash and ten elephants.

After this, in the beginning of Zí-l hijja of the same year, the enemy's army having crossed the river Jumna, near the village of Ráprí, besieged the fort of Shukohábád. Láljí Khatrí, the governor of that place, presented him one hundred and fifty thousand rupees and an elephant, and thus saved the town. Marching thence, the invaders burnt down Fírozábád and I'timádpúr, which is five *kos* from the capital, Ágra, and plundered them, and then proceeded towards Jálesar. All of a sudden, about dawn, Burhán-u-l Mulk drew near, having marched from Etáwa in

pursuit of the enemy At first, his nephew Abú l Mansúr Khán Safdar Jang, with twelve thousand horse, came in sight, when the Mahrattas, with their usual confidence, considering his force to be small, surrounded him on all sides. Abú l Mansúr Khán slowly retreated, fighting all the way till he reached the spot occupied by Burhánu l Mulk, at the head of fifty thousand horse When the Mahrattas approached near he suddenly charged the army of those rebels with his cavalry, like a wolf falling upon sheep, or a tiger upon a deer Thus those vagabonds, seized by the hand of death, were obliged to run away in alarm towards the forest.

The Muhammadan army pursued them made heaps of the slain and kept the battle raging for the distance of thirty-five kos. A body of the invaders were overtaken near the tank of Tumádpúr and three chiefs with about a thousand men were taken prisoners Those who escaped the sword crossed the river Jumna. Many of them missed the ford, and were drowned in the river of eternity but most of them escaped and joined their countrymen. When the prisoners were brought before Burhánu l Mulk, he gave each man a rupee for his expenses and set them all at liberty but he kept the three chiefs loaded with chains. After this, he returned towards Sháh Jahánábád, from which place *Amiru-l umard* Khán-daurán was advancing with a body of twenty five thousand horse, some guns, and many elephants, accompanied by Muhammad Khán Bangash Ghazanfar Jang at the head of twelve thousand horse. The army which in the beginning of Zí l kadda had been ordered by His Majesty to proceed against the enemy met Burhánu l Mulk near the city of Mathura, in the beginning of the month of Zí l hja.

One day the *Amiru l umard* invited Burhánu l Mulk to his tents, and prepared a feast for his reception. In the midst of the banquet it was suddenly reported that the enemy's army having marched through the town of Fathpúr and leaving Díg the native land of Badná Ját, on the right, had arrived at Dehli Burhánu l

Mulk, on hearing this, bit the finger of sorrow with the teeth of distraction, and, mounting an elephant, hastened towards that city. It is commonly said that I'timádu-d daula Kamru-d dín Khán, who, with the intention of expelling the enemy, was then encamped near Kámán Pahárí, also returned to Dehlí. In the mean time, Rája Jai Singh, having marched from Jaipúr with an army of fifty thousand Rájput horse and above seventy elephants, advanced as far as the town of Nimránú, but when he heard the news of Burhán-u-l Mulk's march towards the capital, he returned to Jaipúr. The enemy's army, having sacked the village of Nakal, near Dehlí, went to the shrine of the great Khwája Kutbu-d dín, but as they could not obtain admittance, they plundered the inhabitants of the place, and the next day appeared before the Bárahpola. Early in the morning, according to the Emperor's orders, Mír Hasan Khán, the commandant of the Emperor's body-guard, came out to oppose him with a body of one thousand *mansabdári* horse. Immediately behind him, Amír Khán, and other nobles, with a large army and artillery, came out of the city, and stood before the enemy, but as they had not been ordered to fight, they did not commence the battle. Mír Hasan Khán and Rája Sheo Singh, however, advanced and fought valiantly. * * During the fight the enemy retreated, and pitched their tents near Tál Katorá. The next morning, on hearing the news of Burhán-u-l Mulk's arrival, Bájí Ráo, the chief of the Maluattas, rode like a jackal running away at the roar of a tiger, and fled from the place. Kamru-d dín Khán, who had advanced with three hundred men, engaged in a severe skirmish, and retired after killing some of his opponents.

As Burhán-u-l Mulk had advanced without orders and engaged with the enemy, he fell under His Majesty's displeasure, and being distressed at this, he crossed the Jumna without an interview with the Emperor, and returned to his own residence.

When the *Amiru-l umará* and Muhammad Khán were returning to Dehlí, the Játs of the village of Mitrol, between Kodál and Palwal, fell on their baggage and plundered it. Consequently

the army surrounded the village, and having sacked it, set it on fire. The *Anirru l umard* entered the seat of the Empire and, according to the royal orders, Muhammad Khán returned to Ágra for its protection. Towards the end of the same year Nizám l Mulk arrived from the Dakhín, and on Monday, the 16th of Rabi' u l awwal, had an interview with His Majesty in the capital.

TWENTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN

In the commencement of this year 8000 horse of the Ráthor Rájputa, among whom were eighteen chiefs, the relatives of Rája Dhankal Singh assembled on some pretence in the city of Sámhar. Bhárat Singh their leader by whose hands Shaikh Illahyár Khán of Bilgrám had been slain in the battle which was fought between Sarbuland Khán and Dhankal Singh openly drank wine on a Friday in the Masjid of Sámhar and prohibited the *muazzin* from calling to prayer. It happened that Hayátn llah Khán, son of Jamálu llah Khán, the governor of the place with a few men, went to them in the evening. After some verbal altercation, the matter ended in a regular fight. That lion of the field of battle thrust Bhárat Singh into the well of destruction with a stroke of his lance. The market of the angel of death was thronged through the use of rockets, arrows, and lances. Eighteen chiefs of the opponents were slain, and the rest fled away. Three followers of the Khán, who were Saiyids of Nárnaul, obtained the degree of martyrdom, and were interred near the tomb of Saiyid Husain Khán.

During this year I timádn-d daula Kamru-d dín Khán with 50 000 horse and many elephants and guns, moved towards Bárho, the native place of the Saiyida, and sent Azímu llah Khán Zabíru-d daula with a large army to precede him. Azímu llah Khán for fear of his life, placed several guns around him in the shape of a triangle. Saifu d dín All Khán brother of Kutbu l Mulk and Husain All Khán, who was the chief of

Bárha, with three hundred horse, boldly attacked that miserable body. When the Mughals fired their guns, a great number of the Saiyids were killed, but Saifu-d dín 'Alí Khán, with a few other Saiyids, to avenge their death, drew out their swords, and repulsed the Mughals to the distance of three miles. Suddenly the wanderer of the forest of wretchedness and misfortune, by name 'Alí Muhammad, a Rohilla, at the direction of I'timádu-d daula, and with the hope of preferment, came from the rear with 20,000 Rohillas, and fell upon the Saiyids. Thus he sacrificed the good of the next world to the desires of this earth, and became the cause of victory to the Turánís. 'Azímu-lláh Khán, having buried the Saiyids, returned to Dehlí laden with immense plunder, and accompanied by I'timádu-d daula. It was just punishment of this crime of persecuting the Saiyids, that soon after they suffered the calamities occasioned by Nádir Sháh.

In this year Nizámu-l Mulk, on the condition of subduing the enemy, was appointed governor of Ágra and Málwá. Proceeding through Bundelkhand, he reached the latter province, and a battle was fought with the enemy near the town of Bhopál, founded by Dost Muhammad Khán, whose eldest son, Yár Muhammad Khán, is still ruling over it with wisdom and equity.

As the crooked mind of Nizámu-l Mulk was bent towards such things as were contrary to what his name imports, viz administration, he allowed disturbances to break out in the country, and with his eyes open suffered for one or two days grain to be sold in his camp one *seer* for a rupee. On account of the tumults and quarrels raised by him, many people were hastened to their graves with the stroke of starvation, and many Musulmáns, by the tricks of that unprincipled man, fell into the hands of the enemy, and met with their destruction. At last, on being informed of this, Muhammad Sháh sent orders appointing Bájí Ráo to the governorship of Málwá. Nizámu-l Mulk, reproached by the people, and deceived by the enemy, returned to the capital. The Mahrattas laid siege to the fort of Kota; and the Maháráo Rája fled away in alarm, and took refuge in Gágrún,

which is one of the strongest forts in that part of the country. The inhabitants of Kota, to preserve their honour, opposed the ravagers and saved the city. At last peace was declared, and the invader, having taken a contribution of several *lacs* of rupees, went towards Ahírwára, the country of the tribe of Ahírs. He overran this district, and besieged the fort of Korwái, near the town of Sironj which was the residence of Izzat Khán, son of Diler Khán Afghán. Izzat Khán fought very bravely for two months, when peace was made. During the siege of Korwái the compiler of this work went to the enemy's camp. On seeing the fort encircled like the stone of a ring by the army which resembled swarms of ants and locusts, the safety of those who were in it appeared impossible. But the result deceived expectation.

When Nizám ul Mulk with all the pomp and circumstance attaching to his high station accompanied the Mahrattas against the fort of Bhopál, Yár Muhammad Khán, ruler of the place, who was celebrated for his courage, by dint of great bravery and determination, expelled Nizám ul Mulk out of his possessions without sustaining any injury from the insurgents. Many nobles and other respectable people, on account of the ravage and desolation committed in the Emperor's dominions by the enemy found protection in this territory and lived in peace and tranquillity under the Khan's just rule.

The compiler of this book, on hearing the praises of the Khán, left the enemy's camp at Sironj and came to the city of Bhopál which is full of nobles and excellent people from all parts of the country. In fact, from the day he had left Sháh-Juhánábád, and travelled through the country of idolatry, it was here only that he found Islám to be predominant.

It is said that Bhopál was founded in the time of Rájá Bhoj. Afterwards by some accident it was ruined and reduced to only a small village on the borders of the lake, which in length and depth is the greatest of all the lakes in this country. When by a lucky accident, Dost Muhammad Khán son of Núr Mo

hammad Khán Afghán, of the tribe of Warakzaí Mírzái Khaíl,¹ came from Roh to the country of Hindústán, he met at Jalálábád his relatives, who were the descendants of the same ancestors. When Almighty God wishes to raise one of his creatures to some great rank in this world or the next, He first throws him into difficulties and troubles, and after that exalts his dignity in order that he may estimate its true merits. And so it happened that a misunderstanding arose between the brothers, and that Khán of noble disposition, alone, and without any means of subsistence, left Jalálábád, and went to the province of Málwá. By his judicious plans and great exertions, he took possession of several parts of this province, and at a most auspicious moment, in the fifth year of Muhammad Sháh's reign, corresponding to A. H. 1135 (1723 A. D.), laid the foundation of the city of Bhopál. Under his just rule the lion and goat drank water at the same pool. He was so generous that even Hátim would envy him. A great number of saints always dined with him.

When the fame of his virtues reached the ear of the ministers of the Emperor's court, he was favoured by His Majesty, through Sayid Husain 'Alí Khán, with a *mansab*, *túmán*, *togh*, kettle-drums, *naubat*, as well as a title. But he died.

After this event the eldest son of the noble Khán, who was with Nízám-ul Mulk in the province of the Dakhn, arrived in this territory, and at a most auspicious time sat upon the *masnad*, administered justice, subjugated a great number of the refractory chiefs, and by his wise measures the country from the banks of the Nerbadda to the vicinity of the town of Sironj, was brought under his power. Notwithstanding that the enemy, having gained great dominion, infested the country from Sattará-gaish to the suburbs of Dehlí, yet under the good management of this equitable chief the people of his territory were perfectly secure from the ravages of the tyrants. For his surpassing courage and wise administration of the country he received great favours from the throne, and was honoured with the rank

¹ Malcolm calls it "the Miraju Kheil"—*Central India*, vol. 1. p. 350

of 5000 personnel and 5000 horse, together with the insignia of *Mahī* and *Mardīb*

TWENTY FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN

As above stated, contention, disaffection and discord broke out among the nobles, and the report of the enemy's success was noised abroad. The cursed infidels, encouraged by the misrule and carelessness of the sovereign, particularly by the hostility and revolt of the very ministers of the throne, had become predominant throughout all the country. Thus incited, the Emperor of *Írán* by name *Nádir Sháh* who, having acquired entire power over that country had reached up to *Balkh* and *Kandabár* now marched in this direction with the design of conquering *Hindústán*, and, as some say at the suggestion of *Nizám ul Mulk* and *Sa'ádat Khán*. It was suddenly reported to the Emperor that *Nádir Sháh*, having invaded *Kábul* and obliged *Násir Khán*, the governor of the province, to join him had crossed the *Attock* and reached *Láhore*. The Governor of this city also, after a slight show of resistance, had gone over to him. Notwithstanding all this, the careless Emperor and the ungrateful nobles, having covered their faces with the veil of gross negligence, were awaiting the approaching misfortune. After the invader had marched past *Láhore*, the Emperor of *Hindústán* was compelled to fit out an army. All this delay which occasioned the subsequent disasters arose from the Emperor's not confiding in the counsel of any of his ministers. Whatever plan was suggested by the *Khán-daurán* was opposed by *Nizám ul Mulk* and *cice ceras*.

According to the statement of *Mír Fakhru-d dín* the Emperor of this country, having prepared for war with two hundred thousand horse, foot soldiers without number fifteen hundred elephants and many field pieces and other guns, left *Dehli* with the intention of expelling the Emperor of *Írán*. The army of *Hindústán*, owing to its immense numbers, which amounted to

ten hundred thousand, both horse and foot, could scarcely find space to encamp on. Towards the end of the month of Zí-l ka'da, the army encamped near the town of Karnál, and, as some say, according to the advice of Nízám-u-l Mulk, was placed all round in the shape of a ring. Notwithstanding this, the soldiers of Írán made attacks from all sides upon the Indians, and carried off corn, grass, and wood, which are essentially necessary for the maintenance of man. Hence the price of grain was enormously high in the camp. Burhán-u-l Mulk, one morning, at the beginning of Zí-l hijja, entered the camp to pay his respects to the Emperor. He had scarcely arrived, when it was reported that twenty thousand horse of Nádir Sháh's army had plundered all his camp, equipage, and baggage. Burhán-u-l Mulk instantly took his leave, beat the drums of battle, and went after the plunderers. It is said that the whole army of Nádir Sháh amounted to fifty-five thousand fighting horsemen, skilful in the art of war and murder, while others make it amount to three hundred thousand horse.

No sooner had *Amín-u-l umar á* Khán-daurán heard that Burhán-u-l Mulk had gone, than he also, without making any due preparation, went to the field with a force which amounted, according to some, to seven thousand, and according to others, to twenty thousand horse. Burhán-u-l Mulk, a short time after the armies had engaged, was taken prisoner and carried before Nádir Sháh. That nobleman, renouncing his dependence upon the will of God, and acting according to the dictates of his own choice, precipitated matters, but Providence discomfited all his plans. After the capture of Burhán-u-l Mulk, the army of Nádir Sháh surrounded *Amín-u-l umar á* on all sides, and began to shoot their arrows and fire their guns, and the battle raged till the close of the day. The Indian warriors, *sayyids*, *sharkhs*, Afgháns, and Rájpúts, so fought with their cruel swords that, had Rustam and Afrásyáb lived to this time, their lives would have become water at the sight of this dreadful battle. The Íránís, dreading the swords of these brave men, left the field, and, firing their guns

from a distance and from different quarters, made heaps of the corpses of Indians, who preferred death to flight.

At last the great luminary of the world set in the west, and with the approach of night darkness spread over the earth, yet up to this time no army came to reinforce *Amiru l umard*, all through the connivance of Nizámu-l Mulk, who with the utmost animosity towards the followers of Islám always held out encouragement to infidels and tyrants. It is said that five thousand men on the side of *Amiru l umard* met with the honour of martyrdom among whom were Muzaffar Khán, his brother Mir Kallu, Ali Hámid Khán Yádgár Khán Lodí Khán and other nobles. In the evening *Amiru l umard* with a few of his men returned from the field to his tent, wounded and sorrowful. The next day he set in array a new army with the intention of hazarding another battle, and defeating Nádir Sháh, who had trembled at the courage displayed. But the *Amir* fell and drank the cup of martyrdom.

It is said that when Burhánu l Mulk fell into the hands of Nádir Sháh, the Sháh inquired from him all the particulars of this Government. He was informed in reply that Khán-daurán who had fought with him that day was only one of the servants of the Emperor of Hindustán, and that, like him, there were many other nobles and Rájás, possessed of great power and much courage in his camp as well as in all parts of the kingdom and that any one of them was well able to cope with him. He recommended him, therefore to receive something on account of his travelling expenses and return to his own country. Nádir Sháh was confounded to hear this, and peace was determined on.

Muhammad Sháh, by the advice of Nizámu l Mulk, rode to the tent of Nádir Sháh whose son came to receive him. The Prince according to his father's orders, sat below the throne, like an attendant. After the interview Muhammad Sháh dined and returned to his tent.

On the same day Nizámu-l Mulk, with his usual impudence put on the official dress of the *Amiru-l umard*, which had been

promised to Burhānu-l Mulk, who, on being informed of this, under the impulse of ambition, represented to Nádír Sháh, that *Amīn-u-l umarā* Khán-daurán deceased was the only person of importance in the government, and that now there was no man in the kingdom equal to him in power or dignity, that Nádír Sháh should contrive to take Muhammad Sháh prisoner, and make himself master of the country. Having no regard for gratitude, deluded by the base avarice of this world, and having no shame even for contradicting his own words, he occasioned the general slaughter and great contentions and disasters which ensued. Nádír Sháh, having called Nízāmu-l Mulk, placed him in custody, and constrained him to send for the Emperor. That wanderer in the forest of envy and malice, without considering what might be the result, wrote a letter under his own hand to the effect that he had settled the terms of peace, and the confirmation of it depended upon his coming. The heedless Emperor, being deceived by that artful person, rode to the tent of Nádír Sháh, who ordered the few persons who had gone with the Emperor to be turned out, and the Emperor, with Nízāmu-l Mulk, Amír Khán, Is'hák Khán, Jáved Khán, Bihroz Khán, and Jawáhir Khán, to be placed in confinement. Some of his myrmidons were sent to I'timádu-d daula Kamru-d dín Khán, and forcibly brought him out of his tent into Nádír Sháh's camp. At the same time, officers of the Sháh were placed as guards on all the offices and establishments of Muhammad Sháh. It is said that Fath 'Alí Khán, son of Sábít Khán, and 'Alí Amjíd Khán, escaped, and went in safety to their houses. Khán-i zamán Khán, also, escaped after changing his clothes.

The next day, according to Nádír Sháh's orders, Burhānu-l Mulk¹ and 'Azímu-llah Khán went to Sháh-Jahánábád, for the purpose of establishing his rule. Though all these ungrateful persons, through their ambition, had adhered much to the interests of Nádír Sháh, yet, as Providence had destined that the sovereignty of the House of Tímúr should be preserved, and

¹ [“Nádír Sháh appointed Burhānu-l Mulk *Wahíl-i mutlak*”—*Baydn-i Wákt*]

Muhammad Sháh's reign prolonged, they in the end gained nothing but shame and disgrace

Afterwards, Nádir Sháh himself, with the Emperor of Hindustán, entered the fort of Dohli. It is said that he appointed a place on one side in the fort for the residence of Muhammad Sháh and his dependents, and on the other side he chose the *Diwan* i Khás, or, as some say, the Garden of Hayát Bakhsh, for his own accommodation. He sent to the Emperor of Hindustán as to a prisoner some food and wine from his own table. One Friday his own name was read in the *Khutba* but on the next he ordered Muhammad Sháh's name to be read. It is related that one day a rumour spread in the city that Nádir Sháh had been slain in the fort. This produced a general confusion and the people of the city destroyed five thousand¹ men of his camp. On hearing of this, Nádir Sháh came of the fort, sat in the golden *mayid* which was built by Roshanu d danla, and gave orders for a general massacre. For nine hours an indiscriminate slaughter of all and of every degree was committed. It is said that the number of those who were slain amounted to one hundred thousand.² The losses and calamities of the people of Dehli were exceedingly great. * *

After this violence and cruelty Nádir Sháh collected immense riches³ which he began to send to his country laden on elephants and camels. Muhammad Sháh witnessed with the utmost emotion and indignation these outrages of Nádir Sháh, which were occasioned by the rivalry of the disaffected nobles. It is narrated, that one day Nádir Sháh, in his public court, spoke some harsh and abusive words to Nizámu l Mulk and Burhánu l Mulk, and threatened them with punishment. When they left the court, Nizámu l Mulk, with all the lying and fraud to which he was naturally habituated, spoke to Burhánu l Mulk some very soft

¹ [Without doubt nearly 3000 Persians fell victims."—*Bayán-i Wálf*]

["It was found by inquiry from the *Kutub* of the city that nearly 20,000 men must have been massacred."—*Bayán-i Wálf*]

² ["It is probable that the plunder amounted to about eighty *karras* of rupees."—*Bayán-i Wálf*]

and heart-rending words, and told him that it would now be difficult to escape the hands of that tyrant ; he advised that they both should at the same moment go home, and, taking a cup of deadly poison, pursue the path to death, and sacrifice their lives to their honour. After this, that chief of deceivers went to his house, and, having expressed his will to his relations, and drunk a cup of water mixed with sugar, covered himself with a sheet and went to sleep. Burhānu-l Mulk, who was a true soldier, and was not aware of his perfidy, as soon as he heard this, drank a cup of poison, and went to the next world.

The Sháh of Írán, after having brought so many disasters and calamities upon Hindústán, presented to the Emperor of that country seven horses of 'Irák, several trays of jewels and cloths, instilled into him some precepts useful to Emperors, granted *khil'ats* to the ministers of the throne, and, having left Dehlí on the 7th of Safar, returned to his own country. He proceeded through the territory of Sind, and having taken a large contribution from its chief, who was of the tribe of Bhattí, went to Kandahár. It is said that after the departure of Nádir Sháh, the chiefs and Rájas of all parts of Hindústán sent large sums of money to Muhammad Sháh, together with horses, elephants and other property of various kinds.

TWENTY-SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN.

Two *lacs* of rupees and three hundred elephants were sent to His Majesty by Shujá'u-d daula, governor of the province of Bengal. After Nádir Sháh had gone away, Amír Khán was raised to the rank of 7000 and the office of third *bakhshí*, and Is'hák Khán to the *dwání* of the *khálisa*. They were also received into the favour of the Emperor, on which account Nizámu-l Mulk, again having recourse to his fox-like habits, and being displeased, left Dehlí. He spent some days at the village of Tilpat, and at last, with the advice of Mihr-parwar,

the grandmother of the Emperor, and on condition that Amír Khán should come out to meet him, returned to the city

Amír Khán son of Amír Khán senior, one of the chief nobles, was appointed Governor of the province of Alláhábád, where he applied himself to the work of administration.

A body of Játs from Mahában, having raised their heads in rebellion, put Hakím Káxim the *Khaydár* of the pargana of Fírozábád, to death, and carried off all his property and treasure. The chief of these insurgents proclaimed that he had assumed the name of Wántar Sháh, and more than 5000 men having flocked round him, he raised great tumult and alarm. Zabíru-d daula 'Azímu'llah Khán went against him with a body of 0000 horse, and having made an end of him, determined to cross the Ohambal, proceed to the territory of Bhadáwar and place Ráj Singh, son of Amrat Singh, on the *masnad* of that principality. But on account of the river being too full, he could not cross it, and returned to Dehli

An army of more than 100 000 Mahratta horse attacked Násir Jang son of Nízám ul Mulk. He, unlike his father who always assisted the enemy was the most virtuous man of his time, and possessed great courage and humanity. They burnt villages in the environs of the city of Aurangábád. Upon which Násir Jang equipped an army which some say did not exceed 8000 horse, and sallied out from the city. Násir Jang fought very bravely and despatched a great number of the enemy to hell so that, not being able to stand their ground, they took to flight. Násir Jang pursued them, and at the distance of a few kos the enemy again made a stand, when the Muselmáns put a great number of them to the sword. By the favour of Almighty God the enemy again fled, and Báji Ráo, chief of the miscreants, was greatly surprised at the courage of that lion of the field of heroism. With great ignominy and shame, he stopped on the banks of the Nerbadda, and as the Mahrattas had suffered great loss in the battle with Násir Jang they turned towards Hindústán in the hope of ravaging that country because

they had been informed that, although they themselves had before now reached to the very suburbs of Dehlí, and so many ravages had been committed by Nádir Sháh, yet the Emperor was still equally as negligent and indifferent as ever. With this idea they gladly crossed the Nerbadda Malhárj, Pílúj, and other chiefs of the enemy's army, which, according to some, was no less than 50,000 horse, came through Bundelkhand as far as the banks of the Jumna; but suddenly, on hearing that Báji Ráo, having fallen into the claws of death, had gone to the deserts of hell, they returned, without accomplishing anything, towards Sattará-garh to meet Rája Sáhú.

Raghú, nephew of Rája Sáhú, at the head of 80,000 horse, fought with Násir Jang, to avenge the defeat of Báji Ráo. Násir Jang in this battle also gave a complete repulse to the infidel enemy.

One of the nobles, by name Shujá'u-d daula, who was a very good man, and governed the province of Bengal with the utmost justice, died a natural death. As he was a great protector of his subjects, and exceedingly just, the country, by virtue of these qualities, flourished greatly, and the revenue had so much increased that every year he sent two *lacs* of rupees to the Emperor, besides which, thirty thousand horse and an immense body of infantry received their pay from him. He also sent thousands of presents to the saints in all parts of the country and cities. The Emperor Muhammad Sháh, and the ministers of the throne, having shut up the path of justice, and stretching out the hand of rapacity upon the subjects, devoted themselves to amassing wealth, which at last all fell to the lot of the enemy, and there was even a deficiency in the fixed revenue of the *khalsa*.

TWENTY-THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN.

Zahíru-d daula 'Azímu-llah Khán, being appointed to the governorship of Málwá, went to the territory of Bhadáwar, and having taken five *lacs* of rupees as a contribution from Ráj Singh,

son of Rája Anrat Singh, raised him to the *masnad* of that principality. He then proceeded to Datia, where he came to an understanding with its chief, and took seven *lacs* of rupees from him in return for the renewal of his *jágers*. From that he went to Urciha, and spent some days in fighting and squabbling with the Rája. As he acted contrary to the rule of the former governors, who, after securing the satisfaction and alliances of all the Rájas who wore the servants of the Emperor applied themselves to the government of the province, he could not even enter the territory to which he was appointed, through fear of the enemy. He passed some time in quarrelling with these Rájas and then returned.

Mirza Mannu, son of I'timádu-d daula Kamru-d dín Khán was appointed to the governorship of Ajmír, and he went to that place with two thousand horse. Although the Rájas had acquired great ascendancy in that part of the country so that in the city of Ajmír, where the sepulchre of the Great Khwája stands, the slaughtering of cows and other practices of Islám were prohibited, yet he stayed there only for one day and, according to the orders of his father who had instructed him to act in subordination to Rája Jai Singh, he leased the governorship of the province to him, and returned to Dehli.

When Nizámu l Mulk Ásaf Jáh was informed that his son Násir Jang had by his firmness obtained great advantages and victories over the enemy who fled from before his name like a crow before a bow that Islám had obtained a new lustre that the allowances of the many officers and soldiers under him were fixed according to each man's worth and that he had introduced peace and tranquillity among his subjects,—the fire of ambition and of a desire to assist the wretched enemy which he had always felt, was rekindled in him. Having obtained leave from the Emperor he marched with great haste towards the Dakhin, and arrived in a very short space of time at the banks of the Nerbadda. As he had but a very little force with him, he received a reinforcement of one thousand horse from

Yár Muhammad Khán, who ruled over the greater part of the province of Málwá. Having crossed the river, he stopped for some time in the city of Burhúnpúr, where a dispute arose between the father and son. At last, the latter, who, independent of being sensible and learned, was very dutiful, and a much better man than his father and ancestors, notwithstanding that he had possessed so much influence and power, voluntarily, out of respect to the rights of his father, resigned all concern in the affairs of government, and sat at the gate of the sacred shrine of saint Zaim-ul Mulk, where also the remains of Sháh 'Álamgír (Aurangzeb) are interred. As he was a very wise man, had been disgusted with worldly pursuits, and had much regard for works of religion, he withdrew his hand from the pollutions of this world, and attended to the excellences of the next.

Nizámu-l Mulk, who had become old, was so much entangled in the allurements of this unprofitable world, that, although from the time of 'Álamgír to the present he had seen how faithless it had proved to a great number of its followers, yet, through his avarice and ambition, he discouraged his excellent son, and still seeks to injure him, notwithstanding that he must well know the world to be nothing and its votaries nothing.

XOII

TĀRĪKH I NĀDIRU Z ZAMĀNĪ

or

KHUSHHĀL CHAND

THE author of this work was Khushhāl Chand, a writer in the *diwānī* office of Dehlī, in the time of Muhammad Shāh. His father, Jīwan Rām held various employments in the time of Aurangzeb and Bahādur Shāh. He was at first in the service of Ruḥullah Khān and Bahramand Khān and when Shaikh Atāu llah was appointed intelligencer and *bakhshī* of Lāhore, Jīwan Rām was made his *peishdār*. After leaving Lāhore, he was appointed deputy superintendent of the *diwānī* office at Dehlī, and in the time of Bahādur Shāh was raised to the rank of 150. As he was a poet, he presented several copies of verses to the Emperor for which he received a reward of two hundred rupees. He died in the year 1164 A.H.

The eldest son Khūb Chand, succeeded to his father's office, and Khushhāl Chand also obtained employment in the *diwānī* office, with which he expresses himself well satisfied, as it enabled him to fulfil the duties of both this world and the next. In compliment to the Emperor under whom he was employed, he calls his work *Tārīkh-i Muḥammad Shāhī* to which he gives also the honorific title of *Nādiru-z Zamānī*, "the wonder of the world," as it contains, in combination with another word the date of composition—1152 A.H. (1739-40 A.D.), but the history is carried down a few years later.

The *Nādiru-z Zamānī* is divided into two volumes, one called the *Majma' u l Akhbārāt*, the other *Zabdatu-l Akhbārāt*, each

divided into two books. Independent of the historical matter, the work contains treatises on arithmetic, astrology, palmistry, versification and other irrelevant matters.

The second volume will form the subject of a future notice.¹ The first, or *Maḡma'u-l Akhbārāt*, is appropriated as below

CONTENTS.

Book I Account of the wise and religious persons, from the Creation to the time of Muhammad Sháh Ancestors of Muhammad Sháh up to 'Umar Shaikh Mirzá, father of the Emperor Bábar. A brief account of the governments of Arabia, Persia, Turkistán, Túrán, Rúm, Shám, and Írán, from the era of Kaumárs to the time of Naushírwán A brief account of the Ghaznvides, Ghorians, Saljúkians, and other dynasties.

Book II. History of India from Rája Judishtar's reign to the time of Ibráhím Lodí. Account of some of the most celebrated saints of India, such as Mu'ínu-d dín Chishtí, Kutbu-l Aktáb, and others, and of the reformers of the Hindú religion, such as Rámánand, Kabír, Raidás, and Nának, with a notice of the Shástras and Vedántism

SIZE.—The first Book contains 331 large 8vo pages of 19 lines each

The first volume contains nothing of interest. The only useful part of the work is the history of Muhammad Sháh.

The *Nádu-z Zamání* is very rare The late *Sadru-s Sudúr* of Mainpúrí had a perfect copy, which his heirs have lost, and Nawáb 'Alí Muhammad Khán of Jhajar has a very imperfect copy, deficient in the second books of both volumes. The Nawáb of Tonk has the first book Wilken² quotes an Indian History of this name in the Berlin Library, but I cannot trace the quoted passage in the portions of the work available to me.

¹ [There is no such notice among the papers, nor any copy of the work in the library]

² Mirchondí Historia Gasnevidarum, p 264

XCIII

JAUHAR-I SAMŚĀM

OF

MUHAMMAD MUHSIN SĀDIKĪ

[THE author of this work, Muhammad Muhsin Sādikī, son of Hanīf, was, according to his own statement, enrolled in the corps of *Wāld-shāhīs*. His work extends from the death of Aurangzeb to the departure of Nādir Shāh from India on the 7th Safar, 1152 A H (9th May 1739 A D). The early part of the work is very brief and summary and the history really begins with the reign of Farrukh Siyar. It is written in a very ambitious extravagant style, with a great tendency to exaggeration. He tells us, for instance, that Nādir Shāh's army consisted of 'two lacs of *Kazalbash* horsemen,' and he makes a long and horrible story out of the deposition and murder of Farrukh Siyar. He states that he was induced to write the work at the 'earnest entreaty of Shaikh Alāu-d dīn an old and constant associate of *Amīru l umard* Samsāmu d daula in all his military exploits, who related all the particulars to him and frequently urged him to compose a connected narrative of them." The work was no doubt named after Samsāmu-d daula, who plays a conspicuous part in the history. According to his own statement, our author grew tired of his work, and resolved 'not to furnish historical details respecting any more vain-hearted and ambitious princes after he had described the general massacre caused by Nādir but he was subsequently persuaded by his spiritual instructor Shāh Badr i Ālam to write a tolerably full account of them."

The whole work has been well translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by the late Major Fuller, with the exception of many pages of empty rhetorical flourishes. From that translation this notice has been compiled and the following Extracts have been taken]

EXTRACTS

(After the death of *Amīn-ū-l umarā* Husain 'Alī Khān), the Emperor Muhammad Shāh never came out of the citadel of Dehlī except to enjoy the pleasures of an excursion or to amuse himself in field sports. He paid no attention to the administration of the kingdom, which lacked all supreme authority, and through his indolence, unrelieved by any exertion, he fell and came to an end. For water even, notwithstanding its innate purity and excellence, if it remains stagnant anywhere, changes its colour and smell. The Government of the country went so completely out of the grasp of his will that the *fauzdars* of every *sarkār* and *chakla*, and the *subadars* of every city and province, who possessed the strong arm of a military force, refused to pay the revenue due on *khālsa* and *jagir* lands. They used to send merely gifts and presents to their lord and master, after the manner of friends and equals, but put the produce of the *jagirs* of the *mansabdārs*, and the amount collected from the Imperial domains (*khālsa*), like food easy of digestion, down their own throats. The proud and haughty of every region raised their heads in contumacy, and the rebellious and refractory of every land fixed the bent of their inclinations on revolt and disobedience. Hosts upon hosts of the execrable Mahrattas brought forcibly under their subjection the territory of the Dakhn and the provinces of Gujarāt and Mālhwā, and raised the banner of subjugation to such a pitch as to pillage and lay waste the cities, town, and villages around Āgra and Dehlī, and to leave the good name and property of none, whether high or low, unmolested. An incursion of the vile forces of the enemy to the outskirts of Dehlī and Āgra took place regularly every year, and, exclusive of the booty of populous towns, they used to carry

off by force and violence forty or fifty *lacs* worth of property from the open country inasmuch that the rumour of the instability of the royal house of Hind, having reached the lords and commons of all quarters of the globe, Nádír of Isfahán invaded it with his troops resembling the waves of the sea, and put all the natives of the provinces of Kábul, the Panjáb and Dehlí at once to the sword.

(When Muhammad Sháh was in the field against Nádír Sháh) Sa dn d din Khán Bahádúr *darogha* of the sublime artillery planted an iron fortress as it were all around the royal camp, which was five *parasangs* in circumference, by chaining together the heavy pieces of ordnance (most of which required 500 bullocks for the drawing of their carriages, and some a thousand or more, as well as five or ten elephants to push each gun from behind exclusive of the people attached to every one, who by their expert contrivances pass it with ease over rugged and difficult places), and the medium and light guns, which exceeded the limit of computation, and were beyond the power of reckoning * *

The heavy shower of arrows and the hail storm of bullets, with the violent pelting of their fall, caused the torrent of death to sweep away the fabric of a multitude of living forms, and despatched to the sea of perdition a whole host of the ever victorious army under the command of *Amir-i-umard* Samsánu-d daula, successful in both worlds His Majesty the shadow of the Most High, on learning the frightful news of the superior prowess of the ferocious *Kazalbadahs* was about to despatch a suitable force to the aid and support of that choice favourite at the Court of the Omnipotent but through Fath Jang Nizámu l Mulk's opposition, the august and sublime intention was not carried into effect. * * Abdul Ma'búd Khán addressed the following remarks to Asaf Jáh Nizámu l Mulk The *Amir-i-umard* Khán-daurán Bahádúr is so influential a person that if the evil eye fall on the stability of his army, it will be the cause of dispersion to the leaves of the volume of the State and a reason of

slipping to the feet of resolution among the servants of the Government. Therefore the duty of aiding and supporting such a high-minded and faithful individual is proper and incumbent on all ; and from feelings of generosity and good sense I have an ardent desire for the accomplishment of the task." * * As this black night had come out of the darkness of Fath Jang's animosity, in accordance with the will of the Almighty, how could the first blush of the bright dawn of safety and security and the disc of the brilliant sun of victory show its face without the removal of its raven tresses? Fath Jang laid his hand on the arm of the warrior, and did not let it go until by divers arguments he had dissuaded him from his fixed determination, while the latter, the chosen of the Adored, writhed in the depths of anguish, and bit the lip of remorse with the teeth of helplessness

In consequence of the death of *Amīru-l umarā* Samsāmu-d daula, the robe of the office of *Mī Bahhshī* was bestowed on Ghāziu-d dīn Khān, son of Fath-Jang Nizāmu-l Mulk. The fire of animosity, that had been somewhat allayed, immediately kindled afresh into flames, because Bahādur Jang Burhānu-l Mulk, from the first dawn of his prosperity till the closing calamity of his career, had entertained the desire of obtaining the dignity of *Amīru-l umarā*, and having waited for his opportunity a long time, had kept sowing this wish in the field of his heart.¹ As he had fully expected to have his hopes realized on the death of the late incumbent, he had deemed it expedient to keep on good terms with the Emperor, but on hearing that another had been invested with the coveted robe, he swerved from the path of conciliation, and girded the waist of cunning more tightly than before in hastening along the road of enmity. The image of peace that had been reflected in the glass of exhibition had been changed to war, and the broken chain of friendship was spliced with the cord of contention

¹ The metaphor in the original is much more elaborate

XOIV 1✓

T A Z K I R A

or

ANAND RÁM MUKHLIS

[No account of this book has been found among Sir H. M. Elliot's papers, and there is no copy of the work in his library. The following translation, by "Lt. Perkins," must therefore speak for itself. It was made from a MS belonging to Nawáb Zíáu-d dín. The author was an eye-witness of much that passed during Nádir Sháh's stay in India, and suffered from his exactions. A memorandum on the translation states that it is 'not complete,' but still the work seems to have been specially devoted to Nádir Sháh's invasion. It begins with a chapter headed 'History of the wonderful events that came to pass in Hindustán in the year of the Hijra 1151,' which contains an account of Nádir Sháh's rise and of the beginning of his march towards India. This chapter and a few other passages have been omitted. The last words of the translation have been printed but there is nothing to indicate whether they end the book or not.]

EXTRACTS.

March of the Emperor of Persia to Hindustán, and the consequent slaughter and decastation in that beautiful land.

Strange events occurred after the capture of Kandahár. Before setting out from Ispahán, Nádir Sháh had despatched a messenger named Alí Mardán Khán, to Hindústán, with full powers to arrange with Muhammad Sháh, the ruler of the land, certain matters of a nature peculiar to troublous times and such as it

becomes Emperors to settle amicably with one another. Nádir Sháh reached Kandahái, but Muhammad Sháh, it is probable, broke faith, and did not fulfil his promises, although a second messenger, named Muhammad Khán Turkomán, was sent to him, this messenger moreover never returned. The train had long been laid, and from these negotiations sprang the spark that fired it. Nádir Sháh was moved to anger, he resolved on the invasion of Hindústán, but though the apparent motive has been given above, the true cause was the weakness of its monarchy. Accordingly, on the 8th of Safar, in the twentieth year of Muhammad Sháh's reign, A. H. 1150, the Persian Emperor set his face towards Kábul, where he arrived about the end of the month * *

The settlement of the conquered territory occupied the Emperor for four months and a half. The march was then continued to Jalálábád, a place famous for its pomegranates, which was reached on the 14th of Sha'bán. Násir Khán, son of the late Násir Khán, governor of the province, who during these events had been at Pesháwar, moved from this town and occupied a position half-way between 'Alí Masjíd and Jamrúd, which place is distant nine kos from Pesháwar, to oppose the invader's progress.

Násir Khán had often written to Muhammad Sháh concerning the want of money, but none of his representations had been attended to. He now wrote to the effect that he himself was but as a rose-bush withered by the blasts of autumn, while his soldiery were no more than a faded pageant, ill-provided and without spirit, he begged that, of the five years' salary due to him, one year's salary might be paid, that he might satisfy his creditors and have some little money at his command. The Nawáb Sáhib, however, exclaimed before the assembled *dhwán*, that he could see no need for all this haste and flurry, "had he not written on the subject to the Emperor and the *Wakalat-panáh*, and, if the matter was not settled that day, why it would be so the next?" The *Wakalat-panáh*, when he laid the document before the *Amir-ul-*

umard Bahádur and told him, with fear and trembling, in the Persian language, what had occurred in Kábul, received an answer which drove him to his wits end. 'Know you not, *Wakálat pandh*," said the personage addressed, "that I am a man of too great experience to be caught by such stories that are only made up to extort gold? My house is in the plain, and my imagination dwells only on what my eyes have seen. Your house is on a mountain and perhaps from its summit you have caught a glimpse of the Persian host. Tell your employer that the governor of Bengal has been ordered to remit treasure after the rainy season, and the necessary sums will then be sent to him without delay."

The Afgháns of Kábul, particularly those of the Sáfi tribe defended the mountain passes, and for a long time checked the advance of the *Kazalbash* invaders. If at that time a well appointed army under an experienced leader had been sent to the support of the mountaineers, it is more than probable that Hindustán would have been saved. As it was, the enemy ever on the watch to take advantage of any negligence on the part of their opponents, stole a march on the Afgháns during the night of the 13th of Sha'bán, entered the Khaibar Pass while the stars still shone above their heads, and, moving with the rapidity of the wind, fell suddenly on the force of Nádir Khán, when a scene of slaughter and plunder ensued. * *

Nádir Sháh was now in possession of all the country as far as Attock and Muhammad Sháh and his advisers could no longer remain blind to the danger that threatened them. They understood at length that this was no ordinary foe against whom they had to contend, no mere plunderer who would be satisfied with the spoil of a province and then return to his own country but a leader of unshakable resolution who chafed his course with the sword. If, even at this juncture, the Emperor had sought to conciliate Nawáb Sáhib Azzu-d daula Bahádur Nádir of Multán and Láhore, and had supplied this fierce chieftain with the sinews of war as such an emergency required, then indeed

might the world have witnessed a very different result. As it was, when the Emperor learned from the news-writers the advance of the Persian army to Attock, he, on the 1st of the blessed month of Ramazán, appointed Ásaf Jáh Bahádur *Wakilu-s Saltanat*, I'timádu-d daula Chín Bahádur *Wasiru-l Mamálik*, and *Amiru-l umará Bahádu* to be *Bakhshi'u-l Mamálik*, for the defence of the monarchy, and with his own hands bound on the heads of the chiefs a *málaband* of Buihánpúr workmanship. That same day these noblemen left the city for their camp, which was pitched near the Shálamár gardens. They received one *kior* of rupees in cash, and cannon and munitions of war in abundance. Besides their own troops, 50,000 horsemen were given to them. Now was the time for these chiefs to have marched without delay, and, acting in concert with the *Násim* of Multán and Láhore, whose troops amounted to no less than 20,000 bold horsemen, to have advanced to the banks of the Jhelam or Chináb, and have closed the roads and passes against the invader by skilful dispositions and by force of arms. Instead of this, the army remained a whole month encamped near the Shálamár gardens, detained by sundry petty causes which I cannot detail.

Nádir Sháh, after Násir Khán's defeat, had entered Pesháwar, where he occupied the residence of the Khán. Having settled the affairs of this district he marched, on the 25th of Ramazán, towards Attock, where the army encamped on the fifth day. The construction of a bridge here caused inevitable delay, but Áká Muhammad was detached with a strong force to devastate the country, and leave no means of destruction untried. A'azzu-d daula might now have displayed the same indifference as his royal master, but, far from this, he drew together a number of troops at vast expense to himself, and on the 17th of Ramazán formed his camp on the banks of the Ráví. Not being at liberty to move forward until joined by the Emperor's army, he contented himself with placing his cannon in the best positions, and throwing up entrenchments round his camp.

On the 4th of Shawwál the Persian army crossed the Attock river on a bridge of boats. On the 8th the Emperor reached the left bank of the Ohináb river, and on the 9th encamped close to the bridge of Sháh-daula.¹

But how to relate the ruin and desolation that overwhelmed this beautiful country! Wazirábád, Imanábád, and Gujarát, towns which, for population, might almost be called cities, were levelled with the earth. Nothing was respected, no sort of violence remained unpractised—property of all kinds became the spoil of the plunderer and women the prey of the ravisher.

On the 10th of Shawwál the Sháh and his army crossed the bridge of Sháh daula—then, leaving far to the left the artillery of the *Názim*, which was in position along the opposite bank of the Rávi—they forded the river and advanced to the Shálamár gardens, which are on the high road to Sháh-Jahánábád. All that day, from morn till night, the contest was maintained against the army of the *Názim*, who repeatedly tried to force his way back to the town. The bravest warriors put forth their strength and many of the *Kazalbashis* fell. Yahya Khán, the eldest son of the *Názim*, cut his way through with a few followers, and proceeding towards Sháh-Jahánábád by forced marches reached the camp of Nawáb Sáhib *Wazir-i-Mamalik Bahádur* in the vicinity of Pánipat. The fighting was renewed on the 11th, and the plain was strewed with the slain.

Both armies were now worn out with the struggle, and it was found advisable to make terms. On the 12th, the *Názim* was met by the illustrious Wazir Abdu'l Báki, and conducted into the presence of the Sháh, the greatest honour and respect being shown him. He was courteously received and presented with a *chapan* of gold brocade, a jewelled dagger and a horse. The *Názim* again repaired to the presence of the Sháh on the 14th, and paid, by way of offering, a sum of twenty *lacs* of rupees, a portion of which had been taken from the state coffers, and the remainder contributed by the wealthiest inhabitants.

¹ A most wonderful march!

He then departed in all honour By this payment Láhore was saved from horrors among which death and spoliation were the least. The Sháh, who was full of kindness for the *Násim* (A'azzu-d daula), took into his service his second son, Hayátu-llah Khán Bahádur, and appointed him to the command of five hundred horse

On the 15th of the month the Sháh continued his march towards Sháh-Jahánábád He advanced rapidly Leaving his camp equipage at Sháhábád, on the 15th of Zí-l ka'da he appeared in the neighbourhood of Karnál, where Muhammad Sháh's army awaited his coming. But it is now time to return to Muhammad Sháh, lest the thread of the narrative should be broken

Muhammad Sháh leaves the Capital

It has already been shown how Ásaf Jáh Bahádur, *Wazíru-l mamálik Bahádur* and *Amín-u-l Umará Bahádur*, the officers to whom had been entrusted the responsibility of leading an army against the Persian invaders, remained for a whole month encamped near the Shálamár gardens When tidings came that Nádir Sháh had reached the banks of the Attock river, the commanders urged upon the Emperor the necessity of his joining them in person, and, with one accord, they moved forward in the early days of Shawwál The author himself, Ánand Rám, accompanied by his beloved sons Rái Kripá Rám and Saláh Fath Singh, left the capital on the 11th of the month, in the service of *Naváb Sáhib Wazíru-l Mamálik Bahádur*¹ When the army reached Páuípat, the author obtained leave to revisit his home, where some private affairs required his presence. Starting on the 17th, he reached Sháh-Jahánábád on the evening of the 20th

On the 18th of the month Muhammad Sháh, and the illustrious Prince Ahmad issued from the citadel (*ark*), the royal residence, and encamped near Muhammad Ganj The

¹ [See *supra*, p 79]

royal camp reached Pánipat on the 27th when the commanders paid their respects to His Majesty, and made offerings suited to their rank

Near Karnál flows through a broad plain a canal which issues from the Jumna river, near Mukhlispur and continues its course to Sháh-Jahánábád. This place was found convenient for the encampment of the army. By degrees news was received of the progress of the enemy. It was therefore resolved to advance no further but to take advantage of the abundant supply of water so necessary to the soldier and fight to the last. The *Amir-átish* was instructed to construct an earthen wall around the camp, behind this the artillery was placed in position and brave men were told off for the defence of the intrenchments. In fact, nothing was omitted that could conduce to the strength of the camp. This disposition which could hardly be considered worthy of an Emperor was adopted partly to await the arrival of *Burhán l Mulk Bahádúr Náim* of Ondh, who had been ordered to join the royal army. This nobleman, though suffering from sickness, advanced by forced marches at the head of 30 000 horsemen, and reached Karnál on the 14th of Zil l ka da. This addition to the strength of the army created universal joy and all now thought victory certain.

Battle between the Persians and the Mughals.

Burhán l Mulk, after his interview with His Majesty on the 14th the day of his arrival had been dismissed to his own tents. News was at this time brought to him that a Persian force had fallen upon his baggage, which was coming up in the rear from Pánipat, and had plundered it, and committed great slaughter. Burhán l Mulk, with headlong impetuosity misplaced in a commander, flew to the scene of action accompanied only by the few horsemen who were with him without taking time to collect his artillery or to form his men in any kind of order. Soon he was engaged in the thick of the fight, nor did he desert from his

efforts until he had scattered the Persians. The latter, experienced in every kind of stratagem, the acquiring of which indeed forms part of the soldier's training, fled in apparent confusion, followed by the *Názim*, who was thus led into an ambush where stood the Persian advanced guard with a powerful artillery. The armies engaged, and the shouts of the combatants and the clashing of sabres ascended to the heavens.

Muhammad Sháh, hearing of what was going on, ordered *Amín-u-l umará* to reinforce the *Názim*. The *Amir* represented that the army had not expected a fight that day, and that the soldiers were consequently quite unprepared, reinforcements could but add to the severity of the defeat. It was far better to delay a battle until the morrow, when the army could be disposed according to the rules of war, with advanced and rear guards, and their artillery, on which everything depended in Indian warfare, could be placed in the front.¹ The struggle would then be one of comparative ease, and a little skill would insure an easy victory. The monarch was displeased with these objections, and addressed the *Amir* as a "conceited idler." But *Amín-u-l umará Bahádúr* was a chieftain who had the good of his master at heart, never had he been guilty of aught like disobedience, and now, arming himself and mounting an elephant, he gathered round him *Muzaffar Khán Bahádúr* and a few horsemen, all that could be collected in that hour of bewilderment, and hastened to the support of the *Názim*. The struggle raged so fiercely that firearms and arrows were put aside, and swords and daggers were brought into play. Blood flowed from gaping wounds and crimsoned the combatants, the red *Kazalbash* caps had the appearance of poppies, a dense smoke hung over the field of battle.

The heroic efforts of *Amín-u-l umará* and his prodigies of valour could not prevail against the Persians, who far exceeded the Indians in number, and had, moreover, the advantage of having been placed in position by the Sháh himself. The Mughals broke

¹ ["It is probable that if the army of Hindústán had been fully provided with artillery, the Persians would not have been able to oppose it"—*Baydn-i Wak'*]

at length and fled; but *Amir-i umard* maintained the combat until mortally wounded in the face, he fell covered with glory. His brother Muzaffar Khán, his son Muhtaram Khán Alí Hámíd Khán his *kola*, and some others stood by him to the last. Burhán-i Mulk and Nisár Muhammad Khán Bahádúr became prisoners. The remainder of the followers of *Amir-i umara*, headed by Rái Mnjis Rái *Mir-samán*, closed round their master's elephant, resolved to extricate him or to perish. They reached the *Amir's* tents by evening. This nobleman's wounds were mortal and he lived but one day longer. God have mercy on him! By his decease, Asaf Jáh Bahádúr became *Mir bakháki*. Officers were sent by the Emperor's order to seize the property of the late nobleman which it would have been more generous to leave to the heirs.

Had the Emperor himself led his powerful army to the support of Burhán-i Mulk, there would have been no cause to lament the loss of such a *sardár* as *Amir-i umard* and who can say that victory might not have smiled on his arms?

The consequences of this disaster were lamentable for the loss of baggage and the great scarcity of supplies that soon prevailed (four rupees could hardly purchase a *sir* of flour) totally deprived the soldiery of the little spirit they ever possessed. The Persian Emperor sent a message offering to treat for peace for though so powerful he was not one to overlook the advantages of negotiation¹. *Wazir-i mamlik* Asaf Jáh was opposed to the proposition but his arguments did not prevail on the Emperor. On the 16th of the month Asaf Jáh Bahádúr and Azímu llah Khán Bahádúr were deputed to the Sháh, to conclude the negotiations; they returned to camp that evening.

The next day Muhammad Sháh repaired in person to the Persian camp. The monarch took with him a small escort

¹ [The Persians were alarmed at what they had seen of the fighting and bravery displayed by the soldiers of Hindústán, who had repelled the balls from *jandils* by arrows from bows and they thought, that if, notwithstanding the want of artillery the Indians had shown so much courage, what would they do now that the Emperor with all his artillery was ready for action. —*Bayán-i Wáqá'*]

'Umdatul Mulk Amír Khán Bahádur, Mu'tamadu-d daula Muhammad Is'hák Khán Bahádur, Bihroz Khán, and Jáwed Khán, were among the number. Nasru-llah Muzá, the Sháh's son, received His Majesty at the limits of the camp. When they drew near, the Sháh himself came forth, and the etiquette usual between the Persian and Mughal courts was faithfully observed. The two monarchs, holding one another by the hand, entered the audience-tents, and seated themselves side by side on a *masnad*. It was as if two suns had risen in the East, or as if two bright moons shed their light at one time! As Muhammad Sháh was unaccompanied by any one of his chiefs, the subject of conversation between the two Emperors has remained unknown. After this had lasted some time, a repast was prepared, the remains of which were given to Amír Khán Bahádur and the other noblemen. Nothing that courtesy and friendship require was omitted during the whole conference, which lasted a quarter of the day, and Muhammad Sháh regained his camp about the third quarter of the day. These proceedings restored tranquillity to the minds of the soldiery, all looked forward with joy to renewed plenty, to a return to their beloved Sháh-Jahánábád and the society of friends, but fate smiled at these fond hopes, for more suffering, more bloodshed awaited them.

The author has already related how he obtained leave to visit Sháh-Jahánábád, and left the army for this purpose when it had reached Pánípat. The Emperor had taken his departure from the town the day before the writer reached it. Strange to relate, numbers of people of every degree followed the royal standards. Some thought thus to enjoy a pleasant excursion through the Panjáb, while others were of opinion that a battle would be fought and won in the neighbourhood of the town, and that their absence would only be of short duration. The writer sought in vain for a house within the walls in which to place his wife and family, he could find no suitable one. Under these circumstances, he resolved to leave his family in their usual residence outside the town. The security of the entrances to the lane was looked to, and armed

servants above the ordinary number were entertained. The author now prepared to return to the army, and sent on his advanced tents.

But just at this time a report spread through the city of the death of *Amir-ul umard* and the capture of Burhann l Mulk. Many were the false reports circulated which there is no need to record here, and such was the state of the town that, but for the vigilance of Kotwál Háji Fúlád Khán, it must have been plundered, and the Persian army would have found the work done. The *kotwal* no ordinary man was at his post day and night his exertions were unceasing, and, wherever there was an appearance of sedition, he seized and punished the guilty parties. The roads were infested with malefactors, and there was safety for none.

Having received certain tidings of the Persians having formed a circle around the royal army and rendered ingress to the camp impossible, the author was compelled to relinquish his design of proceeding thither. He therefore turned his attention to his means of defence. Sentries were placed and the *darogha* and the writer himself patrolled the *bázars* at night to collect news. A supply of lead powder and rockets was laid in, and distributed among the people of the quarter who began to take heart. Thus the nights were spent in watching and the days in the society of friends. This state of things continued until the arrival of Burhann l Mulk Bahádur and Tahmásp Khán Jaláir the latter the representative of the Persian Sháh.

Muhammad Sháh's second visit to the Sháh. Entry of the two monarchs into Sháh Jahándábád.

The result of Muhammad Sháh's visit to the Persian Emperor has been seen. Some days later on the 24th of the month, Anaf Jáh was deputed to finally settle sundry matters but, through some unknown cause, this personage failed in his mission, and was detained in the camp. Muhammad Sháh

himself, neglecting the remonstrances of a few well-wishers who advised a further appeal to arms, then paid a second visit to the Persian Emperor on the 26th. Muhammad Sháh, as a result of this interview, found it advisable to continue in the Persian camp, and ordered a part of the royal camp equipage to be brought. This was accordingly done. By degrees all the chief nobles of the State joined His Majesty. To all appearance they acted according to their inclination, but in truth under compulsion. *Nasakhis* were ordered to be in attendance on them; these in reality were but spies on their actions. How strange are the freaks of fortune! Here was an army of 100,000 bold and well-equipped horsemen, held as it were in captivity, and all the resources of the Emperor and his grandees at the disposal of the *Kazalbásh*! The Mughal monarchy appeared to all to be at an end.

A proclamation was issued to the army that all might depart who chose, as His Majesty himself was about to return to Sháh-Jahánábád. The soldiers and camp followers now departed in crowds, and, with the exception of the chief dignitaries, and a few of lesser rank, who would have thought it a crime to abandon their master at such a time, the Emperor remained alone. Tahmásp Khán Jaláir *Wakilu-s Saltanat*, Burhánu-l Mulk Bahádur, and 'Azímu-llah Khán Bahádur, were sent in advance by the Sháh to have the fort prepared for his reception, and to settle various other matters.

When the Sháh's camp equipage arrived from Sháhábád, the two Emperors set out. They made the journey seated together on an elevated car. Muhammad Sháh entered the citadel (*ark*) of Sháh-Jahánábád in great pomp on the 8th of Zí-l hijja, seated in his car, the conqueror followed on the 9th mounted on a horse. By a strange cast of the dice two monarchs who, but a short while before, found the limits of an empire too narrow to contain them both, were now dwellers within the same four walls!

The next day Nádir Sháh returned the Indian ruler's visit, and accepted the presents offered by the latter. When the Sháh

departed, towards the close of the day, a false rumour was spread through the town that he had been severely wounded by a shot from a matchlock,¹ and thence were sown the seeds from which murder and rapine were to spring. The bad characters within the town collected in great bodies and without distinction commenced the work of plunder and destruction. A discharge of firearms and other missiles was continued throughout the night. The darkness of the night and the difficulty of recognising friend or foe were the cause of numbers of the *Kazalbashis* being slain in the narrow lanes of the town. Scarce a spot but was stained with their blood.

On the morning of the 11th an order went forth from the Persian Emperor for the slaughter of the inhabitants. The result may be imagined, one moment seemed to have sufficed for universal destruction. The *Chāndai chānk*, the fruit market, the *Daribak bādr* and the buildings around the *Mayid-i Jama* were set fire to and reduced to ashes. The inhabitants, one and all were slaughtered. Here and there some opposition was offered, but in most places people were butchered unresistingly. The Persians laid violent hands on everything and everybody cloth, jewels, dishes of gold and silver were acceptable spoil.

The author beheld these horrors from his mansion, situated in the *Wakhpura Mukalla* outside the city resolved to fight to the last if necessary and with the help of God to fall at least with honour.² But, the Lord be praised, the work of destruction did not extend beyond the above-named parts of the capital. Since the days of Hazrat Sāhib-kirān Amīr Tīmūr who captured Delhi and ordered the inhabitants to be massacred up to the present time, A.H. 1151 a period of 348 years, the capital had been free from such visitations. The ruin in which its beautiful streets and buildings were now involved was such that the labour of years could alone restore the town to its former state of grandeur.

¹ [Discharged by one of the female guards of the Imperial Aerom.—*Jashn-i Samadī.*]

² What concerns the author alone has been a good deal abbreviated from the text.

But to return to the miserable inhabitants. The massacre lasted half the day, when the Persian Emperor ordered Hájí Fúlád Khán, the *hotál*, to proceed through the streets accompanied by a body of Persian *nasakhchís*, and proclaim an order for the soldiers to desist from carnage¹ By degrees the violence of the flames subsided, but the bloodshed, the devastation, and the ruin of families were irreparable For a long time the streets remained strewn with corpses, as the walks of a garden with dead flowers and leaves The town was reduced to ashes, and had the appearance of a plain consumed with fire All the regal jewels and property and the contents of the treasury were seized by the Persian conqueror in the citadel He thus became possessed of treasure to the amount of sixty *lacs* of rupees and several thousand *ashrafís*, plate of gold to the value of one *hior* of rupees, and the jewels, many of which were unrivalled in beauty by any in the world, were valued at about fifty *hiorís*. The Peacock throne² alone, constructed at great pains in the reign of Sháh Jahán, had cost one *hior* of rupees. Elephants, horses, and precious stuffs, whatever pleased the conqueror's eye, more indeed than can be enumerated, became his spoil. In short, the accumulated wealth of 348 years changed masters in a moment

*Nawáb Sáhib Wazíru-l mamálík*³ contributed thirty *lacs* of rupees, besides elephants and his most valuable jewels Nawáb Ásaf Jálí also suffered an equal loss The property of Burhán-u-Mulk, who had died shortly after the arrival of the Persians, was likewise seized It amounted to about a *hior* of rupees, and had been brought from Oudh

On the 26th of Zí-l-hijja' was celebrated, with great pomp, the marriage of Násir Mírzá, son of the Persian Emperor, to a

¹ ["Upon the solicitations of His Majesty Muhammad Sháh, they ceased shedding the blood of the innocent"—*Bayán-i Wakí'*]

² ["His Majesty bestowed on Nádir Sháh, with his own munificent hand, as a parting present, the Peacock throne, in which was set a ruby upwards of a *giriáh* (three fingers' breadth) in width, and nearly two in length, which was commonly called *Lhírág-i 'alam*, "tribute of the world"—*Jauhári-i Samsdm*]

³ [See *suprá*, p 79]

daughter of Murád Baksh, third son of his late Majesty Sháh Jahán. The ruler of Hindustán presented the bridegroom with a dress of honour, a necklace of pearls, a *jighah* and a dagger set with pearls, and an elephant with trappings of gold.

On the 1st of Minharram, A. H. 1152 (30th March 1739), writers were appointed to levy ransom from the inhabitants under the orders of Tahmásp Khán *Waklu a Sallanat* and lay it before the Sháh but in order that the inhabitants might not be completely ruined, nobles of both States were directed to superintend the settlement of the ransom in the hall of justice, where all might be spectators. The town now offered a strange spectacle. Emissaries of the *kotwal* and Persian *nasakhis* wandered from house to house and from street to street, to take inventories of the property and enforce the appearance of the citizens, so that the sum to be contributed by each individual might be fixed according to his means. It was the wish of the Sháh that the townspeople should be preserved from violence and treated with lenity. * * Unoffending people, high and low rich and poor were compelled day after day to appear in the hall of justice, where they were kept from morn till night often later and then departed, speculating in their wretchedness on what the morrow might bring forth, and wondering to find themselves still alive. Mír Wáris and Khwája Rahmatn llah openly and two other persons in secret, had conspired to effect their destruction, and acted as delators. Without ever arriving at the truth their calumnies were accepted as such. They forgot that they would reap what they sowed, feared neither God nor man and maltreated the people.

The inventory was now ready. It appeared from this that the contributions of the capital would amount to two *krors*. The Sháh, therefore, appointed Ázaf Jáh, *Waziru-l mamalik* Ázimu llah Khán, Sarbuland Khán Mubárizu l Mulk, and Murtazá Khán to collect the money. Five divisions were made of all the city and lists of the different *muhallas*, with their inhabitants, and the contributions to be levied from each were prepared and given to the above-named *amirs*.

Now commenced the work of spoliation, watered by the tears of the people. By Nawáb Ásaf Jáh Bahádúr and Nawáb Sáhíb *Wazíru-l mamálik*, but especially by the latter, who contributed a great part of the money himself, the collections were made in the most humane manner, but where the other three noblemen presided, and more particularly in the division of Mubárizu-l Mamálik, the sufferings of the citizens knew no bounds. Not only was their money taken, but whole families were ruined. Many swallowed poison, and others ended their woes with the stab of a knife. The author, whose house was in the division allotted to Mubárizu-l Mamálik, endured great persecution.¹

Compact made by Muhammad Sháh with Nádir Sháh

At a former epoch, the Monarch of the Universe and Emperor of Emperors, the Asylum of Islám, whose throne is that of Alexander, and whose court the heavens, the most noble and exalted sovereign, Nádir Sháh (may his kingdom endure for ever!), found it necessary to send ambassadors to transact certain affairs with the officials of this suppliant in the court of heaven.² We, at that time, consented to all the demands made of us, but when, at a subsequent period, Muhammad Khán Turkomán was deputed from Kandahár to recall these matters to our memory, the officers charged with the administration of this realm failed to comply with the demands of the great Emperor, and thus sowed the seeds of contention. At length the Persian army crossed the frontiers of Hindústán, and the forces of the two monarchies met in battle on the plains of Kainál. A great victory signalized the prowess of the Persian warriors. But as the illustrious Emperor, the head of the Turkomán tribes, and fount of manly virtues, treated us with kindness, we felt honoured by his friendship, which made our court the envy of Iram, and pro-

¹ I have here omitted 16 pages, which relate solely to the author's sufferings. Five *lacs* were extorted from him.

² Muhammad Sháh

ceeded in his company to Sháh-Jahánábád, where we offered for his acceptance all the treasures, jewels, and precious things of Hind. The great Emperor complying with our request, placed a portion of our offerings within the circle of his acceptance, and, moved by the feelings of friendship natural to the similarity of our origin and position, and by a just consideration of the favour due by a Turkomán to a descendant of the Gurgánis, gave into our charge the crown and seals of the realm of Hindustán. In return for this liberality surpassing indeed the kindness of a father to his son, or of brother to brother, all the countries about Sind, westward of the rivers Attock and Sind, and of the Sanjar stream which flows from the latter namely Pesháwar Bangashát, the country of Kábul Ghaznín and the Kohistán, Hazárát, the fortrees of Bhakkar and Sakhar Khudábád and Láyagáon the Deraját with the Buluch and other populations, the province of Thattá, the fortrees of Ráhima, the city of Badín the *parganas* of Chun, Samwál, Kehrán, and all other *parganas* dependant on the harbours, with all forts, villages and cultivated lands, *parganas* and ports from the source of the river Attock, the Bakarnáchak pass, and the numerous branches of the river near Thattá, to where the river Sind and the Sind and Singarh rivulets flow into the ocean together with whatever of any kind is the produce of lands watered by the river Attock and its branches, and that may lie westward of the river Sind and the Singarh rivulet all these have we detached from our dominions, and annexed to those of Persia. Henceforth the officers of that powerful State shall collect the revenue and exercise all authority in the aforesaid countries, and the people, great and small, dwellers in towns and in plains, tillers of the soil men of every degree, shall be subject to their laws, and the ministers of this eternal government shall no longer have sway among them. But the fortress of Dáwar the cities of Tuhari and Bunderáwach, and all the countries eastward of the rivers Attock and Sind and the Singarh rivulet, these remain attached to the kingdom of Hind.

*Muhammad Sháh's third visit to the Sovereign of Persia, and
departure of the latter*

On the 29th of Muharram the glory of the realms of Hind proceeded to partake of an entertainment given by the ruler of Írán. A quarter of the day passed in rejoicings. A hundred and one pieces of cloth, within which were precious objects from foreign countries, and several trays of jewels, offered by the Sháh, were accepted by the royal visitor, who then took his departure. All the nobles in the regal suite, to the number of nearly one hundred, received presents suited to their rank. This festival was not without its object, for the Sháh had resolved to return to his own dominions. This was as yet secret, but on the 6th of Safar the *Mullá-báshí*, standing at the door of his august master's residence, with a loud voice made the following proclamation —

“Soldiers, the King of Kings and Lord of beneficence, our master, the protector of the world, conquered the country of Hindústán and restored it. To-morrow our victorious banners move towards 'Irák. Be you prepared!”

On the morrow the Sháh rode forth from the citadel, and pitched his camp near the Shálamár gardens, five *kos* from the town, and once more the government of Hindústán devolved on Muhammad Sháh. On the 8th of the month 'Abdu-l Báki Khán, and Hayátu-llah Khán, son of the *Nawáb Násim* A'azzu-d daula, were sent to Láhore with an order directing the latter to collect and forward a contribution of one *lakh* of rupees. The messengers, travelling with rapidity, reached Láhore on the 21st of the same month. They were met by the *Nawáb Násim* in the Shálamár gardens. Hence they continued their way in company to the city. The illustrious messenger here met with the kindest and most courteous reception, and the friendship already existing between the noble entertainer and his guest was much increased. Through the exertions of Kifáyat Khán the demand for a *lakh* of

rupees was modified and a sum of twenty *lacs* taken in addition to the former contribution¹

Tidings having been brought of the Sháh's arrival at Ohakgard, a place thirty *kos* from Láhore, on the banks of the Rávi, across which a bridge of boats had been formed, the *Nawáb Sáhíb Názim* and Abdu'l Báki Khán set out to meet His Persian Majesty on the 27th of Safar. On the 3rd of Rab'ul Awwal, the monarch crossed the river at the above-named spot, and formed his camp on the right bank. The *Nawáb Názim* and his companion entered the camp that same day and were admitted to the presence. The *Názim* met with great courtesy and was honoured with several presents, besides these the Sháh conferred on him the *farman* of the *Nizamat* of Multán (Safu'd daula Bahádur, the late *Názim* was dead) to which His Majesty had caused to be affixed the seal of Muhammad Sháh. Dresses of honour and Arabian horses were given to Khwája Abdu'llah Khán, second son of the late Safu'd daula, to Khwája Hasyátu'llah Khán, and to the other chiefs in the *Názim's* suite * *

On the 9th of Rab'ul Awwal the Sháh's camp was at Kaláwál, a village on the banks of the Chináb, the largest river of the Panjáb. A heavy fall of rain such as is usual in the rainy season, had occurred the previous night, and the bridge had been broken, some of the boats being swamped, and others knocked to pieces. The river's width had so increased that it was impossible to reconstruct a bridge at this point, but a narrower part was found near the village of Akhánur where a bridge was formed by means of iron cables. On the 11th the *Názim* received fresh proofs of the Sháh's generosity.

The Persian camp broke up from Kaláwál on the 14th, and commenced crossing the river at Akhánur. A portion of the army had effected its passage, when the force of the swollen and pent-up stream carried away the bridge with a deafening roar and hurled two thousand *Kazalbashis* into a watery grave. But as the Sháh was anxious to cross the river, he proceeded him

¹ The passage is doubtful.

self, mounted on Mahá-sundar, the powerful elephant that had been bestowed on the *Nawáb Názim*, in search of a ford, or some spot suited to the formation of a bridge. However, it is vain to struggle against destiny, and His Majesty failed in the object of his search, and it was consequently decided that the army should be ferried over in boats at Kalúwál. The camp was therefore moved on the 25th, and the passage was commenced. By the 2nd Rabí'u-s sání, three quarters of the army and baggage had been landed on the opposite bank, and on the following day the *Názim* was permitted to depart, his own sword being returned to him, and his elephant to Hayátu-llah. The *Názim* and his son reached Síálkot the same day. The Persian Emperor, who entertained a great affection for the *Nawab Názim*, directed an epistle to be prepared and forwarded to the ruler of Hind, desiring His Majesty to increase the allowances and the body of horse of this chieftain from seven to eight thousand. The districts of Gujanát, Síálkot, Púrsarúr, and Aurangábád, from which was derived the expenditure of Kábul and Pesháwar; also Dángalí and other places, producing about four *lacs* of *dáms*, and constituting the *jágír* of Násir Khán, *Názim* of Kábul, some districts forming the *samíndáris* of Khudá-yár Khán 'Abbásí, and of Ghází Khán Dudahí, *samíndáris* of Multán, all of which are east of the Attock river, and had been for three years made over to Nádir Sháh, these were now placed under the charge of the *Názim*, subject to a yearly payment of twenty *lacs* of rupees. The *Názim* was at first loath to enter into this arrangement, but several considerations induced him. The chief of these was that if this matter were not thus settled, the Sháh would leave an army in the country, which would be the cause of numerous evils. On the 7th of the month the Sháh himself crossed the river,* and encamped on the right bank, the move being made known to all by discharges of cannon.

The Sháh felt the greatest anxiety to reach Khurásán, where his presence was urgently required to put a stop to disturbances that had broken out in Bukhárá and Khwárizm, for the rulers of

these countries, blinded with pride and ignorance, had withdrawn their necks from the yoke of subjection. Proceeding without a halt, the Sháh crossed the river Attock on the 21st of Jnmáda s sání and on the 25th of Sba bân cast his shadow over the country of Kábul. Hence he marched by way of Darah Ismaíl Hut to correct Khudá yár Khán Abbási *samindár* of Khnd ábád. Having made Hut and Ghází Khán Dudahí obedient, he remained some time in the government of Bhakkar.

Before leaving Kábul, the Nawáb Sháhíb A azu-d daula and Hayátu llah Khán Bahádur, who governed the province of Multán as his father's deputy had been directed to join the Sháh whenever his army should enter the territories of Khudá yár Khán and to assist in settling the affairs of that district. Hayátu llah Khán lost no time in joining the Sháh and the *Názim* starting on the 26th of Shawwál from the fortress of Jamun, which had fallen to his arms only a few days before, passed one night at Láhore. On the 23rd of Zí l biyya he left Multán to proceed towards the Persian camp by water.

Copy of the Sháh's Letter above mentioned

To the exalted and most noble of Kháns the illustrious Zakariyá Khán, *Názim* of the provinces of Láhore and Multán with assurances of our warmest friendship, be it known that, whereas His Majesty has resolved to make a tour this year through the country of Sind in order to chastise certain rebellious chieftains in those parts, and whereas it is deemed probable that one or more of these chiefs may attempt to fly towards Multán which would render it necessary for the conquering army to cross the river Sind, to pursue and capture the fugitives and whereas between this powerful government and that of Hindústán there exists perfect concord it is necessary that the illustrious *Názim* should be prepared to move from Láhore towards Multán on receiving an order to this effect, and with his troops guard the approaches to this city, that those who

may cross the river may be punished, and such energy displayed for this purpose as may render unnecessary the co-operation of the royal forces. In addition the Khán may rest assured of the kindly feelings of the Emperor of Emperors towards him, and may expect everything from his generosity. Written on the 21st of Jumáda-s sání, A.H. 1152.

Entry of Nádir Sháh into the territories of Khudá-yár Khán.

Of all the frontier-chiefs none equalled Khudá-yár Khán in the extent of their possessions, the number of their soldiers, and the fertility of their resources. When first Nádir Sháh arrived under the walls of Kandahár, this chieftain formed vain schemes of checking the advance of the victorious army and holding the passes, thus, as if impelled by fatality, making an enemy to himself of a monarch favoured by fortune, whose sword, like the orb of light, had flashed over the world from east to west. Now, that the tidings of the Sháh's advance broke upon his dream of fancied security, he left his son in command of his troops, and himself, with his women and wealth, withdrew into the fortress of Amarkot, a strong place, surrounded on two sides by water and on the other two by sand-hills.

When the Sháh's army drew near, the son gave up all idea of fighting, and prepared to do homage to the Emperor on condition that his father should not be required to appear, but these terms were not acceded to, and the foolish youth was kept prisoner. The Sháh again moved rapidly forward to lay siege to Amarkot, and the news of this advance shook, as if with the shock of an earthquake, the warlike resolve of Khudá-yár Khán. He immediately sent away his women and his property to the sandy country, but stayed behind himself to make arrangements for the removal of twenty-two *lacs* of rupees, for which carriage had not been procurable, and determined to follow on the morrow.

But the morrow brought forth unexpected events, for the Sháh, learning that the game might still be secured by a bold cast of the net, pushed forward from Ládgaón, distant from

Amarkot thirty *farsakhs*, on the evening of the 28th of Zí l ka da and suddenly surrounded the fort about daybreak on the following morning. Immediately the soldiery commenced the work of destruction. Khudá yár Khán, seeing no path open to escape, came forth with cries for mercy, and did homage; and thus course, which he should have before adopted, proved his salvation. The Sháh mindful of the maxim that there are more joys in forgiving than in punishing received him with kindness, and forgave his faults. The twenty two *lacs* found in the fort and some jewels were seized by the Emperor's officers, and the Sháh returned to Ládgaón where the camp equipage had been left, and where were discussed the affairs of Khudá yár Khán who had accompanied His Majesty since his surrender.

About two hours before the close of day His Majesty received A azru d daula in the royal audience tent. This nobleman was treated with even more than former courtesy and the Emperor graciously observed that he must have been put to much inconvenience in so long a journey. On the 7th the Nawáb Náẓim received tokens of the esteem in which he was held by the Sháh * *

Khudá yár Khán Abbási, since his submission, had remained in the royal camp. The monarch now with kingly magnificence, raised him from the dust and re-established him in possession of his *samtsaddi* with the title of Sháh Kulí Khán and the government of the province of Thattá. The conditions of this arrangement were an annual payment of ten *lacs* of rupees and the furnishing to the Persian monarch of a contingent of two thousand horse under one of the Khán's sons. The Khán, who might have expected a very different treatment as the result of his conduct, was dismissed with the present of a horse to his home on the 15th of Muharram A.H. 1152 (12th April 1739 A.D.)

Nádir Sháh, having finally settled the affairs of Hindústán resolved to set his face towards the country of Khurásán, where frequent disturbances occurred, acting as a thorn in his side

XCV

NÁDIR-NÁMA

OF

MIRZÁ MUHAMMAD MAHDÍ

THIS history is the production of Mirzá Muhammad Mahdí of Mázarán, who attended Nádir Sháh as confidential secretary in all his military expeditions. The character of this detailed history is generally eulogistic, but as the author survived his master, and has not omitted to recount the mad actions committed by Nádir Sháh in the latter period of his life, faith may be generally placed in his relation of the events of this period. The *Nádir-náma* was translated into French by Sir W. Jones at the desire of the King of Denmark, and is therefore well known to European students. Another name which this work bears is *Tárikh-i Jahán-kushái*, but as that name is generally appropriated to the valuable history of the Mughals by 'Aláu-d dín Malik 'Atá Mahk Juwainí (No. IX, Vol. II p. 384), it will save confusion not to give the title to the *Nádir-náma*.

The life of Nádir by Mr. Fraser, who availed himself of contemporary records in India, and the works of Jonas Hanway, afford the English reader all the information he can desire on the subject of this tyrant.

SIZE—8vo, 688 pages of 15 lines each

XOVI

TAHMÁSP NÁMA

or

MISKÍN

THIS is an autobiographical piece giving an interesting account of several occurrences during the downfall of the Empire. It bears very much the same character as the *Bayán : Wáht'* of Abdul Karím. The author is careless about dates, but they can easily be supplied by the light which other historians, European and Asiatic, shed upon the transactions he records. There seems reason to suppose that the author's name was Tahmásp to which he added the literary name of Miskín. The text, however is not very plain on this subject. The title of the work may perhaps be derived from the name assumed by Nádir Sháh on his entering the service of Sháh Tahmásp.

SIZE—Large 8vo 314 pages of 17 lines each

XCVII

BAHRU-T TAWÁRIKH.

THIS unique, but worthless, "Sea of Histories," comprises accounts of the Asiatic monarchies. The volume is an autograph, in the library of the Nawáb of Tonk, with many marginal notes, also apparently in the handwriting of the author, containing some additional information on the meagre histories in the text

As the preface to the first book is not contained within this volume, we are left in ignorance of the author's name, object and authorities. He was most probably an Indian, as he deals at disproportionate length with the History of India, which, however, is carried down only to the reign of Jahángír. It is evident that the volume is imperfect in this portion, and that all that follows in the book, as at present bound, originally belonged to the first volume, which begins just as the second volume closes, with an imperfect sentence. From his history of the Emperors of Turkey, it appears that the author visited Mecca on a pilgrimage in the year 1160 A H (1747 A D), which is all that we learn of him in the course of the work. As the second book contains a short preface, which was wanting in the first, the ignorant binder has given it the precedence, and thus transposed the proper order.

From this preface we learn that the second book was commenced in the year 1099 A H (1687-8), a date which might be open to doubt, were it not twice repeated in the preface, in which also several other corresponding dates are given confirmative of this. The work is, nevertheless, carried down beyond the time of Nádir Sháh's invasion of India, and the date of 1154 A H. (1741 A D) is twice distinctly quoted towards the end.

These passages, as well as the marginal notes, may have been added by some other hand, but there is an appearance of uniformity about the work which does not appear to warrant this inference, and we are therefore led to the conclusion, that the author lived to an old age and was engaged upon the revision of this work for more than half a century. The passage, moreover in which the writer states that he visited Mecca in 1160 A.H. seems evidently written by the same person who wrote the beginning of the volume. This compilation is divided into detached chapters, one being devoted to each separate dynasty and the disregard of order is of course chiefly attributable to the mistake in the binding.

CONTENTS

Second Book.—Preface pp. 1 to 3—Turks early Mughals and Karáklutáns, pp. 3 to 15—Ghorian Dynasties, pp. 16 to 26—Kings of Kirt, Khwárizm Chángíz Khán and his descendants, pp. 26 to 90—Tímur and his descendants, pp. 90 to 122—Sultáns of Hindustán pp. 123 to 165

First Book.—Hindí and Muhammadan Doctrines of the Creation pp. 165 to 208—Muhammad and the twelve Imáms, pp. 208 to 290—Kings of Ajam, Arabia, Abyssinia, Róm Egypt, the Popes and Khalífas etc., etc., pp. 291 to 490—Sámáníá, Ghaznivídes Buwaihídes Saljúks Atábaks, etc., pp. 490 to 694—Safavíans, Nádir Sháh, and Sultáns of Róm pp. 695 to 745

Size—8vo 745 pages of 11 lines each. Including marginal notes these mean an average of about 13 lines to a page.

The *Bahru t Tawarikh* offers nothing worthy of Extract

XCVIII

MUHAMMAD-NÁMA

THIS work was written according to the express orders of the Emperor Muhammad Sháh, by some dependent of Nawáb Mustafá Khán, surnamed Mustatáb Ján Bába

SIZE—8vo., 280 pages of 17 lines each

XCIX

TÁRÍKH-I MUHAMMAD SHÁHÍ

OF

YU'SUF MUHAMMAD KHÁN.

THIS work is mentioned in the *Má-ásnu-l umarâ* as one of the sources whence the materials of that valuable work were derived. The *Tárikh-i Chaghatai* (p 21 *suprà*) and the *Tárikh-i Nádiru-z Zamani* (p 70 *suprà*) are sometimes called by this name.

There is no copy of either of these works among Sir H. M. Elliot's MSS. An Extract bearing the title of this last proves to be identical with the *Siyar u-l Muta-akhhharin*.

O

TARĪKH-I AHMAD SHĀH

[THE Editor has been unable to discover either the exact title of this work or the name of the author. There is no copy of the original MS. in Sir H. M. Elliot's library nor is the work to be found in the British Museum in the Library of the India Office or in that of the Royal Asiatic Society. The following Extracts have been taken from a translation made by Mr (now Sir) D. Forsyth and headed *History of Ahmad Shāh*. It is a work of some length, and terminates abruptly about six months before the deposition of Ahmad in 1754 A. H. It begins with the following exordium.]

EXTRACTS.

The occurrence of all great events, which may not even have entered into the conception of the human mind, becomes clear and manifest at its own proper time, and in the list of extraordinary and unlooked for events, may be mentioned the elevation of Ahmad Shāh, son of Muhammad Shāh, to the throne.

And the history of these events is detailed as follows —

Muhammad Shāh had received from his ancestors, dominions of large extent which they had by dint of prowess and successful exertion wrested from other illustrious Kings and annexed to the territories already under their rule. But instead of being impressed with the importance of attending to the affairs of his kingdom and turning his earnest attention as became an Emperor towards the management of the country Muhammad Shāh from the commencement of his reign displayed the greatest carelessness in his government, spending all his time in sport and play. This neglect on the part of the Sovereign was speedily taken advantage

of by all the *amirs* and nobles, who usurped possession of *súbas* and *parganas*, and appropriated to themselves the revenues of those provinces, which in former days were paid into the Royal treasury, and amounted to several *lacs* of rupees. From these provinces not one farthing found its way into the Royal chest ; but a small revenue was still derived from those few *khálisa parganas* which as yet remained faithful to their allegiance. As the Royal treasury became gradually emptied, the Emperor's army was reduced to great straits, and at last entirely broken up, whilst the nobles of the land, who in the time of former sovereigns could never have got together such an amount of wealth, or so large a force, now amassed large sums of money from their own *jágírs*, and from those Government lands of which they had seized possession, and from the *jágírs* of others, a twentieth portion of which they did not give to the rightful owners. With this wealth they were able to keep up an immense army, with which the Emperor was unable to cope. Thus the Emperor found himself more circumscribed than his nobles, upon whom he, in fact, became dependent, and was unable to depose or displace any one of them.

This state of things lasted till the period of Nádir Sháh's arrival in Hindústán, from Irán, about the year 1151 A H. As Muhammad Sháh had no means whatever of resistance, he was completely dependent upon his nobles, with whose forces he went out to meet Nádir Sháh. But owing to the want of unity in all the councils and actions of the nobles, they were unable to effect anything like a stand against him, and soon were defeated by the enemy. * *

The condition of the country after the departure of Nádir Sháh was worse than before. The *amirs* took what they liked. The Emperor spent what remained to him in sports and pastime. He locked up his son, Ahmad Sháh, in one part of the citadel, not wishing him to appear in public. He kept him in the greatest indigence, and would not allow him to indulge in the game of *chaugán*, hunting, shooting, or any royal sports, such as he practised himself. * *

First Durrání Invasion.

At the time (of Ahmad Afghán's first invasion) Muhammad Sháh was suffering from an attack of paralysis, and was not able to sit on horseback but he ordered his chief nobles to set out and quell this rebellion on the frontier. For this purpose Kamru d dín Khán *Núrat Jang Wá-lra i Mamdúk*, * * Safdar Jang *Mir-dásh*, Sa'ádat Khán Bahádur *Zú i fíkr Jang* third paymaster, Násir Khán Bahádur, and Rája Isrí Singh, *Zásindár* of Amber and Jaipur with other nobles and *sardárs*, took their departure on the 18th of Muharram, in the thirtieth year of the reign. In the space of fifteen days or so, this army had proceeded fifteen miles from Dehlí, when news came of Ahmad Afghán having reached Láhore with his force. Also news came that Hayátn Ilah Khán had guarded all the gates and streets, and had sent a force under Sadar Zilla Khán Kasur Pathán to oppose him. But Zilla Khán immediately went over to the enemy with his whole force and Hayátn Ilah Khán seeing resistance no longer possible, fled, without striking a blow and left all his property and treasure in Láhore. I timádu-d daula wrote to the Emperor representing that all the *sardárs* and nobles were declaring themselves independent, but that if the Emperor would send his son Prince Ahmad from Dehlí, to take charge of the army and to remain at its head the war could easily be put an end to.

Muhammad Sháh was most unwilling to part with any authority to his son but being in great straits, and completely helpless, he sent for his son on the 19th of Safar, kissed him in open *Darbar* gave him a copy of the Kurán and then dismissed him. He would not give him any title or rank to assume, but provided a suitable *sawári* of elephants, horses, etc. and Sa'ádat Khán, his maternal uncle, was appointed his counsellor that he might give him the best advice on all occasions. The management of all war affairs was given over to I timádu-d daula.

When the Royal army reached Máchiwára, the spies gave

information that Ahmad Afghán had reached Phulor, which is about thirty miles from Máchíwára. The generals entered into deliberation, whether they should cross the Sutlej or not, but they came to the resolution not to do so, lest the enemy, avoiding an attack, should cross over at some other place. They therefore determined to remain where they were. They soon heard that the enemy had crossed at the ford near Lúdhnyána, which is about twenty miles distant from Máchíwára, and having laid waste the country round about the high road, was proceeding towards Sirhind. As Ahmad Afghán carried on his person no signs of superior rank, Prince Ahmad was unable to learn whether he was with his army or behind, and fearing lest he should be in the rear, and suddenly fall on his army, he marched two or three miles a day along the river towards Lúdhnyána in search of the enemy. He then heard that Ahmad Afghán had passed straight on to Sirhind with his force, and had set that city on fire, and got possession of the *wazir*'s treasure. When this intelligence reached Delhi, the greatest consternation and dismay prevailed, and the inhabitants prepared to fly with their families. * *

News was brought that Prince Ahmad, with I'timádu-d daula, had fallen back from the banks of the Sutlej and met with Ahmad Afghán's force about six miles from Sirhind, and had immediately erected batteries on four sides of his force. The enemy also erected batteries on his side in the gardens of Sirhind. A fire on both sides was opened on the 13th Rabí'u-l awwal, 1161 A H (31d March, 1748 A D), and many men were killed in both armies. The firing continued for eight days, when Ahmad Afghán, seeing that this kind of warfare would never end, threw up a battery on a mound near the Prince's force, from which the guns threw their fire right into the Royal camp, passing over the batteries of his own army. Many members of the Royal army were killed. The whole responsibility of the war rested upon I'timádu-d daula, and to him all the soldiers cried out to be led into a general action. But to this I'timádu-d daula would not consent, saying that the enemy would soon be ruined of himself.

The soldiers therefore began to make themselves as secure as they could in the camp, when of a sudden, one day Ahmad Afghán sent a camel, with melons, apples, etc., and a letter to the Prince, desiring peace, and stipulating that if the Emperor would leave him Kábul and Thuttá, which Nádir Sháh had given him, and all the gold which Nádir Sháh had brought from Dehli he would evacuate the country.

The Prince sent this letter with the camel to Zu-l fikár Jang (Sa ádat Khán) who forwarded it again to I'timádn-d danla. He sent an answer to Ahmad Afghán that he was to come and throw himself as a suppliant before the Prince, and do homage to him and he would then endeavour to procure his pardon. Seeing from this advice that there was no hope of his stipulations being acceded to, Ahmad Afghán prepared for a general action and on Friday, the 21st Rabí ul áwwal, when three or four *gharis* of the day had passed—*ie* about eight o'clock A.M.—he opened fire from his guns. A ball from a cannon reached the tents of I'timádn d danla Bahadur Nusrat Jang and passing through them struck the *scatir* on his side, and, strange to say all his attendants and followers, who were standing close around him escaped unhurt. His son Mu'inn l Mulk, was at the batteries at the time, and hearing of his father's accident, came to him at once in great distress, and found him just expiring. A minute or two after he died. * * In the mean time news arrived that Ahmad Afghán had got inside the intrenchment with his force, and was fighting there. Mu'inn l Mulk set out immediately to oppose the enemy's further progress and this intelligence reached the Prince, Abú l Mansúr Khán Babádur (Safdar Jang) Rája Isrí Singh and the other *sardars* who mounted their horses with the greatest expedition. * * They fought so well with the enemy that with the greatest exertion and a display of fiery zeal they destroyed some thousands defeated the Afghán army and followed up the fight for one or two miles, slaughtering and wounding * * The enemy who had at that time lost half his force, was unable to withstand the

attack of Safdar Jang, and seeing a favourable opening, bore down on the right wing of the Royal army, which had been deserted by Isri Singh. Safdar Jang, on hearing of the attack in this quarter, left Mu'nu-l Mulk and came to the assistance of the Prince's portion of the army, and his force committed the greatest havoc. Ahmad Afghán then fled with the remnant of his men, and taking shelter in a small fort, began to open a fire of cannon, and killed a number of men. To attack this fort, several large guns were brought up, and planted ready; but night came on before any attack was made. During the night Ahmad, seeing that it was useless to hold out any longer against the superior force of the Prince, who had gained a decided advantage, he silenced his guns, and under favour of the darkness fled, no one knew in what direction. The Prince with his army remained under arms the whole night; and when morning came, they were surprised to find no trace of the enemy.

The army remained in the same position till the 25th Rabí'u-l awwal, when messengers arrived from Ahmad Afghán bearing again the same proposals for peace, viz. the cession of Kábul and Thattá, and the restoration of the money which Nádir Sháh had taken. The Prince, however, would not listen to these terms.

As the enemy was completely defeated, and all his forces totally routed, all messages for peace were merely sent as excuses to gain time so as to enable his treasure and baggage to be brought out from Sirhind. * * When Ahmad Afghán saw that his object could not be gained by peaceable means, and that he could not get out his property from Sirhind, he came out on the 26th to offer battle again. The Prince, too, came out to battle with all his forces. The battle was carried on for some time with artillery only. The enemy retreated before the superior force of the Prince, and Ahmad Afghán himself kept at a distance, viewing the two armies. As the fire approached him, he avoided it and fled. The artillery played the whole day, but ceased then

fire at oventide. All that night the Prince's men stood to their arms. The next morning the battle was renewed on all sides, but the Afgháns could not gain the superiority. When two watches of the day had passed, Ahmad Afghán took the road to Ludhiyána in flight, and sent a message through Safdar Jang to the Prince, that Muhammad Takí Khán was coming to make a treaty. Safdar Jang believing this to be true, withdrew his men from the pursuit, thus allowing the enemy time to withdraw all his property and treasure towards Ludhiyána. * * Orders were speedily issued for pursuit, and they were responded to with the greatest alacrity by the army who followed up and slew all the stragglers and those who were worn out with flight, of Ahmad's army, and took all the swords, horses and camels they could find. Whoever got the plunder was allowed to keep it for himself. Many were made prisoners, and the number of horses, mules, etc., which were captured, was immense. On the next day the army halted, and on the 29th Rabi' ul awwal the Prince marched into Ludhiyána, a distance of twenty miles. * *

At that time Safdar Jang had the full command of the army and no one could do anything without his orders. To him the Prince gave his commands that they should march towards Láhore, to prevent the possibility of the enemy attempting to take that city after he had recruited his strength a little. Safdar Jang did not agree to this plan and endeavoured to delay by every kind of stratagem and two or three days afterwards having marched five or six *kos* from Lúdhíyána, he encamped, hoping that news might reach the Emperor of what was going on. At last the Emperor consented that the Prince Sa'ádat Khán Bahádur and Safdar Jang should come back to Court, and that Mu'inn ul Mulk and Násir Khán should march to Láhore and Kábul. The Prince sent off his tents for Dehlí the next day and on the evening of the 23rd he invested Mu'inn ul Mulk with the command of the army and sent him off towards Láhore. On the 24th, having despatched Násir Khán towards Kábul he set out himself in the morning

for Dehlí, and having reached his first stage, sent a letter to the Emperor, which reached his presence on the 26th Rabi'û-s sání Mu'ínu-l Mulk marched with his force stage by stage to Láhoie

Death of Muhammad Sháh and accession of Ahmad Shah.

The Emperor was naturally of a weak constitution * * He was frequently subject to bad fevers, and at this time he was thus afflicted, when he one day was carried in a litter to the Masjid Sangi Gate, which was inside the fort, and there sat in state with all his nobles and attendants. All of a sudden he fainted away * * He recovered a little from his fainting fit, * * but his speech had entirely left him. Every moment the Emperor's illness changed its symptoms, and he was insensible during the whole night. The next morning, on the 27th Rabi'û-s sání, in the thirty-first year of his reign, 1 H 1161 (15 April, 1748 A D), the Emperor breathed his last. Those who were present at the time of his decease were of opinion that the wisest course to pursue would be to conceal from the public the news of the Emperor's death till the arrival of the Prince, and they accordingly enjoined strict silence on all those who were aware of the melancholy event which had happened. They then put the corpse into the wooden case of a European clock, which was very long, and stood in the Hayát Bakhsh Garden, and for a shroud they procured a cloth from the *dárogha* of the kitchen, pretending it was required for the dinner table. They buried him in the garden. Letters were then despatched to the Prince, informing him of the dangerous illness of the Emperor, and urging him to come to Dehlí with all possible speed, but they made no mention of the Emperor's death.

The Prince, on hearing the sad news, pushed on with all haste * * Beyond Pánípat he was met by a procession bearing the Golden Umbrella and the other emblems of Royalty, which had been sent by Safdar Jang. Though the Prince, on seeing these emblems, was given to understand that his father had died, he

did not wish to assume hastily the regal title, but proposed to go on to Dehlí as usual, and there, having mourned for his father three or four days, and having performed all the funeral ceremonies, then to assume the title of Emperor. But Safdar Jang seeing the evil that was likely to result from this, would not permit such delay. The Prince was forced to submit, and assumed the Royal Umbrella and all the insignia of royalty and the usual rejoicings took place. * * The length of Muhammad Sháh's reign was thirty years and twenty-seven days, dating his ascent to the throne from the murder of Farrukh Siyar.¹

When the Prince succeeded his father on the throne of Dehlí he took the title of *Mujáhidn-d dín Ahmad Sháh Ghází*, and in the prayers and on the coins these titles were adopted, and to his deceased parent he gave the title of *Hazrat Firdaus Arámgháh*. Ahmad Sháh was not a man of great intellect all the period of his youth till manhood had been spent in the *harem*, and he had had absolutely no experience whatever of the affairs of a kingdom, or of the cares of government. Besides this, he was surrounded by all kinds of youthful pleasures, which every person, seeing the turn of his mind, was anxious to display before him to entice his fancy. As a natural consequence, he gave himself up entirely to pastime and sports, and bestowed no thought on the weighty affairs of the kingdom. To manage a country and wield a sceptre is a matter full of difficulty and until an Emperor understands thoroughly himself the good and bad tendency of every measure, he cannot be fit for a ruler. For this reason Ahmad Sháh was unable to govern the empire entrusted to him.

In the month *Jumáda-s sání*, or one month after his ascent to

¹ [The *Tárikh i Muwaffaqi* says, "The length of the reign of this sovereign, from his accession on the 11th Zi-l ka da, was thirty years four months and twelve days; or reckoning according to the official account from 9th Rabi'u-s sání, the day on which Farrukh Siyar was placed in confinement, thirty years eleven months and eighteen days. His age was forty-nine years. He left one son, Prince Mirza Ahmad, and one daughter, Hazrat Begam."]

the throne, news was brought from the Dakhin that Nizámu-l Mulk Ásaf Jáh, the Názim of the Dakhin *súbas*, who also filled the office of head paymaster in the Royal Court, and whose son Gházíu-d dín Khán acted for him, had died. In his place, his younger son Ahmad Khán Násir Jang was appointed, he having before acted with satisfaction to his master for his father, when Nizámu-l Mulk came to Delhí in Muhammad Sháh's time, and this appointment was made at once to prevent the chance of any rebellion or insurrection breaking out among rival candidates. On hearing this news, the Emperor bestowed on Abú-l Mansúr Khán Safdar Jang the empty post of *vazir*, vacated by I'timádu-d dawlá's death, and the paymastership, vacated by the death of Nizámu-l Mulk, he bestowed on Zú-l fikár Jang.

The same day, Jáwed Khán, the head eunuch, who in the time of Muhammad Sháh had the entire management of the *harem*, and had the *entrée* to the women's apartments, and although 50 years old, could neither read nor write, but being constantly in the presence of the Emperor, had represented himself as being well up to business and an intelligent man, prevailed on the simple-minded youth of an Emperor to appoint him *darogha* of the *Durán-i khass*, with a *mansab* of 6000, thus exalting him far above his equals * * The Emperor gave over the entire management of the country to him. The Nawáb, who had in the days of the former sovereign carried on a secret intimacy with Ahmad Sháh's mother, who was originally a dancing girl, now openly governed the realm in concert with her, and, contrary to the custom of all *harems*, where no male domestics are allowed at night, he always remained in the women's apartments all night, and in the day used to converse with low characters, such as *khansámáns*, and did not look on the nobles

Character, qualities, and lineage of the mother of the Emperor.

Udham Báí, the mother of Ahmad Sháh, was first introduced into Muhammad Sháh's *harem* in the beginning of his reign, and

she received the title of Udham Bâi, and for some time remained the favoured one in the sight of the Emperor. But her good fortune deserted her, and she fell to a state of abjectness. She became the contempt of the *harems* lost all her character and station, and was not even at last allowed to see her own son. When however her son Ahmad Khân, ascended the throne her star of prosperity daily increased, till at last she surpassed all the Begams. She was first called Bâi Jiu Sâhiba, afterwards "the Parent of the Pure the Lady of the Age, Sâhib Ji Sâhiba, on whom be peace!" Then she was called Hazrat, afterwards Kibla-i Âlam in addition to the former titles held in the deceased Emperor's time, and although she had already a *mansab* of 50 000 yet owing to the intimacy she kept up with the Nawâb she managed to have the rule of the whole Empire. Notwithstanding the lowness of her origin and the very humble position which she had till lately held, the fruits of her generosity and magnanimity soon became known and landed. First of all she gave to all the young children of the deceased Emperor who in his time got no monthly pension £50 a month. To many of the Begams she gave larger pensions out of the Government purse, to many more out of her own private funds and on any person who had managed anyhow to make his case known to her she bestowed charity. Having called together the families of her children and grandchildren, she distributed to them large presents of money and fixed monthly salaries for their maintenance. In short, the Queen and the Nawâb took the whole government into their own hands, and the Emperor had nothing left but the empty title * *

Second Durrânî Invasion.

After several months Ahmad Khân Afghân again made his appearance with an army and crossing the Indus made direct for Lâhore. Munnî Mulk marched out from Lâhore, and crossing the Râvi with a large force, went to meet him and encamped two miles from Lâhore, where he threw up three

intrenchments Ahmad Khán, after crossing the Chináb and Jhelam, reached within six miles of his camp, and some smart skirmishing took place, but Mu'inn-ul Mulk, seeing that the enemy's force was so superior to his own, would not engage in a general battle. Ahmad Khán's forces, separating in all directions, laid waste the villages and fields on every side, till they arrived in the neighbourhood of Láhore, destroying all the country in its proximity. Mu'inn-ul Mulk took no notice of this destruction to the country, though it was apparent to his eyes. The news of Ahmad Khán's attack speedily reached the ears of the Emperor and the *wazir*, but no one thought of sending troops to assist Mu'inn-ul Mulk, on the contrary, the *wazir* was not a little pleased to hear of his embarrassment.

At last news arrived that Mu'inn-ul Mulk had, according to the advice and instructions of the Emperor, ceded to Ahmad Afghán the four *maháls* of Láhore, viz. Siálkot, Imanábád, Parsaúr and Aurangábád, which had formerly belonged to the ruler of Kábul. Násir Khán was appointed to manage these four *maháls* and send the yearly revenue to Kábul. Ahmad Khán, being perfectly satisfied with this arrangement, quitted the Panjáb for Kábul, and Mu'inn-ul Mulk returned to Láhore * *

One day a number of oppressed subjects assembled themselves together in the empty courtyard opposite the Nawáb's palace, and waited there till he came out to go to the Emperor, when they mobbed him and detailed all their grievances. The Nawáb, as usual, tried to put them off by fair words and deceitful promises, and wished to escape from them inside the palace, but was forcibly detained, his clothes being held by the people, who would not let him go till he settled for the payment of their arrears. His clothes were torn to pieces, and the fragments remained in the hands of the soldiers * *. The complaints of the sepoys grew daily louder. The Emperor went to the Queen-mother, and said that he was completely overpowered by his troops, and his reputation was entirely gone, and therefore

begged for assistance from the Queen so as to escape from their importunity. This gave rise to much discussion. At last, having taken all the ornaments from the three Begams, he pledged them for money, to the value of several *lacs* of rupees, but he paid no one their salaries. The soldiers, on account of their want of pay and the nobles through the want of some controlling power instead of their own authority, became helpless and reduced to extremities.

At this time Káim Khán Afghán, who was the chief of Kanauj and Farrukhábád, and a noble in the Royal Court, who held a *mansab* of 7000 and had the titles of Káim Jang and Káimu-d daula, whose father likewise had held these lands in the time of the former Emperor made arrangements for war upon Sa du llah Khán, son of the *Zamindár* of Alola and Bangash in the district of Sambhal, on the other side of the Ganges, and got together a large force and artillery. Sa du llah Khán heard of his approach, and prepared to resist his attack, but first tried the effect of negotiation. * * But as Káim had the superiority in force, he would not listen to any negotiation. A general battle ensued. In the midst of the battle a ball struck Káim and killed him. Sa du llah Khán returned with immense spoil to his own territory. The Emperor entertained no feelings of displeasure or distress on hearing of this business, but the *amir* seized upon the favourable opportunity for taking possession of the lands of Káim Khán, determining that as so great a *sardár* as Káim had been removed, it should be a long time before such another took his place. At last the Emperor had nothing whatever to say to anything that went on, and the Nawáb became in reality the reigning sovereign as far as concerned the managing the revenues and general affairs of the country. The Emperor considered it to be the most agreeable to him to spend all his time in ease and pleasure, and he made his *zenana* so large that it extended for a mile. For a week together he would remain without seeing the face of any male being and he would live in his gardens for one and two months at a time.

Second Rohilla Insurrection Malhár Holkar

After the departure of Safdar Jang, Ahmad Khán's followers put to death the *kotwál* of Farrukhábád, who had been appointed by the *wazir*. On hearing this a fire was kindled in the *wazir*'s mind, and he determined to take possession for himself of all their lands and houses. The Rohillas had greatly the superiority in numbers, and the *wazir*'s force, unable to withstand them, gave way. The *wazir* remained watching his force giving way, and as the battle drew near to him, his elephant was wounded in several places, and he himself received a ball in the chin which just grazed the skin, singeing his beard, and narrowly missing his head. The *mahout*, seeing this, turned the elephant's head, carried him out of the battle-field, and in one day brought him to the neighbourhood of Koel, a distance of forty miles, where his wound was healed. The *sardárs* of his army fled from the field on all sides; none remained with the *wazir*. The whole of the tents and baggage fell into the hands of the Rohillas.

Rája Isrí Singh, master of 7000 horse, died. As he had no son, his younger brother, Mádhú Singh, who was grandson of the Ráná, and had lived with the Ráná since his birth, was installed in his place. In the confusion consequent on change of rulers, Malhár Holkar Mahratta Dakhmí, who was *Názim* of the Málwá country, came with a large force and sat down before Jaipúr. Mádhú Singh, being unable to cope with Holkar's force, tried the effect of peaceful negotiation, but Holkar would listen to no terms, except those of Mádhú Singh giving up all his treasure and guns, in which case he promised to evacuate the country, if not, he would take possession of the territory, and as an earnest of his intentions, he laid waste the country of Jaipúr for about ten or twelve miles, and the inhabitants of the town were unable to get supplies of grain and grass. Mádhú Singh, being thus reduced, came to Holkar, whose men at once seized all his jewels and money and plundered as they chose. Holkar then dismissed the Rája, and returned to his own territory.

The *scavir* sent Rájá Rám Huzain his *dikán*, and Rájá Jagat Kishor, who had the *súba* of Bengal, to Malhár Holkar with a message that he ought to assist him in punishing the impudence of the rebel Afgháns. These two used their utmost powers of persuasion to influence Holkar to come over the Jumna by Agra, and when the *scavir* heard of this arrangement having been definitely made, he himself started but this time took none of the Játis etc., with him. He gave the whole charge of the force into Holkar's hands. At that time there was no great *sardár* of note in Hindustán who had obtained a superiority over the rest. The *scavir* used to go sometimes to Holkar's tents, and Holkar came to him. Holkar left his tents two or three miles ahead of the *scavir* and in this way proceeded till they reached the country of the Afgháns. They had this time collected together a force one hundredfold as great as the former one. Holkar's army as it proceeded, laid waste the country cutting off all supplies from the Afghán force. On the other side of the Ganges the road was in the hands of the Afgháns, who guarded it on both sides. A battle took place between the two forces, but Ahmad Khán Afghán was unable to withstand the enemy and retreated along the banks of the river, till he found a ford where he crossed, and thence fled.

The towns of Farrukhábád Atáipúr and others, fell into the possession of the Dakhnís. They destroyed the houses, and took away as plunder all the guns, etc., and a large amount of treasure which the Rohilla force had been unable to carry away with them. The Afgháns, because that the Dakhníf force was unable to pursue them encamped on the Rámghanga, near Bareilly. The *scavir* crossing over the Ganges with his army went to attack the Afgháns. The Dakhníf army remained on this side, and the Afghán force on the other side of the river. The *scavir* and Malhár Ráo separately went in pursuit of the army which was encamped on the banks of the Rámghanga. A running fight was kept up between the contending forces for several days. At last the Afgháns, departing from thence with all their families and

baggage, went to Alola, the residence of Sa'du-llah Khán. The *wazir* and Malhár followed them thither, and blockaded Alola. Ahmad Khán and Sa'du-llah Khán first went in the direction of the Jumna, which is towards the northern hills, and has a ford at Burya, that they might cross the river there, and having plundered Suhnd, might go on to Láhore. But they were afraid to undertake this enterprise, from fear of the enemy. They sent off their families into the hills, and hid themselves in the thickest jungles of a forest, which is one hundred miles in length, and thirty or forty miles in breadth, and there remained concealed. The victorious army entrenched themselves near these jungles, and held themselves in readiness for a fight. During this time the forces of the Mahratta Dakhnís, splitting up into small bodies, began plundering Murádábád, and all the cities and *parganas* of that part of the country. These places, having never before been visited by any plundering army, had been inhabited long time by merchants and bankers, who had amassed great wealth, which they kept in these cities. The Dakhní force attacked and ransacked the whole country, not allowing a single man to escape, and every article of money or property they carried off as booty. Many of the old families were completely ruined. Most of the better class of men, to save themselves from disgrace, committed suicide.

The Afghán force, which remained concealed in the jungles, now and then sallied forth against the *wazir*'s troops, and, having made successful attacks, returned to their place of shelter. The *wazir*'s men were quite on the alert to attack in their turn, but they could not by any means get the enemy out of the woods into the open. They then tried to blockade the forest, and cut off all supplies of grain, but as they received their supplies from the Rája of Kumáun in the rear, the Afghán army was not in the least inconvenienced. Many a time the *wazir* sent word to the Rája, to seize on all their supplies, but his message had no effect. Although the *wazir* had intrenched himself, was watching patiently his opportunity, and had spent large sums of

money in this undertaking, yet the Emperor of Dehli gave himself not the slightest concern about what was going on. He was employed constantly in pleasure and sport and the *Nawab* who was entrusted with the whole management of the Empire, was busy peculating in the public money * *

When the *Amir-i-umara* (Sa'adat Khan) returned from Ajmir and paid his respects at the Court at Dehli he found the Emperor's condition changed entirely. The *Nawab* (Jawed) in the absence of Ahmad Afghan and of *Mir Bakhsht* (Sa'adat Khan), who had gone towards Ajmir to settle the affairs of the Rájputs had acquired such an accession of power that it was almost impossible for him to have more—to such a degree in fact, that when the *Bakhsht* wished that he might receive some *jagir* and money pension in return for his services and the fortune which he had expended in the war he was unable to obtain the gratification of his wish but, on the contrary his rank and power became somewhat diminished. Although he petitioned the Emperor his petitions were made over to the *Nawab*. The *Bakhsht*, who was a man of good birth, and had never been accustomed to make his requests through the medium of any third party became greatly distressed and annoyed at this, and relaxed in his visits to the royal presence. His servants pressed him for their pay but the *Amir* explained to them his abject condition, and shewed it to the world till at last he fortified his house with rockets and other firearms, and then shot himself up. And it was commonly reported that he said (whether true or false) to his friends, "There is no Emperor here. Why should we go to the *darbar* of a eunuch, to be insulted, and have our dignity lessened? To whom shall I state my case that I may be heard? It is better to give up such service." He then concerted a plot with I'timadu'd-daula, and they both wished to bring the other nobles who were anything but satisfied with the *Nawab*, and found their dignity much lessened by him to join with them and create an insurrection.

The *Nawab* heard of this plot, and frightened the Emperor by

the intelligence, and advised him at once to depose Zú-l fikár Jang (Sa'adat Khán) from his rank and title * * Gházíu-d dín was given the title of *Nisámu-l Mulk* and *Amíru-l umará*, and received the office of *Mír Bahshí* and the *Súbadári* of Ágra. I'timádu-d daula obtained the *Súbadári* of Ajmír and *Faydári* of Nárnaul in the room of Sa'adat Khán deposed, with the titles of *Imámu-l Mulk Khán-ahánán*, besides all his former titles and rank. The *jágírs* of Sa'adat Khán, which he had received in the present reign, and which partly had been bestowed in the time of the old Emperor, were resumed. Sa'adat Khán waited a few days more, to see if he should be restored to his former dignity, but when he found that it would not be so, he sold all his jewels and silver, paid up and discharged all his soldiers, and requesting of the Emperor permission to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, he prepared everything for his journey thither. The *Nawab* persuaded the Emperor to place guns near Sa'adat Khán's house, to prevent his coming out, and no one was allowed to go from without to visit him * *

On hearing the news (of the approach of Ahmad Abdálí), the Emperor wrote a letter to the *wazír*, telling him of the impending war, and requesting him quickly to finish the war with the Rohillas and Alimad, and then return to him. The *wazír* (Safdar Jang), before this letter had arrived, and as soon as he had heard what was going on in the Panjáb, opened negotiations with the enemy, and on the arrival of the Emperor's letter, he received some presents from Sa'du-llah Khán Rohilla, and took from him written promises to pay more in the future, on which conditions he allowed him to retain his lands. Ahmad Khán, too, was permitted to keep his ancestral property, and leave was granted him to give over all the other lands which had been seized to any one he chose. Having made peace in this manner, he retired. Mahmúd Khán, son of Ahmad Khán, and the brother of Sa'du-llah Khán Rohilla, came into the *wazír's* camp, paid their respects, and then departed again. The *wazír* marched from thence towards Lucknow, and settled that province * *

The news of Ahmad Abdálí's rebellion daily increased and the newsmongers from Láhore brought word that Mu ínu l Mulk had sent his mother and family to Jammu where they would be safe out of reach of all pursuit. All the inhabitants of the city seeing their ruler take flight in this manner sent off their families to Delhi and other parts to the south east. When much negotiation had been carried on, and Mu ínu l Mulk heard that Ahmad had reached the banks of the Indus, and was intending to cross, he sent him nine *lacs* of rupees.

As the pay of the chief officers and others in the Emperor's service was very great, and it had been allowed to run on for twenty two months, on the 14th Rabi' u s sání the *khedýas* and *peons* of the *harem* having left their posts, assembled at the large gate, which is called the *Názir's* gate and, sitting down there, stopped the way for passengers and the supplies of water grain etc., which were being brought in and out. A disturbance threatened, and the *Názir* Roz afzun Khán, had that day sent in his resignation to the Emperor because there were no receipts, and the expenditure from the treasury was enormous. • •

Ahmad Abdálí leaving his encampment on the other side of the Rávi, crossed over with his troops, and pitched his tents near Láhore. Mu ínu l Mulk also crossed over, and encamped in the rear of the city and preparations were made for battle. On the 1st of Jumáda l awwal, Ahmad made a movement in advance with all his army and a general battle took place. Rája Kora Mal was killed. Mu ínu l Mulk on hearing this sad news, gave up the battle and began to reflect that Kora Mal, who had been the great opponent of peace was gone, and as the Abdálís were fond of money, it would be far best to give them anything they wished, and make peace. He therefore sent a message to this effect. Ahmad, seeing that Mu ínu l Mulk's force was all scattered, considered this a favourable opportunity. He sent a message to Mu ínu l Mulk. My business was with Kora Mal now that he is dead, go you into the fort, and remain there. I have nothing

to do with you or the city. The money which I have demanded from you, do you give me, either collected from the peasants, or from your own resources, then I will depart" Mu'ínu-l Mulk, being defeated, could not but consent to everything Ahmad proposed, and Ahmad's men took possession of the city, which they plundered * * After a time, Ahmad, having made presents to Mu'ínu-l Mulk, retired to Kábul.

OF

BAYÁN I WAKÍ

OR

KHWÁJA ABDU L KARÍM KHÁN

THIS is the title of the memoirs of Khwája Abdu l Karím Khán of Kashmír, which contain a very full account of the proceedings of Nádir Sháh in India, and of the reigns of Muhammad Sháh and Ahmad Sháh. Part of this work has been translated by Mr Gladwin, and an abstract of the author's pilgrimage to Mecca has been given by M. Langlès in his *Collection Portative des Voyages* (Paris, 1797 1835 8vo.)

The following list of contents will show that the *Bayán i Wákí* contains valuable materials for the history of the period of which it treats.

It is divided into five Chapters, each containing several Sections

Chap. I History of Nádir Sháh and his march to Hindustán —Sec. i. Family of Nádir Kulí Beg. Sec. ii. Downfall of the Safaví Dynasty and rise of the Afgháns. Sec. iii. Contest with Malik Mahmúd Shahistání. Nádir Kulí Beg obtains the title of Khán. Sec. iv. Battle of Sháh Tahmásp with the Afgháns who had taken possession of Irák and other places. the power of the *Kazalbasáhs* and death of Ashraf Sháh. Sec. v. Engagements of Tahmásp Kulí Khán with the armies of Rum and of the Turkománs. deposition of King Tahmásp, success of King Abbás and other events of the same nature. Sec. vi. Contests of Tahmásp Kulí Khán with the armies of Rum Bulúch and Turkistán and his overcoming the three

armies, after having been defeated by Naupál Páshá, the commander-in-chief of the army of Rúm, Sec. vii. Accession of Nádir Kulí Beg Talmásp Kulí Khán to the throne of Persia; Sec viii. March of Nádir Sháh towards Hindústán, and devastation of the country; Sec ix. Hostilities between the Emperor of India and the King of Persia. treaty of peace with which they concluded; Sec. x. Arrival of both kings at Dehlí, the metropolis of India, and the cause of the general massacre, Sec xi. Events which happened after the general massacre

Chap. II. Nádir's return to Persia, and his visit to Túrán and Khwárizm—Sec 1. Departure of Nádir Sháh from Dehlí to Kábul and Sind, and the deliverance of the people of India, Sec ii. Events which occurred during his stay in Dehlí; Sec iii. Nádir Sháh's march towards Sind, ruin of the country, and imprisonment of its ruler, Sec iv. Nádir Sháh's pursuit of Khudáyár Khán, festival of Nauroz, with the display of the plunder of India, and list of the presents distributed on the occasion, Sec v. March of the King from Huiát to Túrán, and its conquest, Sec. vi. March from Balkh towards Bukhárá, Sec. vii. Interview of the King of Túrán with Nádir Sháh; Sec viii. Events which occurred during Nádir's stay at Bukhárá, Sec. ix. March of the King from Bukhárá towards Chárju, and his war with the Túrkománs, whom he conquered, with some other events which happened during that period, Sec. x. March of Nádir Sháh towards Khwárizm; Sec xi. Return to Khurásán and Marv, Sec. xii. Journey to Mázandarán, and the events which occurred there, Sec xiii. Translations of the Old and New Testaments.

Chap III. Description of what the author witnessed in his journey from the capital of Kazwín to the port of Húghlí—Sec. 1. Journey from Kazwín to Baghdád, Sec ii. Tombs of holy men; Sec iii. Author's journey to Mecca, *viâ* Syria and Aleppo, with a *káfila*, Sec iv. Visit to Medína across the desert, Sec v. Other events which happened on his way from Mecca to the port of Húghlí.

Chap IV Events from the author's arrival at the port of Hughli to the death of Mhhammad Sháh—Sec. i. A short account of Bengal, etc., Sec. ii. Arrival of an ambassador from Nádir Sháh to the Emperor, Sec. iii. March of Muhammad Sháh against Mhhammad 'Alí Khán Rohilla; Sec. iv. Account of Nádir Sháh's death Sec. v. Death of the Nawáb Zakariyá Khán Sec. vi. Expedition of Ahmad Sháh surnamed Durrání Sec. vii. March of Ahmad son of Muhammad Sháh, to oppose Ahmad Sháh Durrání Sec. viii. Battle between Sultán Ahmad, son of Muhammad Sháh, and Ahmad Sháh Abdálí; Sec. ix. Death of Muhammad Sháh, and a short account of his ancestors

Chap V Events which happened during the reign of Ahmad Sháh—Sec. i. Accession of Ahmad Sháh to the throne, Sec. ii. Death of Muhammad 'Alí Khán Rohilla, the contests between his sons, and the quarrel of Alawí Khán and Nawáb Káim Khán, son of Nawáb Muhammad Khán Bangash Sec. iii. Short account of Nawáb Alawí Khán, Sec. iv. Assassination of Jáved Khán Nawáb Bahádur and the battles fought by Safdar Jang

The conclusion contains miscellaneous matter relating to certain marvels, the saws and sayings of wise men etc

[The entire work was translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by 'Lt Prichard,' and from that translation the following Extracts have been taken]

Size—146 pages of 19 lines each.

EXTRACTS.

Nádir Sháh had sent Muhammad Khán Afshár on an embassy to Muhammad Sháh, Emperor of Hindústán. But on account of the difference of opinion that existed among the nobles around that monarch, a long time elapsed no answer to the letter was forthcoming and the ambassador himself did not return. When Nádir considered the matter he came to the conclusion that hostility towards him was intended by the nobles around the throne of Hindústán and he made up his mind to march against Kábul.

*What befell me after my arrival at Húghlí until the death of
Muhammad Sháh*

At this time, in consequence of the weakness of His Majesty Muhammad Sháh, and the want of unanimity among his nobles, the armies of the Mahrattas of the south had spread themselves over Bengal, and Húghlí fell into their hands. I had occasion to stop at the city of Firáshdánga (Chandernagore), which is inhabited by a tribe of Frenchmen. The city of Calcutta, which is on the other side of the water, and inhabited by a tribe of English who have settled there, is much more extensive and thickly populated than Firáshdánga. All the different tribes of Europeans have got different names, such as the Fransís (French), Angrez (English), Walandíz (Hollanders), and Partagís (Portuguese). The delightful gardens which the Europeans make, with a number of trees great and small, all cut with large shears and kept in order, as in their own country, are exceedingly pleasing and refreshing. The reason why they have so many gardens is, that a separate family, or one set of inhabitants, lives in a separate house. There is no difference whatever to be observed in any of their manners and customs, indeed, they all live just as they do in their own country. They have churches, too, where they perform Divine service in congregations, and everything else is managed in a similar way according to custom. Many tradesmen and professors of different arts have come from Europe and taken up their abode here, and get occupation in making things, carrying on their trade as they do in their own land. A great many of the Bengalís have become skilful and expert from being with them as apprentices.

As they excel in other arts and sciences, so also in a military point of view are the Europeans distinguished. This the Mahrattas know well, for although there is so much property and merchandize belonging to commercial and wealthy men of these parts in Firáshdánga and Calcutta, and it would only be a journey of two *kos* from Húghlí to Firáshdánga, and although

the Europeans have no fort, and are so few in number while the Mahrattas are as numerous as ants or locusts, yet, in spite of all this, the Mahrattas see the unanimity and concord that exists among the Europeans, and do not attempt to approach them, much less to attack them. The Europeans fight with guns and muskets but when the time for using the sword comes, they are at a disadvantage

One great reason of the armies from the south invading Bengal is the fighting of Nawáb Aliwardí Khán with Nawáb Sarfaráz Khán son of Nawáb Shujá u-d daula. Sarfaráz Khán after the death of his father was induced by the temptation held out by his companions to lay violent hands upon and injure Hájí Ahmad, brother of this Aliwardí Khán, who had been a confidential friend of Nawáb Shujá u-d daula. Aliwardí Khán too had been on terms of friendship with Shujá u-d daula, and was appointed by him to manage the affairs of Azimábád, in the office of deputy governor and was so employed when he marched towards Murshidábád for the purpose of reasoning with the son of his patron on the impropriety of being induced to oppress and tyrannize over his dependents by the silly speeches of designing men and with the hope of being able to deliver Hájí Ahmad from his difficulties. Sarfaráz Khán was completely possessed with the idea that he was coming with decent and dishonest intentions and marched out of Murshidábád to meet him. An action took place between the two armies, in which Sarfaráz Khán was accidentally killed by a musket ball fired by one of his own men. His army was scattered. Of his friends and officers, some were killed, others were taken prisoners, and part fled.

Now the followers and friends of Sarfaráz Khán say that Aliwardí Khán made use of the false imputation as a means of advancing his own views, and that, though apparently he came for the purpose merely of having an interview and giving advice in reality his intention was to seize upon the property and take the life of Sarfaráz Khán. At any rate Aliwardí Khán became master of the country and treasure, with all the wealth of Ja far

Khán, who had formerly been *Súbadán* of Bengal, and was the grandfather of Sarfaráz Khán by his mother's side. The accumulated treasure of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, and all the valuables and property of Sarfaráz Khán and his servants, fell into the hands of 'Alwardí Khán, and God alone knows how much it was. By distributing money and behaving with kindness, by keeping on good terms with all, and behaving discreetly, he completely gained over to his cause the hearts of all men far and near.

After these events, some of the relatives and dependents of Sarfaráz Khán, who had fled and concealed themselves from fear of being punished and injured, went and took refuge with Nawáb Ásaf Jáh Bahádur Nízám-u-l Mulk, ruler of the provinces in the south, and having led the plundering troops of the Mahrattas by the road of Orissa, they caused great injury and misery to be inflicted on the inhabitants, and distressed the rulers of the time. The fire of slaughter was kindled between the two parties, and the lives of many of 'Alwardí Khán's army and a few of the soldiers of the Dakhin were sacrificed, but, considering the strength and firmness of the Governor of Bengal, neither party can be said to have got the victory.

As the rainy season was approaching, the Dakhiní troops were in anxiety about returning, and so, having abandoned the contest, they turned their faces southward, laden with spoil, the amount of which is beyond my power of description. 'Alwardí Khán, from fear of war, pacifying the nobles and the Emperor by means of presents of cash and valuables, requested that the *súbadárship* should be given to him, and he exerted himself with great activity in reducing the provinces to obedience. Nevertheless, the Mahratta troops, who were fond of good living, and well experienced in everything good or bad, established themselves on the frontier, and came yearly committing their ravages. At last, after fighting and quarrelling, and after much deceit had been practised, they came to an agreement on this point, viz that the province of Orissa should be made over to the Mah-

rattas in exchange for the fourth share of the revenues of Bengal, which in the language of their country is called *chauth*. Alwardi was to keep the rest.

Bengal is an extensive country and fertile, and produces a large revenue. The climate, however is very damp on account of the quantity of rain that falls and its proximity to the salt sea. The inhabitants of that district, like those of Kashmir and Mázandarán, live chiefly on rice. On the 1st of the month Muharram, in the year 1156 A.H., I left Murshidábád, after a sojourn there of seven months, and as I was afraid of the Mahatta troops, which were scattered over that part of the country I crossed the river and set out in the direction of Azimábád (Patna) by way of Páramiya and Tírhut. Although the inhabitants of Páramiya suffer under chronic disease from the unhealthiness of their climate, yet, as the Nawáb Saif Khán brother of Mir Khán, keeps his district in complete order and discipline, they are free and untouched by other calamities.

The city of Azimábád (Patna) is a well populated and clean place, and the waters of the Ganges and Jumna, and all the canals of the district round, collected together, flow by the city and then take their course through Bengal to the great ocean. The Europeans here have built good houses, and are engaged in commerce. The leaves of the betel tree are very good here, and they carry them hand by hand to distant places. The rice, too of Azimábád is more tasty than that of Bengal, and the rich men buy it and eat it.

For some time the health of the Emperor had taken a turn for the worse, and pressing letters were frequently written to the physician, Nawáb Hakím Alawí Khán, to come with all haste. We set out from Azimábád together and passing by Benares, Alláhábád and Farrukhábád, we arrived at the royal city of Sháb-Jahánábád on the 10th of the month Jumáda-s sání in the year 1156 A.H., and rested from the troubles of wandering in the jungles and measuring the desert. The governors of provinces and the officers of police in Hindústán were not in any way

wanting in the hospitality and politeness, kindness and attention, that they showed to the Nawáb Hakím 'Alawí Khán, on account of his great natural talents, learning, and great fame, in which they followed the example of the magistrates and rulers of the Kings of Írán, Rúm, Arabia, and Yaman, and they exerted themselves to the utmost to please him

At this time the *súbadár* or governor of Alláhábád was the Nawáb Amír Khán 'Umdatul Mulk, pillar of the State, and this appointment of governor was not pleasing to him, nor was it according to the Emperor's commands, but to please Nawáb Kamru-d dín Khán *Wasí-i 'asam* or prime minister, and Nawáb Ásaf Jáh Bahádur, he had on this pretence sent him a long way from the Court For Amír Khán was a wise and intelligent man, and was every day setting the Emperor against the Nawáb Kamru-d dín Khán and the Mughal and Túrán nobles By the force of his observations, and excellent judgment of character, he was gaining his object, so they banished him from Court on pretence of giving him the *súbadárship* of Alláhábád, which had been settled upon him for some time

After the lapse of a certain time, this Khán adopted a wonderful expedient He sent to Court Nawáb Abú-l Mansúr Khán (Safdar Jang), who was commander-in-chief (*Sáhíb Jang*) of the Írání troops, and able to oppose the Túránís, from his province of Oudh. He himself repaired thither (to Court) also, and having given the appointment of commander of artillery (*Mi-átish*), from which Nawáb Saiyidu-d dín Khán had been ejected, to Safdar Jang Bahádur, he managed, according to his former custom, to succeed in all his objects by means of his eloquence and subtlety of address But one day, Thursday, the 23rd of Zí-l hijja, in the year 1159 A H, one of his own servants, with whom he had a dispute of long standing, as they were in the public hall of audience near the Jálí Gate, wounded him in the side, and sent him to eternity.

Embassy from Nádir Sháh to the Emperor

Mahmud Alf Beg and Mahmud Karím Beg, who had been sent by Nádir Sháh, arrived at Court, and had the honour of kissing the threshold of royalty. They brought with them one hundred elephants, and swords with golden handles, according to the custom of Hindustán, and gilt spears and other golden weapons which were foreign to Persia and not generally used there, as well as a letter full of expressions of friendship and presented them before the enlightening eye of majesty. They were honoured by the gift of several precious robes of honour. After a few days, they said that Nádir Sháh had sent a verbal message to the effect, that in consequence of his wars in Turán and Dághustán and Rum, and the large army he kept up, and his having remitted three years revenue to all the population of Irán, his treasury was empty and if he (Muhammad Sháh) would send fifty or sixty *lacs* as a help to him it would be an act of great friendship and brotherhood, and he had sent the elephants and the golden articles for the purpose of getting the money. As there was no mention whatever made in the letter about the money Muhammad Sháh cleared the account by his answer which was this. "When my brother the King of Kings was departing he said to me, Everything that comes written in a letter is right and proper but verbal messages are never to be depended on. However on account of the weakness of my kingdom and the bad behaviour and evil doings of my rulers and rebellious *samindars* I get no revenues at all from my provinces and my expenditure exceeds my income. This subject is not mentioned in your letter and therefore a verbal answer is suited to a verbal message." The China vessels, sandal wood, aloe-wood, etc. which were written for in the letter he sent with great care. Although he weighed out the money of his answer with words of circumspection nevertheless, till the news of Nádir's death arrived, nobles, *sardars*, the Emperor himself, and even beggars, were in an anxious state of mind.

Imádu-d Mulk, and had procured for him the office of *Mir Bahshá*, notwithstanding his youth. Besides, he had adopted him as his son, and was his friend in all matters, but for all that he would not assist his patron. The short of the matter is that the Emperor sent this answer, "You obtained leave to go from this province and went, and now, for the sake of obtaining assistance from Súry Mal Ját, you vex me in this way."

At this crisis, the Ját men began to injure and plunder the old city. Ahmad Sháh sent for Nawáb Zú-l fikár, who for a long time had been out of office, and living in idleness at home. He had him conducted to his presence with all honour, with the intention that if the *wazir* should rebel, he would appoint him to the office. The next day Nawáb Safdar Jang endeavoured to work upon the enmity of the above-mentioned man, by holding out this hope to him, that if he would come over to him, he would confer upon him the office of *Mir Bahshá*, from which Imádu-l Mulk had been deposed.

When all, small and great, were of opinion that Safdar Jang would be victorious, Zú-l fikár Jang asked the Emperor for leave of absence. On pretence of going to pay a visit to the tomb of the saint Sháh Mardán, he went and joined the *wazir's* army, and engaged in robbing and plundering the old city. Accordingly Ahmad Sháh Bahádúr, acting upon the opinion of his mother and the nobles, bestowed the office of commandant of artillery upon Nawáb Samsám-d daula, son of the late Khán-daurán, and the *khilát* of the *wazirship* upon the Nawáb Intízám-d daula, son of Kamru-d dín Khán the late *wazir*. Nawáb Safdar Jang, on hearing this, was struck with consternation, and took a young eunuch, who had beautiful features and a good figure, and was about thirteen years of age, who had been lately purchased by Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, and calling him Akbar Sháh, placed him on the throne, and constituted himself *Wazir*. Zú-l fikár Jang he made *Mir Bahshá*, and the other nobles he appointed to the different offices, both great and small.

From the 6th of the month Rajab, in the year 1166 A H

fighting and contests commenced in earnest. But how can one call it fighting when on the side of Safdar Jang there were 50,000 horsemen, and the Emperor had only a small body of men, and they too by reason of the strength of their enemies and the weakness of their own party were terror stricken? But I must relate the victory of the weakest, among my records of extraordinary incidents and the reason why these already half conquered and almost unarmed men obtained the victory, and the others who considered themselves already conquerors were worsted was apparently this, that Nawáb Safdar Jang perceived, when he considered the state of the people of the old city and the smallness of the army, and want of money that they would of their own accord return to their allegiance and so whilst he was in fear and anxiety himself, he instilled fear into the minds of his chiefs, and did not consider it advisable to make an attack till late in the day when Mahmúd Khán of Kashmír steward of Nawáb Imádu l Mulk Háfiz Bakhtáwar Khán and the relations of the Nawáb Kudayn and others having raised a large army and called together the landholders from the district around, supported by their artillery they took up their position so as to block up the entrance into the city.

Accordingly the inhabitants of the city with a view to obtaining protection for their families and property and on account of their being of the same sect and kindred tribe with the Mughals, deserted from the army of the *saad* in troops and with the hope of obtaining presents, dresses of honour and increase of pay entered the service of Nawáb Imádu l Mulk. The troop of horse called the *daugh-i sin*,¹ which Nawáb Sa ádat Khán and Safdar Jang had left behind, he (Imádu l Mulk) kept in perfect order and appointed Mahmúd Khán to their command. Notwithstanding this state of things, negotiations for peace went on.

But the Ját and Kazalbásh soldiers reduced to ashes the old city and Wakílpúr and other places and the Nawáb Waxír spread

¹ [Branded with the letter *sin* () the initial of Sa ádat Khán.]

the report that they had gone to the Kashmír Gate. So the citizens were in a dilemma on both sides. Outside the city the Ját and Kizalbásh soldiers were carrying on the attack, inside, the Emperor issued an order that the houses of those men who joined the *Wazir* should be seized. On this pretext wicked and ill-disposed men followed their own devices. The first thing that happened immediately on the Emperor's order being issued was that the houses of the sons of Mahmúd Is'hák Khán deceased were plundered, because that from their houses balls and rockets fell by night upon the ramparts, and in this way a world of people were injured and wounded. As every one knew that he was the brother-in-law of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, son of the *wazir*, who was with the Emperor, they all had left their families and property there, and were plundered. Some perished by the flames, and some were drowned in the river. The same thing happened to the house of the Khwája Mahmúd Básit, who was the spiritual guide of the *wazir*. His house was outside the city walls, and as he had received a message from the *wazir* to keep his mind at ease, he had not moved out of his place. The Ját plunderers, who went by the name of Rámdal among the people of that part, attacked his house, and carried away the property of a number of men who had left their goods there, this became the source of very great affliction to the people.

Considering the quantity of property that was collected near the Kashmír Gate, which was looked upon as a safe place, the inhabitants of that part may be said to have been the worst off. All, small and great, became involved in confusion, and began to utter complaints and lamentations, and the state of the people was like a wreck, for save in the presence of Him who hears the prayers of all in deep distress, they had no place of refuge. At this crisis Najíb Khán Rohilla came with 10,000 horse and foot in answer to the Emperor's call, and on the 1st of the month above mentioned, viz Sha'bán, he arrived in camp. Isma'íl Khán of Kábul, who was *Mu-shamshir* to the *Wazir*, and had a battery in the house of Salábat Khán, made a mine

under the tower of the city wall, which was adjoining the house of Kamru-d dín Khán, where there was a battery of the Emperor's troops, and on the 3rd of Sháhán they fired it. Notwithstanding that it did not produce such universal destruction as might be expected yet many of the Emperor's followers, and the servants of Imádu l Mulk who were assisting them, and who were at work trying to frustrate the enemy's design, were destroyed and a crowd of men were wounded and in part destroyed by the stones of the tower that were blown up in the direction of the burning battery. The *cazir's* troops made an attack, and the fruits of victory were nearly visible on their side when Nawáb Imádu l Mulk *Mir Bakshi*, Háfiz Bakhtáwar Khán, Najib Khán and others opposed them and behaved with great bravery and a large number from both sides became food for the all-devouring swords. Najib Khán Rohilla was wounded by a ball, but both sides remained as they were, neither party gaining the victory. At night Ismaíl Khán left his battery and went out to the camp of Safdar Jang. This was a source of relief to the citizens, because, when the field of battle was close, the balls and rockets fell on every one like the blows of sudden misfortune.

After his retreat, the *Mir Bakshi* Háfiz Bakhtáwar Khán and others advanced their batteries and got possession of the little fort of Fíroz sháh and another called the Old fort. After a few days spent in fighting, Nawáb Safdar Jang abandoned his intention of keeping to the road by the river on account of the strength of the enemy's intrenchments, and marched by way of the Tál katora. In that direction he added fresh splendours to the city of the angel of death. The *Mir Bakshi* and the others then hastily strengthened their intrenchments in that quarter. Some well-contested engagements took place, and Gosáin, who was an officer of great bravery in Safdar Jang's army was killed.

When Safdar Jang found that an entrance to the city on that side was impracticable he returned by Khrzábád and the river. The same course of events ensued. Daily the bark of life of

crowds of warriors of both sides floated down the river of death. After many battles and a great deal of fighting, the *wazir* came to the conclusion, that on account of their being so close to the city and fort, the enemy were enjoying rest. So he determined to retreat by a circuitous route, and thus draw the enemy into the plain, and engage him there. Accordingly he retreated gradually to a distance of twelve *kos*, and as he retreated, 'Imádu-l Mulk advanced his trenches. But he was prevented by the prayers and tears and complaints and persuasions and panic of the citizens from attacking his adversary in the plain and turning his flank.

While matters stood thus, Sayyid Jamálu-d dín Khán, who had been sent by Mu'ínu-l Mulk, governor of the Panjáb (who was the uncle and father-in-law of 'Imádu-l Mulk), arrived with 5000 horse, which added greatly to his strength. They were anxious to engage in battle, as men who are confronted by enemies, but Najíb Khán Bahádur showed signs of disapproval.

OII

TARÍKH I ALAMGÍR-SÁNÍ

[This history of Alamgír the Second Aurangzeb being Alamgír the First, is anonymous. The author gives neither his name nor the date of his composition. It begins with the accession of the Emperor, and terminates at his death recounting all the events of the reign very fully, and in plain language. A few passages have been translated by the Editor. The work begins with the Extract which follows.

SIZE—9 inches by 5 containing about 300 pages of 13 lines each]

EXTRACTS

[Time in its changeful tortuous course is always bringing forth some fresh event, and new flowers are every day blooming in the garden of the world. In these days events have come to pass such as have never entered into the mind of man, and of these it is the writer's intention to give a brief relation.

Ahmad Sháh son of Muhammad Sháh succeeded to the throne of Hindústán, and reigned for six years three months and nine days. He gave himself up to useless pursuits, to pleasure and enjoyment, and his reign was brought to an end by the enmity which he showed to Nizámu l Mulk Ásaf Jáh (Gházíu-d dín Khán) at the instigation of his *emir* the Khán khánán and his mother Udham Bái. He was succeeded by Muhammad Ázízu-d dín, son of Mu ázzu-d dín Jahándár Sháh, son of Sháh Alam Bahádur Sháh, son of Muhammad Aurangzeb Alamgír.

Gházíu-d dín Khán, being embittered against Ahmad Sháh, desired to remove him and to raise to the throne some other of the royal race who would rule under his guidance. After the defeat at Sikandra, Ahmad Sháh fled into the citadel of

Sháh-Jahánábád Nawáb Malíka-i Zamání (Queen dowager), Názir Roz-afzún Khán, and other people of the palace, were at Sikandra, and the Queen dowager and the *Názir* conspired together to raise Muhammad 'Azízu-d dín to the throne, and they informed this Prince of their intention. On the 9th Sha'bán, 'Akíbat Mahmúd Khán went to Ahmad Sháh on the part of Gházíu-d dín, and called upon him to dismiss Khán-khánán from the office of *wazír*, and not to allow him to enter the fortress, to remove Udham Báí from the fortress, and to give the robe of *wazír* to him (Gházíu-d dín). Ahmad Sháh, being unable to help himself, sent the robe and portfolio of *wazír* by the hands of 'Akíbat Mahmúd Khán. Next day, 11th Sha'bán 1167 A. H. (5 June, 1754 A. D.), Gházíu-d dín crossed the river with a body of Mahrattas, put on the official robe, and took his seat in the office with the usual formalities. He then directed 'Akíbat Mahmúd Khán to go to the dwelling of the princes (*deorhí salátn*) and bring 'Azízu-d daula. Accordingly 'Akíbat Mahmúd, taking with him Thákur Dás *peshla* and Názir Roz-afzún Khán, went thither, and bringing forth 'Azízu-d daula, placed him on horseback, and, accompanying him on foot, conducted him towards the royal palace. Gházíu-d dín met him on the way, and paid his homage. Other attendants of royalty joined the procession. On reaching the public hall of audience, the Prince was placed upon the throne, the drums beat out, and he received the title of 'Abú-l 'Adl 'Azízu-d dín Muhammad 'Ālamgír II. Bádsháh-i Ghází. He was born on the 17th Zí-l hyja, in the year 43 of Aurangzeb, 1110 Híjra (1699 A. D.)

Up to this time Ahmad Sháh knew nothing of what was passing until the kettle-drums roused him from his heedlessness. Soon afterwards Gházíu-d dín's men, with some *harem* attendants, arrived, brought out Ahmad and his mother Udham Báí, and were about to make an end of them, when he implored them to send him to the abode of the princes, and there confine him. So they placed him and his mother in one litter, threw a sheet over their heads and took them to the dwelling of the princes * *

The new Emperor was fifty six years of age, and had five sons, the oldest of them twenty eight years old. * * He used to come out of his private apartments into the stone mosque or into the public hall to say the prayers at the five appointed times in the congregation, he applied himself to reading books of history, and took no pleasure in seeing dancing or hearing singing, but he never failed on the Sabbath to attend either the *Jámí' mayid* or the wooden mosque within the palace. * *

When (previous to this) Raghunnáth Ráo Malhár Ráo and the other Mahratta chiefs came to the aid of Gházín-d dín, he pledged himself to pay them a large sum of money. Súraj Mal Ját also made peace with the Mahrattas they raised the siege of his fortress, and he recovered his lands. Gházín-d dín and Akibat Khán then sent the Mahratta army against Ahmad Sháh, who was at Sikandra. They plundered the royal army and made Nawáb Malika Zamání Sábiba mahal, Názir Rox afrún Khán and many others prisoners. They plundered the ladies of their money and jewels, and calling together all the officers of the palace and great men who were there, they demanded payment of the promised money declaring that they would not let the ladies go until it was paid. Gházín-d dín and Akibat Mahmúd Khán made themselves sureties for the payment of forty *lacs*, and the ladies were then sent to Dehli in a bullock carriage with an old tattered covering such as they had never ridden in before. The Mahrattas crossed the river encamped four *kos* out of the city and there waited payment of the money. * *

Gházín-d dín was annoyed at the ascendancy obtained by Akibat Mahmúd Khán. * * and sent for him to make inquiries about a sum of money which he had obtained. Akibat Mahmúd Khán answered bitterly and Gházín d dín, who had before thrown out hints about killing him to Shádul Khán and Bahádur Khán, got up and went out. No sooner had he done so than these men despatched him with their swords and daggers, and cast his body on to the sand beside the river. Intelligence of the murder was brought to the Emperor when Saifu-d dín Muhammad

Khán, brother of 'Ákibat Mahmúd Khán, was present. Gházíu-d dín came on horseback soon afterwards, and embraced and consoled Saifu-d dín. On that same day Ahmad Sháh and his mother were brought out from their dwelling, and conducted to another, where in the evening they were both deprived of their sight, only a short time after 'Ákibat Mahmúd Khán was killed.

Death of 'A'lamgír.

'A'lamgír entered into the cell to have an interview with the *darvesh*, and there Bálábásh Khán killed him with his dagger. * * Afterwards the conspirators took the corpse, and threw it down upon the sand at the foot of the *lotila* of Fíroz Sháh. They then gave out that he had gone to the *lotila* to visit a *darvesh*, and that his foot having slipped, he fell from the top of the parapet. He had reigned five years seven months and eight days.]

CIII.

TARÍKH I MANÁZILU L FUTUH

or

MUHAMMAD JAFAR SHÁMLU

[THE following is the account which the author himself gives of his work in the Preface. This work was composed at the instance of His Majesty Abul Fath Sultán Muhammad Sháh Bahádur¹ by his faithful servant, Muhammad Jafar Shámlú, who passed his early youth in the service of the illustrious monarch, Sháh Rukh Sháh Safaví and towards the close of his career repaired to Hindustán, and waited on Muhammad Beg Khán Hamadání. During the prime of life, however for the space of five-and twenty years, he was constantly with Ahmad Sultán Abdálí more commonly styled Durrání, and having accompanied him several times to Hindústán, became well acquainted with the whole series of royal marches from the city of Kandahár to the metropolis of Sháh-Jahánábád. At the battle which was fought at Pánípat with Wiswás Rái and his deputy Bháo the author was himself present on the field, and witnessed the circumstances with his own eyes. Other particulars too he learnt from persons of credit and sagacity and having written them all down without any alteration, he designated the work by the title of *Manázilu l Futuh*, or Victorious Marches.]

The work is a short one, and the whole of it was translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by the late Major Fuller. The greater part of this translation is here printed.]

¹ [This is an error for Muhammad Sháh died in 1161 A.H., thirteen years before the battle which is the subject of this work. In a later page the book is said to have been written in the time of Sháh Alam.]

EXTRACTS

From Kandahár, which Sultán Nádir first desolated and then founded Nádirábád in its stead, and Sultán Ahmad afterwards destroying the latter city and replacing it by that of Ahmad Sháhí, the route to Kábul was as follows [*Detailed and descriptive account of the route from Kandahár by Kábul, Pesháwar, Attock and Láhore, to Dehlí*]

Having concluded a description of the marches along the whole length of the route, the dark-writing pen enters into a narrative of the battle fought by Ahmad Sultán Abdálí Durrání, and the Hindústání chiefs who had coalesced with him, against Wiswás Rái and his deputy Bháo, who were of the Mahratta race, when, having engaged the infidel throng at the town of Pánípat, he by the aid of Divine power inflicted a severe defeat, and expelled them from the face of Hindústán, insomuch that they never ventured to re-enter it for a period of twenty years. Now-a-days, since His Majesty, potent as Alexander, and famous as Solomon, the Emperor Abú-l Muzaffar Sháh 'Álam the Second Bádsháh Ghází Guigání, has gone from Alláhábád to the metropolis of Sháh-Jahánábád, out of the power of the sword of Zú-l fikáru-d daula Najaf Khán Írání, and has brought a body of Mahiattas in his ever-victorious train, for the sake of chastising the Afghán Rohillas, this race has gained a fresh footing in Sháh-Jahánábád and Ágra * *

In short, the author will explicitly relate a useful summary of the wondrous events that took place at the battle of Pánípat, and the annihilation of the vile infidel Mahrattas, detailing both whatever he has seen with his own eyes, and whatever authentic information he has acquired from other historians in every quarter. Wherever any one else has written a different version to that of the author's, it is entirely erroneous, and unworthy of credence, and that man has, solely with a view to his own glorification, uttered falsehoods without any foundation.

Now the author was at that time Comptroller of Affairs to Sandár Sháh Pasand Khán, who was chief over 12,000 horse,

consisting of Kazalbáshís, Abdálís Ohahárás, Aímáks of Hirát, Marvís Jazínís, Wardaks, Uzbaks, Charkhís, Hutakís, and Ghuljáís as well as *ddrogha* of Ahmad Sultán's stable, and of the *paiks* and *harkdras* (conriors and messengers) He formed the vanguard and advanced division of the army, and during the heat of the conflict we were opposed to Jhaoku and Mallhár Ráo, two leaders of the aforesaid Mahrattas, and from all sides couriers kept constantly bringing us intelligence Nothing therefore, more accurate than this that I have written has ever met any one's sight, and accordingly the movements and dispositions of the forces, and other particulars of the action, and of the period they were halted confronting each other will here be fully detailed.

Ahmad Sultán after fighting an action with Jhanku and Datta Patel on the banks of the river Attock to which they were worsted pursued them as far as Buryá and Sárangpúr Just as his army was crossing the river at Buryá, however whilst a portion of it had effected its passage, another was midway across the stream and another was still waiting to cross the Mahrattas made a vigorous attack, and a tremendous conflict ensued. The action lasted for three or four *gharis* or even as long as a *pahar* but ended in the ultimate discomfiture of the Mahrattas 4000 of whom met their death the survivors betaking themselves to Sháh Jahánábád where they remained.

On this side too Ahmad Sultán having arrived opposite Sháh Jahánábád with his army and Najíb Khán and Háfíz Rahmat, resolutely devoted his energies to the task of crossing the river Jumna from alongside Takia Majoun. The Mahrattas came out to prevent him, but notwithstanding all their exertions, they were forced to take to flight without effecting their object and retreated precipitately The troops in pursuing them entered Sháh-Jahánábád, and having plundered all quarters of the city returned to their own camp

Next day Ahmad Sultán marched into Sháh Jahánábád, and at the earnest intercession of Maliku & Zamání the consort of

Muhammad Sháh, and daughter of Farrukh Siyar Bábarí, he prohibited his army from pillaging the city. This measure, however, was not attended with complete success, for every now and then the soldiery kept laying violent hands on the inhabitants, till, after an interval of twenty days, he marched away from thence, and proceeded to the city of Mathurá. After attacking and plundering certain *Játs*, he crossed the river Jumna, and took up his quarters at Sábit-kasra for the hot weather. On the near approach of the rainy season, he marched off to Anúpshahr, and laid the foundation of a cantonment, issuing orders to his army that every man should construct a thatched hut for himself, so that the camp equipage and baggage might not be damaged during the rains. The expert thatchers accordingly used their utmost diligence in preparing these abodes.

In the interim news arrived that Wíswás Rái, and his deputy Bháo, had entered Sháh-Jahánábád at the head of an army numbering about three *lacs* and a half (350,000) of cavalry and infantry. On the same day, too, Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur, son of Safdar Jang Írání, joined Ahmad Sultán's army with 30,000 horse and foot, and fifty pieces of cannon. After an interview, Ahmad Sultán directed the Nawáb, along with Sháh Pasand Khán, to strike his tents, and repairing as quickly as possible to Sháhdara, which lies on this side the river Jumna, to pitch his advanced camp there, in order that the garrison, which was shut up in the fort of Sháh-Jahánábád, might take courage to hold its own. The above individuals traversed the distance as directed in the course of three or four days, wading with extreme difficulty through the floods caused by the rain, for all the country and the roads were covered with water up to a horse's chest, and the Hindan and Kálí streams were scarcely passable, as no ford could be discovered. Having thus reached Sháhdara and erected their tents, several Abdálís and Kazal-báshís, who were besieged in the fort, embarked on board of boats, and repaired to the advanced camp. The third day Ahmad Sultán likewise came and entered it.

As it was the rainy season, the Mahrattas did not deem it expedient to attempt the passage of the river Jumna, on account of the impetuosity of the current, and the encampment of the army on the opposite bank. Some of the Afghán chieftains too, such as Abdu-s Samad Khán, Kntb Jang, and others, were at Kunjpúra, coming to join the army with ten or fifteen thousand followers but owing to the headlong force of the stream had halted and were making arrangements for crossing. As soon as this intelligence reached the ears of Bháo and Wiswás Rái they set their hearts on coercing the chiefs in question and moved towards Kunjpúra. On arriving there they entered into a sanguinary conflict with the said chiefs, and ultimately the Mahratta force, from its vast superiority in numbers, having overcome them, put the whole body ruthlessly to the sword. Abdu-s Samad Khán and Kntb Jang suffered death, and Nijábat Khán was taken prisoner. At that time the Mahratta power had reached to such a pitch that they had brought all the country as far as the river Attock under their subjection.

When the news of the defeat and death of the above-mentioned chieftains reached Ahmad Sultán, he expressed the deepest regret but no benefit accrued therefrom to those who had fallen. As the rainy season, however had drawn to a close, he marched from Sháh-dara with a view to seek revenge and turned in the direction of Kunjpúra. Directly intelligence of Ahmad Sultán's movement reached the Mahratta leaders, they quitted Kunjpúra and arriving at the town of Pánípat, encamped there. On this side, Ahmad Sultán, at the head of his army consisting of 60 000 cavalry and 20 000 infantry *jassáukhís*, 2000 camel swivels and 200 pieces of cannon repaired to the bank of the river Jumna, right opposite to Pánípat, accompanied by the chieftains of Hindustán such as Nawáb Wazír ul mamálik Shujá-n-d daula Bahádur son of Safdar Jang Bahádur Irání with 30 000 horse and foot and 50 pieces of artillery Ahmad Khán Bangash, with 15 000 horse and foot, and 60 guns Najib Khán, with 30 000 horse and foot, and 30 guns Háfiz

Rahmat Khán Afghán Rohilla, with 25,000 horse, and 25 guns, Davindí Khán Afghán Rohilla, with 12,000 horse and foot, and 10 guns; and Asadu-llah Khán Afghán Rohilla, with a similar force. Having crossed the stream in the course of three days, he pitched his camp and pavilion in front of the Mahratta army.¹

The Mahratta chiefs then sent Káká Pandit,² a renowned leader, who had 12,000 horsemen under his command, towards Gházíu-d dín Nagar, for the purpose of pillaging the *banjáras* who were in the habit of bringing grain to the camp of Ahmad Sultán and the chiefs of Hindústán, so as to prevent their receiving supplies. Accordingly, in the course of three days, the price of grain rose to a rupee a *sír* in the Sultán's camp. As soon as the soldiery became downcast and dispirited on account of the dearth of provisions, Ahmad Sultán mounted on horseback, under pretence of enjoying field-sports; but in the very midst of his sport, he directed Hájí Nawáb Alkúzar³ ('Atái Khán) to go after some game in a certain direction at the head of 2000 dauntless horsemen. The latter had been privately instructed, however, to go and chastise Káká Pandit, and drive him off the road. Hájí Nawáb Khán, therefore, having crossed the river Jumna, reached Gházíu-d dín Nagar by forced marches in a day, and at once attacked them. The contest was carried on vigorously for two hours on both sides, but the Mahratta party were eventually defeated, and a large number of them fell a prey to the keen swords of the Abdálí warriors. Káká⁴

¹ ["Ahmad Sháh reached Bághpat, which is eighteen *kos* from Dehlí, and pitched his tents on the banks of the Jumna. He ordered search to be made for a ford, and many horsemen who entered the river were drowned with their horses. The Sháh practised abstinence, and wrote magic squares, which he threw into the water. On the third day the river became fordable. The army began to cross on the 15th Rabi'n-l awwal, 1174 A.H. (25th Oct. 1760 A.D.), and the passage was effected in two days. In the haste and crush some thousands were drowned."—*Alhábáru-l Muhabbat*]

² [His real name was Gobind Pandit, see *infra*, *Tárikh-i Ibráhím Khán*, and Grant Duff, vol. II. p. 145.]

³ [The *Tárikh-i Ibráhím Khán* and the *Nigâr-náma-i Hind* call him 'Atá Khán, and that is right according to Grant Duff.]

⁴ ["Gobind Pandit was totally unable to rise, from extreme obesity and old age, but he was forced to mount a horse and fly precipitately"—*T. Ibráhím Khán*. "He fell off his horse, and a Durrání killed him"—*Nigâr-náma-i Hind*.]

Pandit himself met with his death, and the surviving remnant of the force fled away, and betook themselves to a place of security. Hájí Nawáb then rejoined the army, victorious and successful, bringing the *banyáras* along with him, whereupon grain became plentiful and cheap in the camp markets, and the fears of the soldiery being removed, they engaged in their military duties with zeal and cheerfulness.

The two vast armies, having fixed their standing camps at a distance from each other of twice the range of a cannon-ball, maintained their respective positions; and the skirmishers on either side used daily to engage one another. On one occasion during this interval a thousand horsemen each one carrying 2000 rupees with him on his horse were proceeding from Sháh-Jahánábád to their own camp and as they stood in fear of the Abdálí army they used to march during the night. One of the horsemen belonging to the party having become oppressed with drowsiness towards morning missed his road, and moved towards the Abdálí camp. Having thus come face to face with the hostile picquets, he got caught in the grasp of calamity and prepared for the road of ruin. From his own mouth it was discovered that they were conveying treasure to the Mahratta army; so a number of the boldest spirits out of every band set out for the Mahratta camp without any order from Ahmad Sultán and during that short period of dawn until the rising of the great luminary pillaged three or four hundred of the horsemen. Among the number of those out in quest of booty was Aká Sandal Habshí chief eunuch to Sháh Kulí Khán the Wazír who put one Mahratta horseman to death himself, and carried off his 2000 rupees. The remnant of the Mahratta party gained their own camp by a precipitate flight, and so escaped from the grasp of death till their predestined day.

In like manner as often as one or two thousand of the Mahratta horse went out for grass and forage, the Abdálí and Hindustání heroes used to pillage them on their way till at length affairs reached such a pass that none would stir out

fruitlessly from their position, which they had surrounded with a strong intrenchment, except wretched naked labourers who, going by stealth into the open country, used to dig up grass from the ground with their *kharpas*, and offer it for sale. As soon as Ahmad Sultán became cognizant of these matters, he directed Khánján Khán, the head of the Fúfalzai chiefs, who is generally known as Jahán Khán, along with three or four thousand Kazalbáshís who were under his command; as well as Hájí Nawáb Khán Alkúzai, to mount every day and patrol round the Mahratta camp at a distance of two *kos* from their intrenchments, one from the northern side, and the other from the southern, and whenever any forager with grass should approach the enemy's camp, to put him to death. The chiefs in question accordingly continued for a period of two months to patrol round the intrenched camp, slaying and pillaging every forager they came across, who attempted to convey grain, fodder, or grass to the enemy, afterwards they used to separate from each other on the east and west.

The Mahratta army being reduced to great extremities for want of grass, fodder, and grain, marched out with intent to give battle,¹ and at the time of their moving off from their position, such clouds of dust ascended up to heaven from beneath their horses' hoofs, that the bright day appeared to all eyes darker and gloomier than the murky shades of a pitch-black night, in so much that two persons seated side by side could not distinguish each other. Ahmad Sultán then commissioned Sháh Pasand Khán,—who was both a great chieftain and *charkhí-báshí*, as well as commander of the vanguard, and *dárogha* of the stable,—the *harkáras* and the *pauks*, to go and procure information as to the state and strength of the Mahratta army. The chief in question, taking the author of this work, and ten other daunt-

¹ [Ibráhím Khán states that the Bháo offered "to accept any conditions of peace that it might please the Sháh to accept," but the offer was rejected. The Bháo was afterwards driven to give battle by the taunts and reproaches of his chiefs. He gives the date 6th Jumáda-s sání, 1174 A H (12th January, 1761 A D).]

less cavaliers from amongst his relatives and dependents along with him pursued the road to their camp in the intense obscurity with perfect certainty, as there had been daily skirmishes with them on the plains, and a thorough knowledge of all the paths had been acquired. In the course of four hours we had advanced half a *kos*, when at that moment the noise of artillery wheels struck on the sensitive ears of the author and his comrades, while the tramp of our horses' hoofs also reached the ears of the enemy's gunners. They immediately suspected that a force from the Abdálí army was advancing under cover of the dense clouds of dust to make an assault, and fired several rounds, the shot of which passed close by our horsemen. The horsemen in question having thus happily escaped the destructive effects of those cannon balls we turned back, and reported the news to Ahmad Sultán, that their army was steadily advancing with the resolute determination of giving battle. The Sultán then set about disposing his troops in order and marshalling their ranks * * Ahmad Sultán took his stand in the centre of the army and planted 2000 camel swivels well in advance of his position. In rear of the camel swivels came 20 000 infantry *jazailehs*, backed by the domestics of the royal *darbár*. Behind these again was the band of music, and in rear of that Ahmad Sultán took up his position, supported behind by the Kaxalbásh cavalry counting over 10 000 sabres, and lastly by the force composed of Durráníe, Ghuljáís, etc. In rear of the line on the right-hand side was stationed Háji Jamál Khán Bárákzai, who stood alert and ready for action at the distance of half a *kos* so that when ever the enemy should make a desperate assault upon any one of the divisions that were drawn up in front, he might render it assistance. On the left Shuján-d daula and others stood ready to furnish succour and to do his utmost to repel the enemy whenever any reverse should happen to one of those divisions in the front line.

Both sides having arrayed their troops in line stood confronting each other till noon, when * * the ranks of the two armies

appeared clearly to each other's sight.¹ Then the gallant youths, entering upon the martial strife, commenced the battle and dealt out lusty blows, whilst the expert gunners of European birth kindled the flames of war by discharging their thunder-voiced ordnance, and the rocketmen of magical skill consumed the thread of life of the heroes of the battle-field by darting their falcon-winged missiles. As for a musket bullet, the heroes cared not what it might do, and in that scene of carnage and slaughter the only dread entertained by the renowned and gallant combatants was for a cannon-ball, or the flight of a rocket.

From noon until only three *gharis* of the day remained, the battle continued to rage, the brave warriors being earnestly engaged in wielding sword and spear, and the wounded in yielding up life with groans and agonizing cries. Bháo and Wiswás Rái, in the early part of the engagement, made such incessant assaults, that Ahmad Sultán was under an apprehension that he would not be able to withstand them, and despatched a person to mount the ladies of his household on fleet steeds swift as the wind, and keep them waiting inside his private pavilion; so that, whenever the infidels should gain the superiority, they might be ready to pursue the path of flight, and betake themselves to the verge of safety and the nook of security. That day, however, Mahmúd Khán Gurd Bulbás, who was chief eunuch, *Kúlalar-ákásh*, and commander of eight or nine thousand dauntless and bloodthirsty Kazalbásh horse, was posted in rear of Ahmad Sultán. He having planted his foot firmly on the plain of contention, caused great slaughter with his keen-edged sword. * * Through the reiterated charges of the Khán and his adherents, the pagan Mahrattas were unable to push on a step in advance of the position they had first assumed; and at this juncture an order was given to the *sambúrakchis* and *jazailchis*, not to be slack in keeping up their fire, but to consume the harvest of the enemy's lives with the flame of their bullets. * *

¹ ["The battle was fought on 6th Jumáda-s sání, 1174 A.H., or 8th Pús-badi, 1817 Samvat" (12th January, 1761 A.D.) — *Akhbáru-l Muhabbat.*]

At length, by Ahmad Sultán's good fortune, one *sambúrah* ball struck Wiswás Rái on the forehead, and another hit Bháo on the side. From these bullet wounds both of them quickly pursued the road to the realms of perdition, and betook themselves to the lowermost pits of hell while the rest subsided into the sleep of annihilation through the sword cuts inflicted by the Kazalbáshí youth.

In a word, as soon as the Mahratta army perceived its chieftains travelling the desert of perdition turning its face from the field of battle it pursued the path of flight; and in an instant the scene of strife and bloodshed became cleared and purified, like the surface of a mirror from the foulness of the vile infidels' presence. Couriers then conveyed the information to Sháh Pasand Khán that the worthless pagan Mahrattas had fled and not one of them was left remaining on the field. Jhanku and Malhár who were two mighty chiefs, having planted firmly the foot of stability kept fighting at the head of a *lao* of horsemen in front of Sháh Pasand Khán so the latter being re-animated with the news of the infidels' retreat, charged the chiefs opposed to him, and was occupied for two *gharis* in dealing forth blows and taunts on them. Eventually they came to the determination of fleeing, and taking the route to the Dakhín they departed from the field of battle. The Irání and Durrání warriors, who were with Sháh Pasand Khán pursued them; excepting the author of this work, who remained standing close by him. At last Sháh Pasand Khán remarked that he was going to offer his congratulations to Ahmad Sultán, and told me to go and carry off some booty for myself.

When the author had thus received permission, he put his horse to the gallop in company with a cousin of his own, and one attendant, and on reaching their camp, found about 30 000 infantry matchlockmen or even more, going along with matchlocks at their backs, and naked swords in their hands. We three individuals passed through the midst of them however and after seizing two strings (*ka'dr*) of laden camels, by which is meant

fourteen of these beasts of burden, we returned again through the midst of that multitude numbering upwards of 30,000 souls, and so greatly were they inspired with terror and consternation, that they had not the power to use their weapons. Stranger still, whilst returning to our own camp, a Mahiatta chief, who had been stationed in the hindmost ranks of their army, and was fleeing towards the Dakhin with six or seven thousand horse, happened to meet us three individuals. With a view to save ourselves from harm, we fired off our three matchlocks, whereupon that force turned away from us, and proceeded in a different direction. The author, together with his two companions, took from them a couple more camels, one of which carried a kettle-drum, and the other forage; and we re-entered our camp in safety and security just as five *gharís* of the night were past, at which time the glad sounds of the kettle-drums were reverberating through the ethereal sky from the army of Ahmad Sultán and the chieftains of Hindústán.

In this battle, out of the Mahiatta leaders, Shamshe Bahádur, who was the Peshwá's son, and Ibráhím Khán Gárdí,¹ who had 30,000 Tilanga Gardís under his command, together with the Governor of the province of Gujarát Ahmadábád, met their deaths. Out of that vast army too, consisting of three *lacs* and fifty thousand cavalry and infantry, only 50,000 souls succeeded in returning to the Dakhin, after undergoing a thousand hardships and difficulties, while the remainder pursued the path of perdition, either in the field or on the road, through the swords of the holy warriors.

¹ Ibráhím Khán Gárdí "in times of yore ran with a stick in his hand before the palankin of M. de Bussy," at Pondicherry. He rose to a command in the French service. Subsequently he entered the service of the *Nizam*, and was afterwards entertained by the Bháo. His men were trained in the European fashion, and like all men so drilled, were called Tilangas, or Gárdís. They obtained the former name from having first been raised at Pondicherry. The term "Gárdí" is said by the French translator of the *Siyar-ul Muta-ahhahin* to be derived from the Arabic *Gharbí* 'Western', but the word "guard," in its French, English or Portuguese form, seems to be a more likely source.—*Seir Mutaqherin*, vol. iii p. 152. Grant Duff, vol. ii pp. 112, 121.

All that the author witnessed with his own eyes, as well as what he learnt from the couriers under his authority and other comrades, every one of whom was on the spot, he has inserted in these pages and it is his opinion, that there is none who can possibly be better acquainted with this engagement than his humble self, because the *harkáras* (couriers) were under his master's orders and he was his master's factotum, everything that occurred being reported to the chief through him. When ever any one else, therefore, out of self-conceit, tells a different tale to this, it is a tissue of lies and falsehoods, and his statement is unworthy of credit.

The over victorious Kazalbásh and Durrání warriors pursued the fugitives as far as the villages of Bahargarh and Faridábád, which are twelve *kos* from the metropolis of Sháh-Jahánábád, in the direction of Akbarábád and from Pánípat to that spot must be sixty *kos*. Wherever they found the vile Hindú Mahrattas, they carried off their horses and equipments, and put the individuals themselves to death.

Some of the soldiers, who were rather merciful and compassionate, wounded a party of Mahrattas and then let them go, as in the following instance. The author of this work, together with Muhammad Beg Khán Hamadání Yrání, who held the title of *Isfikháru d daula Fíroz Jang* from the Emperor of Hindústán had about 20 000 horse and foot under his command, and was greatly honoured and esteemed by the late Nawáb Najaf Khán, was for some time in the camp of Mahájí Patel Sindhia, the Mahratta; and Sindhia was so excessively lame, that two persons used to hold him under both arms to raise him from his seat. Some one inquired of Sindhia the reason of his being lame, whereupon the latter heaving a deep sigh replied. When fate is unpropitious, the wisest plans are unsuccessful. I had purchased a Bhúnráthali¹ mare for the sum of 12 000 rupees, which outstripped the cold winter's blast in speed, and I was mounted on her back. At the time when Bháo and Wiswás Báí met with

¹ [From the valley of the Dhára or Báhma.]

their deaths, I got separated to a distance from Jhankú, the chief of my adherents, and was fleeing away alone, when a young Mughal riding a Turkí charger set out in pursuit of me. However much I pressed my steed, whenever I looked behind, there I saw his horse shaking his ears, and coming straight on, till at last, the mare being incapable of further exertion, he overtook me. He then took away my steed and accoutrements, and gave me a wound in the leg, saying 'This shall give you a mark to remember for years to come.' From that day to the present I have continued suffering from this painful wound, insomuch that I remember it well."

Another extraordinary incident was this. During the flight of the Mahratta forces, a party of them had stopped at the caravanserai of Sonpat, for the purpose of eating bread and drinking water, when the Kazalbásh and Abdálí warriors came up in pursuit, and through fear of them, the guardians of the serai closed its gates. As soon as the Mahrattas got intelligence of their arrival, every one mounted his horse, wishing to escape, but found the gate shut. One of them spurred on his mare, which he conceived to be a good galloper, that he might clear the wall of the serai at a leap. The gallant animal, flying off the ground like a falcon, stuck amongst the battlements of the wall, and there expired. Thirty years ago the author of this work, happening to alight at that serai, beheld the horse's skeleton fixed in the battlements. This noble feat is famous throughout the world.

These singular events took place in the year 1174 A H (1760-1 A D). One of the poets of Hindústán, with a view to ingratiate himself with the Nawáb Wazíru-l mamálík Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur, composed the following chronogram of the victory

"Wisdom grew delighted and exclaimed, Come!
May the triumph of our Nawáb be propitious"

This humble individual, too, has written down all these particulars exactly as they happened, in order that they may be made apparent to His Highness's understanding.

CIV

J A M I J A H A N N U M A

or

MUZAFFAR HUSAIN

THE writer of the *Jām-i-Jahān numā* was Muzaffar Husain surnamed Mahārat Khān son of Hakīm Ghulām Muhammad Khān son of Hakīm Muhammad Kāsim son of Hakīm Muhammad Sālīh, son of Maulānā Abdu's Salīm son of Maulānā Abdu'l Mumin son of Maulānā Shaikh Muhammad, son of Maulānā Shaikh Alī son of Maulānā Muhammad Aslam.

The reputation which some of these ancestors acquired for science and learning is dwelt upon by the author at the close of his account of the Poets. He traces his descent to Khwāja Kohī, who left Baghdād to reside at Hirāt.

Khwāja Kohī Astajlu is represented as a great saint who flourished in the time of Sultān Husain Gurgānī. Mīrzā Haidar says in the *Tārīkh-i-Rasā'id* in the chapter in which he gives an account of the saints and doctors that one day as his father went to the *Jāma' mayūd* in Hirāt, he saw there Khwāja Kohī, who having read his prayers, was sitting with his face towards the *Kibla* engaged in his meditations. He asked the people who this man was, and on being told of his name, he stood aside and when the Khwāja arose with the intention of departing he advanced and met him with every mark of respect. The Khwāja compiled a work on Moral Philosophy and the science of Mental Purification, which is entitled *Siyar-i-Arūdī*.

Maulānā Muhammad Aslam, grandson of Khwāja Kohī was

born in Hirát. When 'Abdu-llah Khán Uzbek, the ruler of Máwaráu-n-Nahr, laid siege to Hirát, and invested it for nine months, his father and relations, amongst many others, died, either from some pestilential disease which had broken out in the city, or from famine. Muhammad Aslam, who survived, was then only fourteen years old, and, after the conquest of Hirát, was taken away by certain nobles of Bukhárá, Mír Sa'id-dín Muhammad and Mulla Táhib Hirví, to whom he was related. He was brought up under their care, and passed his hours in the acquisition of knowledge. Afterwards, in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Jahángír, he came to Láhore, and became a pupil of Shaikh Bahlol. He also went to Ágra, and had an interview with the Emperor. As he was the nephew of Mauláná Mír Kalán Muhaddis, he was very kindly received by the Emperor, and obtained the rank of fifteen hundred. He resigned the royal service in A.H. 1060 and returned to Láhore, where he died the year afterwards.

Mauláná Mír Kalán Muhaddis, son of Khwája Kohí, came from Hirát to Hindústán with his grandfather in the reign of the Emperor Akbar. Jahángír was a pupil of his. Mír Kalán died at Ágra.

Mauláná Shaikh 'Alí, Mauláná Shaikh Muhammad and Mauláná 'Abdu-l Mumín, were also held in good repute.

Mauláná 'Abdu-s Salím was a very learned man. He had been educated by Shaikh Is'hák, Shaikh Sa'id-llah, Kází Sadru-d dín, and Shaikh Fathu-llah Shírází. He wrote a commentary on Baizáwí. He died in the first year of Sháh Jahán's reign. Mírak Shaikh Hirví of Khurásán, who was the tutor of Prince Dárá Shukoh, and held the office of *Sadr*, read several standard works with Mauláná 'Abdu-s Salím.

Mauláná Muhammad Sáhíh acquired great proficiency in medicine, and was a scholar of Hakímu-l Mulk Takrí Khán Hakím Takí of Láhore, who is said to have possessed great skill in the profession, and was a most successful practitioner, was one of his pupils.

Muhammad Kásim, *alias* Hakím Kásim diligently applied himself to the study of Theology, the several branches of Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Divinity and Physics. He also spent his time in getting the Kurán by heart. For some time he was a servant of Amír Khán the Governor of Kábul after whose death he led a solitary life, and died at Láhore in the beginning of Farrukh Siyar's reign.

Hakím Ghulám Muhammad Khán after having acquired a proficiency in the different branches of learning took up his residence in early youth towards the end of the Emperor Aurangzob's reign, in the city of Aurangábád. He had acquired perfection in Calligraphy and specimens of his writing were long admired. He entered the service of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar at the commencement of his reign, through the recommendation of 'Imad Khán whom he had taught to write *Naskh*. He obtained the rank of five hundred personal allowance with some *jágers* in the *mahál* of Sakráwá, in the district of Kanauj and the *parganas* of Azam and Ál in the Panjáb. When the revolution caused by the Sayyids embarrassed the affairs of the Empire, and the *jágers* were confiscated or exchanged, he retired from public life, and passed the remainder of his days in devotion. He died in A.H. 1178 (1764 A.D.)

Muzaffar Husain, surnamed Yúsufi *alias* Mahárat Khán, the author of the work now under consideration was born in the city of Aurangábád, in A.H. 1118 (1706 A.D.) He was only seven years old when he finished the Kurán which he read with his father. He then commenced his Persian studies under the tuition of Sháh Abdu l Hakím who was one of his father's intimate friends. He learnt to write the *Khat-i Naskh* and studied some of the works which were compiled by his grandfather. He went through all the standard works on Arabic Grammar Logic, and Rhetoric, with Mauláná Mírzá Nazar Alí brother of Hakim Zainu-d dín. At the age of fifteen at his father's suggestion he commenced the study of Physics, under the instruction of Hakím Muhammad Husain surnamed Bukrát Khán son of Hakím Masúm Khán.

For six years he practised Medicine under his tutor, and when the Emperor, Muhammad Sháh, left the city of Dehlí to go on a hunting excursion to the villago of Siolí, his tutor, who was the Emperor's physician, accompanied His Majesty, upon which occasion the author, who was then only twenty-one years of age, was left to take care of his patients. He informs us that as he had taken great pains to make himself master of his profession, he was able to cure many of them, and they expressed their thanks to him in the presence of his tutor. During the time he was learning Physic, he also studied books on Natural Philosophy, Divinity, Mathematics, Astronomy, Music, Astrology, as well as other sciences, under the instruction of Mauláná Ghanutu-llah. He was not, however, contented with these studies, he extended them also to the translated works of the ancients, such as Galen and Hippocrates. He also turned his attention to composition, and wrote the *Usúlu-t Tibb*, *Su'áyu-l Hayy*, *Minháyu-l Hayy*, and other treatises. During the time he was thus occupied, he also collected, for the sake of amusement, some very interesting stories relative to the great men of past ages, and also the most select passages of ancient and modern poets. He was urged by his friends to put all the matter he had thus amassed into a regular form, and connect it in such a manner as to make it fit for publication. Although, in consequence of being one of the physicians of His Majesty, he had very little leisure from his ordinary duties, yet, for the sake of his friends, he consented to devote the best part of his time to preparing the work, and completed it in A H 1180 (A D 1766-7).

The *Jám-i Jahán-numa* is of an exceedingly miscellaneous character, and deals but little in History. The authorities are not mentioned, but a great part appears to be derived from the *Madinatu-l 'Ulúm* and the *Nafáusu-l Funún*. The information it contains is useful, and the anecdotes interspersed are entertaining and instructive.

The work is divided into five Books.

CONTENTS.

Preface, pp 1 to 3—Book I. On the art of conversation, manners repartees, witticisms etc., pp 4 to 60—Book II On the History of the Ummayyides, Abbásides, Táhirians, Saffáris Samanís, Ghaznivides, Ghorians, Saljuks Atábaks Ismaílians, Turks, Mughals, etc., pp 60 to 230—Book III Geography of the seven climates, and the wonders and famous men of each country and the Poets of India, from Akbar's time down to 1180 A.H., with extracts from their works, pp 231 to 826—Book IV On the Angels of Heaven and Earth, the Elements, the Mundane Spheres the Sources of Rivers and Fountains, Birds, Quadrupeds, etc., pp 826 to 1230—Book V On Writing Language Grammar Rhetoric, Philosophy, Government, etc., pp 1231 to 1322

The only copy which I know of this work is in the possession of the Rájá of Benares, very well transcribed in the year 1248 A.H (1837 A.D) for Díp Náráin Singh, the younger brother of Rájá Udit Náráin Singh.

Size—8vo, 1332 pages containing 15 lines in each page

CV.

F A R H A T U - N N Á Z I R Í N

OF

MUHAMMAD ASLAM

A GENERAL History of India, composed by Muhammad Aslam, son of Muhammad Háfizu-l Ansárí, and concluded in the year 1184 A H (1770-1 A D)

This History is somewhat ambitious in style, but of no great value for its contents. The author informs us in his Preface that, “in the bloom of his youth, when he was yet a student, in the city of Lucknow (may God preserve it!), the heavenly inspirer whispered several times in the ear of this meanest person of mankind as follows — ‘ O thou who art the painter of the various scenes of the gallery of the world, and the describer of the works of Nature ! Since to thank and praise those who are the worshippers of God is in fact to thank and praise the Almighty Creator Himself, it is proper that thou shouldst compile a work, comprising the history of the Prophets, the Imáms, the Muhammadan Emperors, and the religious and learned men, by whose holy exertions the management of the country of Hindústán has been invisibly supported ’ ”

Independent of this divine afflatus, he mentions other reasons which induced him to devote his attention to history—such as the universal desire to read historical works, combined with the exceeding difficulty of procuring them ; the eagerness to acquire a knowledge of the manners and customs of the ancients, of the accounts of travellers, of biographies of famous persons and of the wonders of the world. In order to satisfy this general

curiosity he early accustomed himself to make extracts from books of travels and historical works, in order to compile a 'history which might contain the most important and interesting matters, and which, from its lucid and methodical construction and exceeding conciseness, might meet the approbation of the most enlightened minds. But as 'all works must be performed at the time destined for them,' the task was delayed till he had completed his studies

After he had been fully educated he visited the city of Faizábád in A.H. 1182 where he met the most puissant and exalted Náẓim Jang Mudabbir-i Mulk Rafi u-d daula Monsieur Gentil, and petitioned through his intercession for his livelihood in the most high court of the world benefiting and noble *scáhir* of Hindústán whose praise is beyond all expression. That light of the edifice of greatness and the sun of dignity showed him great kindness and said that he himself was fond of knowledge and always devoted himself to the study of histories. It was therefore desirable that the author should take pains to write a most interesting account of the *scáhir's* noble family of the Emperors of Hindústán the Prophets and the eminently religious and learned men to make the horse of his pen gallop over the field of eloquence, and like a diver bring out from the ocean of his mind such shining pearls as might adorn Hindústán with their light, and be ornaments to the ear of curiosity. Prepare said he, such a rose-bower as may echo with the song of the nightingales of the garden of knowledge "

Under these happy auspices he commenced to labour in collecting the histories of Hindústán and obtained from different places a great number of authentic works—such as the *Tárikh : Nicdnu-d din Ahmad Bakshi Mirdat : Alam*, and *Firashat*. He also informs us that he carefully perused other books such as the *Tárikh : Bahmani*, *Táju l Ma-asir Tarjuma Yasini Tárikh : Firuz-sháhi*, *Tárikh : Alfi*, *Habibu : Siyar Rawzat-i Safá*, *Timúr náma Wákiát : Bdbari*, *Wákiát : Humáyuni*, *Albar náma*, *Jahángir náma Sháh Jahán náma Alamgir náma*,

Tārīkh-i Bahádúr Sháh, etc. “He made abstracts of these treasures, which like scattered pearls were separate from each other, and strung them upon one thread after a peculiar plan, to be remembered by posterity, in this charming garden, which is entitled *Farhatu-n Názirín*, the ‘Delight of Observers’”

The author states that he wrote his Preface in the year 1184 A H (1770 A D.), and dedicated the work to the “most prudent *wazir*, the gem of the mine of liberality, of most noble extraction, the select of the whole creation, the leader of the army of victory, Shujá’u-d daula Bahádúr, in the hope that he would approve of it, and that it might go forth like the wind to the different quarters of the earth, and like unadulterated coin might obtain circulation throughout all countries. The readers of this mirror of the world are requested to consider the little leisure he had from his other avocations, and to remove with the sleeve of kindness the dust of inaccuracy which might soil its splendour, and to spare their reproaches”

The author divides his work into an Introduction, three Books, and a Conclusion; but the latter, which is said to contain “an account of the Prime Minister and the learned and religious of *that* (his) time,” is not contained in the volume I have examined, which ends with a promise to write more concerning the Prime Minister, whose praises he is sounding. The Paris copy is also deficient in this Conclusion, but both contain an account of the famous men of Aurangzeb’s time at the close of his reign, but no other reign, either before or after it, has any biographical notice of contemporaries

CONTENTS

Preface, pp. 1 to 17—Introduction, The Creation, pp. 17 to 20—Book I. Prophets, Patriarchs, Muhammad and Imáms, pp. 20 to 122—Book II. The Rájás and Sultáns of India, from the time of Hám, pp. 123 to 170—Book III. Tímúr and the Tímúrian Dynasty, to the twelfth year of Sháh ’Álam’s reign, pp. 171 to 520.

The *Farhatu n Názirin* is very rare in India. I know of only one copy, and that is in the possession of Nawáb Takí Khán of Rohilkhand. From the numerous erasures and interlineations I should judge it to be an autograph. There is also a copy in England which was available to Dr Lee, for he quotes it at p 130 of his translation of the *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, but he does not notice it in his Preface, where he describes the other works which he quotes, nor does he mention the Library in which it is to be found. There is a copy in the British Museum, No 6942 and one also in the Royal Library at Paris (Fonds Gentil 47, small folio of 1022 pages of 17 lines each)

Size—Large 8vo 520 pages of 19 lines in each, closely written

EXTRACTS.

In the third year of Ahmad Sháh's reign corresponding with A.H. 1160 Ahmad Sháh Durrání, with the renewed intention of conquering Hindustán arrived in the neighbourhood of Sodrá, and Mír Mu'ín ul Mulk, *akas* Mír Mannú, left Láhore with an army for the purpose of expelling him, but, being unable to take the field against him he intrenched himself. The nobles and *mírás* of Dehlí hoped that Mír Mannu might be destroyed and after this desirable event they would take measures against the Abdáll. They would thus extirpate the thorn which the race of the Turánis had planted in their side. The Mír requested assistance from the Emperor of Dehlí and his minister for four months, but all in vain. He was consequently obliged to sue for peace, and he persuaded the Durrání to return to Kandahár by assigning to him four *maháls*, viz. Sálkot, Párasar Gujarát and Aurangábád which had belonged to Kábul from the time of Alamgir¹. The Durrání, having reached Kandahár, collected a large force, and returned with the intention of conquering Hindustán.

In 1164 A.H. (1750-1 A.D.) Ahmad came by forced marches to

¹ Compare Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, p. 102.

Láhore, and began to devastate the country. In the month of Rabi' u-l awwal he crossed the Chináb, and encamped between Sodrá and Wazínábád. Mu'ínu-l Mulk also, at the head of a formidable army, crossed the Ráví, which flows under the city of Láhore, and pitched his tents in front of the invader. For some time there was continued firing with guns and matchlocks, and the whole country between the Ráví and Chináb was desolated by the ravages and massacres committed by the Durránís. In those days the writer of these leaves was engaged in learning the Kurán by heart. In the end, neither party gained any perceptible advantage. The Durránís suddenly broke up their quarters, with the intention of crossing the Ráví, and plundering the district and city of Láhore. Mír Mannú marched back in alarm to the city, barricaded all the streets, and strengthened the interior defences. Every day there were skirmishes, till at last the supply of provisions was closed on all sides. There was such a dearth of corn and grass that with the utmost difficulty two *sís* of wheat flour could be had for a rupee, to say nothing of rice. To procure for horses other forage than rushes or house-thatch was next to an impossibility. This obliged Mír Mannú and his army to take the field. He sallied out with his right and left wings, and fanned the embers of war into a flame. The chief agent of Mír Mannú was a man named Kora Mal, who had been a corn-chandler, and could scarcely earn his bread, but had now become master of immense riches, and had obtained kettle-drums and flags, with the governorship of Multán. With him, Adína Beg Khán Bahrám Jang¹ had for certain reasons

¹ [This Adína or Dína Beg Khán, whose name will frequently recur in these pages, was by caste an Aráín, and son of a man named Channú, an inhabitant of the village of Sarakpúr, near Láhore. He was brought up in a Mughal family, and in early life spent a good deal of his time at Alláhábád, Cawnpore, and Bajwára. He became a soldier, but seems to have thrown aside that profession for revenue work. He was an able man and a good accountant, and he began as collector of the village of Kanak near Lúdhhyána, from which humble position he advanced till he was made Governor of Sultánpúr, an office which he held at the time of Nádir Sháh's invasion. He died without heirs at Khánpúr near Hoshiyárpur, where a fine tomb was erected over his remains. These particulars are extracted from a little work called *Alwadi*

taken some cause of offence, and retired to his own government in the (Jálandhar) Doáb Adína Beg now reluctantly joined Mánú l Mulk against the Durránis, and, availing himself of his opportunity in the midst of battle instructed one of the Afgháns of Knsur to put an end to the existence of that unworthy wretch Kora Mal by a musket-ball.¹ In consequence of his death the army of Mír Mannu suffered a complete defeat, and he was obliged to send for his horse and advancing with some of his personal attendants, proceeded to kiss the threshold of the Durrání, who honoured him with the grant of a valuable *khil'at* and the title of *Farzand Khán*

Reign of Alamgir II

In the third year of the reign of Alamgir II the minister Gházíu-d dín Khán, having released Wálá Gauhar the eldest son of 'Alamgir from prison took him towards Láhore He went as far as Lúdhíyána, and then returned and having sent for the daughter of Mánú l Mulk from Láhore, he married her He deprived the Emperor of all power whatever and conducted all the affairs of the State A misunderstanding arose during this year between him and Najíb-u-d daula, which at this very day is the cause of all the disorganization which is running the country

Najíb-u-d daula, having found means of secretly communicating with the Abdálí invited him to come to Hindustán Accordingly in the beginning of the fourth year of the reign he came to Dehli and, having ravaged it, proceeded to Mattra, where he massacred the inhabitants, broke the temples, and having plundered the town of immense wealth in property and cash, he cut the

Adina Beg Khán, which is of course eulogistic, but the stories it tells of him show that he was shrewd, artful, unscrupulous and sometimes cruel, as when he condemned a confectioner who had declined to supply him with preserves, to be boiled alive, "as he boiled his own jam." The poor wretch was saved by the intercession of Adína's guests, but "felt a burning pain in his body ever afterwards. Boiling or half boiling seems to have been a torture in use at this period.]

¹ This is opposed to the common account, which represents Kora Mal as killed honourably in action. See Prinsep's *Rajasthán* p. 12, and Cunningham's *Hist. of the Sikhs*, p. 103

very nose of Hindústán, and returned to Láhore, where he gave his youngest son the title of Tímún Sháh ; and left Jahán Khán there with the designation of minister *Wasíru-l mamáhl* Gházíu-d dín Khán marched his army into the provinces of Alláhábád and Oudh, but returned to Dehlí without meeting with any success Najíb Khán and Kutb Sháh, having collected a force, plundered the house of Gházíu-d dín Khán, carried off all the cash, furniture and jewels which were found in it, and also dishonoured his *senána* Gházíu-d dín, assembling a body of men, sat watching the opportunity of vengeance, but in vain

Adína Beg Khán, being sorely pressed by the army of the Abdálís, invited Malhár, Raghú and other Mahratta chiefs from the Dakhín, gave them fifty *lacs* of rupees, and proceeded to attack the officers of the Abdálí He first overcame the *Fauzdar* of Sirhind,¹ whose name was 'Abdu-s Samad Khán, and who was stationed in that city with a body of 20,000 Rohillas, horse and foot After subjugating the whole of that district, Adína Beg proceeded to Láhore When he reached that city, Jahán Khán, with Prince Tímúr, pitched his tents at Kachchí-saráí, and having intrenched himself, prepared for action Adína Beg Khán joined his forces with those of the Mahrattas, and Jahán Khán, having sustained a defeat, fled towards Pesháwar with two hundred horse, leaving all his treasure and property to be plundered by the enemy's army.

Adína Beg Khán, on the achievement of this unexpected victory, ordered the happy occasion to be celebrated by beat of drums. He dismissed the Mahratta army to Dehlí, and himself proceeded to Batálá, where he fixed his head-quarters He then turned his attention to the appointment of governors for the provinces of Multán, Thattá, and Láhore Soon after this he died a natural death, on the 11th of Muharram, in the fifth year of 'Álamgír's reign, and the province of Láhore again came into the possession of the Sikhs

Gházíu-d dín Khán sent Jhankú Mahratta against Najíbu-d

¹ The author writes it Shaharind

daula, who being unable to oppose him, departed to Sakartál on the banks of the Ganges, where he fixed his batteries, and prepared for resistance. He sent his envoy to Ahmad Sháh Abdálí to solicit assistance. The army of Jhanku invested him closely, and after four months fighting it crossed the Ganges near Hardwár, where the river was found fordable, and overran the country. Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, son of Wazíru'l mamálik Mansuru'l Mulk Safdar Jang who was coming to aid Najíbu-d daula, arrived soon after, and expelled the Mahrattas from the territory of the Afgháns. Gházíu-d dín Khán on receiving the news of Shujá'u-d daula's arrival, marched from Dehli and joined the camp of Jhanku. He then directed some of his *sardárs* to go to the fort of Sháh-Jahánábád, and put Azízu-d dín (Álamgír) to death.

In the mean time Ahmad Sháh Abdálí reached the environs of Sirhind, and defeated the Mahratta army which was quartered in that district. On receiving the intelligence, Jhanku advanced to oppose the Abdálí. Najíb Khán finding an opportunity joined the Abdálí's camp at Saháranpur by forced marches. Jhankú, having sustained a repulse at that place, came to Dehli, where he fought a very severe battle, but was at last obliged to fly.

The period of Álamgír the Second's reign is said to be six years, and that of his life about sixty. The events above related took place in A. H. 1174 (1760-1 A.D.)

I will minutely relate the Abdálí's victory over the Dakhin army when we enter upon his history in detail. I content myself here with giving a concise narrative of it as follows. When Jhankú sustained a defeat from the army of the Abdálí and fled away with Gházíu-d dín Khán, the Abdálí sacked Dehli and encamped at Anúpnagar. Shujá'u-d daula also came there and kissed his threshold. After the rainy season, Bháo Wiswás Rái with the son of the Rája his master marched from the Dakhin at the head of 200 000 horse, 20 000 foot, and 300 guns. He entered the city of Dehli and having taken the fort from the officers of the Abdálí, proceeded to Kunjpúra and

Sirhind 'Abdu-s Samad Khán and seven other officers who were stationed at the former place, with a body of 20,000 horse and foot, offered resistance, and after a battle of about one hour, were all slain. Bháo plundered Kunjpúra, sent those who were taken alive to prison, and pitched his tents on the banks of the Jumna.

Ahmad Sháh, on hearing this sad news, writhed like a serpent, and kindling the fire of anger, moved towards the enemy. Although the river flowed with great impetuosity, yet he forded it at Bághpat, and engaged with the enemy, who, not being able to withstand him in the field, retreated to Pánípat, and fixed their batteries there. The Abdáli besieged their camp, and when the siege had lasted five months, the enemy one morning left their intrenchments, and drew out their army in battle array. The fire of battle raged from early morn and was not extinguished till evening. At last the gale of victory blew over the royal flags, and all the Dakhin host was cut down by the swords of the Muhammadan warriors. Of their chiefs none except Malhár saved his life. The dead lay strewn shoulder to shoulder from the plain of Pánípat to Dehlí. About ninety thousand persons, male and female, were taken prisoners, and obtained eternal happiness by embracing the Muhammadan faith. Indeed, never was such a splendid victory achieved from the time of Amír Mahmúd Subuktigin to the present day by any of the Sultáns but by this Emperor of Emperors. After this conquest, he appointed Wazíru-l mamálik Shujá'u-d daula to the office of *Wazir*, Najíb Khán to that of *Bakhsh*, and having granted tracts of land to the other Afgháns, and dismissed them to their respective abodes, returned himself to Kandahár.

The history of this sovereign will be given in full detail in its proper place.

When Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula arrived in his province, he went to kiss the threshold of His Majesty Wálá Gauhar Sháh 'Álam, and obtained the high rank of Prime Minister. I am now going to relate a full account of this great Emperor and his wise Minister.

Sháh 'Álam, son of 'Álamgir the Second.

That prince of noble extraction, the jewel of the crown of sovereignty, fought a battle with Gházíu-d dín Khán in the fifth year of his venerable father's reign, and having left Dehli, proceeded to the eastward. None of the Afghán chiefs received him hospitably through fear of Gházíu-d dín Khán. He was obliged to resort to that hero of the world (Shujá'u d daula) in the fort of Jalálábád, where he was respectfully and hospitably received. After some days' halt, he proceeded to invade Bengal. Muhammad Kulí Khán, Governor of the province of Alláhábád and Zaim ul 'Abidín Khán joined him. He allowed them to remain with the camp and ordered them to raise an army.

In a few days a force of about one hundred thousand horsemen was collected, and he went to take Patna Azímábád. After the city was besieged, and much blood was shed, Míran son of Jafar Alí Khán, Governor of the province of Bengal, assembled a large force, and having invited the Firuzí armies to assist him, waged war with the Emperor. Though the garrison was on the point of being overpowered and Míran on the point of taking to flight, yet, through the disaffection of the nobles in whom the Emperor confided and the want of treasure, which can never be amassed without possessing dominion (dominion and treasure being twins), great disaffection arose in the Emperor's army. Many from fear of scarcity of provisions, went to their homes and others who had no shame joined with Rám Náráin and Míran. The army of the Emperor met with a terrible defeat. Just afterwards Míran was killed by a stroke of lightning and peace was concluded by the agency of the Christians.

Muhammad Kulí Khán came to Alláhábád and the news of Azízu d dín Álamgir's death reached Sháh Álam in Patna, on which he was much afflicted in his mind, but ascribing the event to the wise dispensations of Providence, he sat upon the throne of sovereignty on the 5th of Jumáda-l awwal. Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, after a few days, came to the border of his territories, and

having invited the Emperor from 'Azímábád, obtained the honour of an interview, and was exalted to the hereditary office of *Wazir*, and afterwards accompanied him to Alláhábád. It is through the means of that great man that the name of Sáhíb Kírán Gúrgán (Tímúr) still remains, otherwise, the Abdálí would not have allowed one of his descendants to survive

The Emperor now fixed his residence at Alláhábád, kept the eldest son of Shuja'u-d daula in his Court as deputy of his father, whom he permitted to return to the province of Oudh, which is his *jágir* and *altamghá*. As it is at this time the 1180th year of the Hija,¹ it is therefore the twelfth year of His Majesty's reign, which commenced from the month of Jumada-l awwal. May God render His Majesty kind towards all wise and learned men, towards the poor, and towards all his subjects and may he give him grace to walk in the paths of the Holy Law!

To relate in detail the events of Sháh 'Álam's reign would require a separate history. The writer contents himself therefore with giving the above succinct account of him.

Nawábs of Oudh

Burhānu-l Mulk, in consideration of the valuable services he had rendered to the Emperor, was elevated to the rank of five thousand personal and the command of five thousand horse. He also obtained the title of *Bahadur Jang* and the governorship of Ágra, and greatly exerted himself in subverting and destroying the rebels. When Mahārāja Jai Singh Sawái was sent against Chúrāman Ját, the governorship of the province of Oudh was conferred on Burhānu-l Mulk, and with it that title. He took such measures that no trace of revolters remained within the limits of his province. This is well known and requires no comment.

At the time of the invasion of Nádír Sháh, he came to Court with all haste, and although dissuaded by the Emperor and the nobles, yet he fought very boldly against the Sháh. After the action he visited the Sháh, and was received with great

¹ There is an error here—1184 A H (1770 A D) is meant

honour Distressed beyond measure at the misfortunes which afflicted the times, he poisoned himself,¹ leaving Safdar Jang Ahu l Mansur Khán, his sister's son, as his successor in whose forehead the light of greatness shone, and in whose appearance the marks of dignity and grandeur were conspicuous. At the time of the invasion of Ahmad Sháh Abdálí, who killed Nádir Sháh, and had come down with a numerous army to conquer Hindustán, Safdar Jang with great intrepidity, stood firm to his ground, and with a view to preserve his honour and fame, fought very severe battles with that hardy and stubborn enemy. Although Kamru-d dín Khán the minister had fallen and the son of Rája Jai Singh Sawái had fled from the field although at the same time the news of the death of the Emperor was received and the royal army was routed and dispersed, yet he repulsed and defeated him. After the flight of the Abdálí he placed Ahmad Sháh upon the throne, and assuming the office of *waizir* brought him to Delhi and turned his attention to the administration of the Government. As at all times the creators of disturbance were at their work, a misunderstanding arose between him and the Emperor. For some time he was engaged in punishing and subduing the insurgents and tried to correct the conduct of the Emperor who, being addicted to luxury and pleasure, took no care of his duties.² But seeing that it was all in vain he left the Emperor and went to the province which had been assigned to him. After some days he expired, and was succeeded by his son, the most upright, accomplished, and brave Jalálu-d dín Haidar Shujá u-d daula, who in the time of Sháh Alam obtained the office of *waizir* and excelled all competitors in wealth and rank. The son was even superior to the father and an account of him shall be given hereafter.

¹ The *Mid-asur-i sanad* says he died of his wounds. Dow (vol. II. p. 425) gives a romantic account of his being induced to poison himself through *Kam Jáh* a duplicity. The *Siyar-i Musá-akábarin* says he died of a mortification in the foot (Briggs, vol. I. p. 429). [See *supra*, pages 64-69.]

² See the admirable letter of remonstrance addressed to him by Nizámu-l Malk, *Asiatic Miscellany* vol. I. p. 482.

CVI

TARÍKH-I FAIZ BAKHSII

OF

SHEO PARSHÁD

THIS is a history of the Afgháns of Rohilkhand, and details the transactions between them and the Nawábs of Oudh with such copiousness as to render it worth translation. It was compiled at the desire of General Kirkpatrick in A.H. 1190 (A.D. 1776), by Sheo Parshád, who gives the following account of the reasons which induced him to undertake the task. He says that one day in camp, between Bilgrám and Malláwan, he was introduced in Colonel Collins's tent by Captain Keelpatrick (?) to his brother (General?) Kirkpatrick, who had lately arrived from Chunár, and the author was so much pleased with his affability and condescension, that he offered his services to that officer, who desired him to give an account of the Afgháns of Katehr, from the time of Nawáb 'Alí Muhammad Khán, when they first acquired power, to the affair of Laldong, in order that he might translate it into English, and forward it to the King of England (Farang). When he returned to the tent, he had a sleepless night, and he declares that if he were to tell all the thoughts which occupied and distracted his mind during that night, a volume would not suffice. Finding on the morrow that General Kirkpatrick was not able fully to comprehend his verbal history, he determined upon writing it, in order that that gentleman might at his leisure translate it with the aid of his *munshi*. He accordingly set to work to compose his narrative, and finished it in March, A.D. 1776.

The history by Faiz Bakhsh, of Faizábád is also known by the name of *Tárikh-i-Faiz Bakhsh* and as both of them treat of the same period there is great probability of confounding the two works. The work, though written by a Hindú, not only opens with the usual laud of the Deity but proceeds to celebrate Muhammad, and the Chahár Yár besides

Size—8vo, 388 pages of 13 lines each

CONTENTS.

Praise of God, the Prophet, and his four friends—Account of Nawáb Faizu llah Khán—City of Rámpur—The Kosí river—Introduction—Arrival of the Afghána, and an account of the Katehr territory—Sháh Álam Khán and Hasan Khán's arrival in Katehr—Sháh Álam Khán—Rise of Nawáb Muhammad Khán—The eunuch defeated and slain—Saifu-d dín routed and killed—Defeat and death of Rája Barnaud Khattrí—Defeat of the Rája and conquest of the Kamáun hills—Arrival of Muhammad Sháh at Bangash—Nawáb Ali Muhammad Khán returns to Katehr from Sirlund—Nawáb Kamru-d dín Khán killed—Death of the Emperor Muhammad Sháh—Nawáb Ali Muhammad Khán takes possession of the whole territory of Katehr—Death of Nawáb Ali Muhammad Khán—Kutbu d dín Khán slain—Káim Jang slain—Arrival of Safdar Jang to seize Káim Jang's property—Rise of Nawáb Ahmad Khán Bangash and death of Rája Nuwul Rái—Defeat of Safdar Jang—Nawáb Sa du llah Khán proceeds to aid Ahmad Khán Bangash—Ahmad Khán defeated by Safdar Jang and taken prisoner in the forest of Jalkaná—Wealth and luxury of Najib Khán—Settlement of matters with Safdar Jang—Nawáb Abdu llah Khán's return from Kandahár to Katehr—Differences between Abdu llah Khán, Faizu llah Khán, Sa du llah Khán, and other Nawábs—Abdu llah Khán's animosity against Nawáb Faizu llah Khán—Arrival of Nawáb Abdu llah Khán and others in Katehr and allowances made to them—Allowances fixed for the author's master and Nawáb Sa du llah Khán—Death of Murtazá Khán

—Death of Alláh Yár Khán—Power gained by Safdar Jang—Jáwed Khán killed by Safdar Jang—Ahmad Sháh is disgusted with Safdar Jang—Nawáb Sa'adat Khán revolts at the instigation of Safdar Jang—Rebellion of Safdar Jang, and the battle which ensued—Disagreement between Zú-l fikár Jang and Nawáb Safdar Jang—Súraj Mal Ját taken prisoner by 'Imádu-l Mulk—Capture of Ahmad Sháh—Ascension of 'Azíz-d dín 'Álamgír Bádsháh to the throne—Daughter of Nawáb Mu'ínu-l Mulk brought from Láhore—Celebration of her marriage—Exchange of turbans between Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula and Sa'du-llah Khán—Nawáb 'Imádu-l Mulk comes to expel Shujá'u-d daula from the estate of the sons of Nawáb Faizu-llah Khán—Nawáb Ja'far 'Alí Khán and Káim 'Alí Khán's friendship with Sa'du-llah Khán—Jankú and other Dakhin chiefs come against Najíbu-d daula—Shujá'u-d daula with the nobility of Katehr proceeds to assist him—Ahmad Sháh comes from Kandahár to aid Najíbu-d daula—The chiefs of Katehr join the camp of Ahmad Sháh Durrání—Bháó and other chiefs of the Dakhin come to fight with the Durrání King—The Dakhin chiefs are deserted by Súraj Mal Ját, they proceed to Pánípat, Kutb Sháh and Mumin Khán are slain—Ahmad Sháh marches from Anúpsahr to punish the Dakhin chiefs—Nawáb Faizu-llah Khán reaches the camp of the King, and joins with him in the crusade—Bháó and other Dakhin chiefs slain—The Emperor returns to Dehlí—He takes Súraj Mal Ját into his favour, and confirms him in his possessions—The Doáb districts granted to the chiefs of Katehr—'Imádu-l Mulk and Malhár Ráo invest Dehlí, and Najíbu-d daula is expelled—The Emperor proceeds to the eastern part of the country—Account of Kásim 'Alí Khán, Governor of Bengal—Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula comes with the view of expelling Ahmad Khán Bangash—Death of Nawáb Sa'du-llah Khán—Dúndí Khán goes to Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula to settle the dispute which was raised by Ahmad Khán Bangash—'Álamgír Bádsháh slain by the hands of Bálábásh Khán—Súraj Mal Ját killed—Jawáhir Singh Ját besieges Najíbu-d daula

in Delhi—Government of Ratan Singh Jat, Kohri Singh and others—Flight of Nawab Shujā u-d daula—His arrival at Katehr—Battle of Kora—The Nawabs interview with the English—Death of Nawab Abdu-llah Khan—Arrival of Ram Chandar Ganesh, Madhaji Sindiya and others—Death of Ahmad Khan Bangash—Death of Dundi Khan—Death of Najibu-d daula, and authority acquired by Muhammad Zabita Khan—March from Allahabad to Delhi, and defeat of Muhammad Zabita Khan—Account of Sankar Gangapur—Death of Sardar Khan Bakhshi and the exploits of his sons—Ahmad Khan and his son take possession of his dominions and wealth—Engagement between Inayat Khan and Hafiz i Mulk—Release of the dependents of Zabita Khan—The Dakhin chiefs come to Ram Ghat—Dispute between Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Ahmad Khan son of the deceased Bakhshi—Death of Fath Khan Khansaman—Quarrels between his sons—Governor General Lord (Warren) Hastings arrival at Benares, and his interview with Nawab Shujā u-d daula—Nawab Shujā u-d daula suggests the invasion of Katehr and Hafiz i Mulk is slain—Account of Muhammad Yar Khan after his death—Muhibu llah Khan and Fathu llah Khan—Account of the Begam of Nawab Sa du llah Khan—Interview between Fathu llah Khan and Nawab Shujā u-d daula—Nawab Shujā u-d daula comes to Anwalā—Interview between him and Nawab Muhammad Yar Khan—Interview of Muhibu llah Khan with Najaf Khan and Ylich Khan—Nawab Shujā reaches Bisanli and encamps there—Muhammad Bashir comes to confiscate Anwalā—Account of Yusuf Khan of Kandahar—Anwalā confiscated and its inhabitants ruined—Nawab Shujā u-d daula falls sick at Bisanli after the conquest—Discussion between Nawab Shujā u d daula and the General of the British army regarding their march from Laldong—Proposal of the former—The General's reply—Proposals and replies of Shujā u d daula—Shujā u-d daula's letter to the Council of India—General Champion's letter to the same—Answer of the Council—Forty lacs of rupees sent to the members of the Council at Calcutta—

Measures taken by the Nawáb to protect the newly-conquered territory—Nawáb Muhammad Yár Khán leaves Shujá'u-d daula—Expenses of the author's master—Death of Shujá'u-d daula—Government of Nawáb 'Asafu-d daula, and resignation of Muhammad Ilch Khán—Ruin of Muhammad Bashír Khán—Advancement of Mullá Ahmad Khán, Himmát Bahádúr and others—Death of Muhammad Mustakím Khán—Confiscation of the property of Nawáb Sa'du-llah Khán's Begam at Faizábád—Liberty of prisoners obtained at the cost of three *lacs* of rupees—Ahmad Khán crosses the Ganges—Shahámat Khán, son of Bakhshí—Sa'ádat Khán, son of ditto—Kallú Khán, son of ditto—Abú-l Kásim slain—Mukhtaru-d daula and Basant Khán killed—Mirzá Sa'ádat 'Alí proceeds to Agra—Arrival of Muhammad Ilch Khán from Agra

OVII

HADĪKATU L AKALĪM

or

MURTAZĀ HUSAIN

THIS is an admirable compilation the celebrity of which is by no means in proportion to its merits. It is written on the model of the *Hafz Ikhlām* but is far superior to the work of Ahmad Rāxī and all others I have seen, both in accuracy and research. Besides the geographical details of the work, there are various minor histories of the events succeeding the decline of the Mughal monarchy and of the Mahrattas Rohillas and the Nawābs of Ondh, etc., which convey much information, derived not only from extensive reading but close personal observation.

The author Murtazā Husain, known as Shaikh Illāh Yār 'Usmānī of Bilgrām, says of himself, that from 1142 to 1187 A.H. (1729 to 1773), i.e. from the times of Muhammad Shāh to the middle of the reign of Shāh Alam II. he had the honour of being employed under the following nobles of India 1 Sayyid Sarbuland Khān Tūnī 2 Sayyid Sa'adat Khān Naushapūrī 3 Muhammad Kāsim Khān; 4 Alī Kulī Khān Abbāsī *ashash-angush* or six fingered 5 Ahmad Khān; 6 Muhammad Khān Bangash of Farrukhābād, besides several others. On this account the opportunity was afforded him of being an actor in the scenes in which they were engaged. He was subsequently introduced, in A.H. 1190 (1776 A.D.) when he was in his forty seventh year by his friend Rajab Alī to Captain Jonathan Scott, Persian Secretary to Warren Hastings, who immediately ap-

pointed him one of his *munshis*, "than which, in the opinion of English gentlemen, there is no higher office, and receiving encouragement from his employer's intelligence and love of learning, he was induced to undertake this work."

The *Hadikatu-l Akalim* contains a description of the Terrestrial Globe, its inhabited quarter, and the seven grand divisions of the latter. A short account of the wonders and curiosities of every country, a brief account of the Prophets, great kings, philosophers, and celebrated and great men of many countries.

"Quotations," says the author, "from every existing work have been sometimes copied verbatim into this work, and sometimes, when the style of the original was too figurative, alterations have been made in the extracts, my object being that my readers might acquire some knowledge both of the ancient and modern style of the Persian language, and by observing its changes should be led to reflect that every sublunary thing is subject to change" The reason is somewhat curious, especially as that moral might be much more easily learnt from the political vicissitudes he undertakes to record

The author moreover confesses that he has an eye to his own interest in this compilation "If the work shall ever be perused by the intelligent and learned English, it is expected that, taking into their consideration the troubles and old age of the author, they will always do him the favour of maintaining their kind regards towards him and his descendants, especially as this was the first Persian work compiled under their auspices, which gave a history of the establishment of the British Empire" This supplication has been granted, and his son has been raised to high office under the British Government. He concludes by saying that this work was composed when he was in his sixtieth year, and was submitted for the inspection of Captain Scott and Colonel Polier before being engrossed.

It is probable that this work is amongst those used by Capt Scott in his account of Aurangzeb's successors, but as in the two copies of his history which I have examined, the promised list of

MS authorities is not given, there is no knowing what were the materials which he used as the chief sources of his information

Size—Large 8vo, 888 pages of 25 lines each.

EXTRACT

The British, after the rainy season, in the year 1178 A.H (1764 A.D.), marched upon Baksar, and in a pitched battle defeated Shujá u d daula, who retreated to Lucknow. The conquerors advanced upon Alláhábád, and laid siege to its strong fort, which surrendered after a short resistance whereupon the Nawáb was obliged to abandon all his dominions. The British had now under their entire control the conquered provinces but they did not kill or plunder their subjects, nor did the rent-free holders and pensioners find any cause to complain. Shujá u-d daula courted the alliance and support of Ahmad Khán Bangash, ruler of Farrukhábád, Háfiz Rahmat Khán, and Dundi Khán, chiefs of Rohilla, Bareilly and Anwálá, which they all declined. Then he repaired to Kálpí but he was driven thence by the British.

At this time the Emperor of Dehlí made an alliance with the British, and the district of Alláhábád was assigned to him for his residence. He agreed to grant to the Company possession of the Bengal province, in return for which he was to receive annually twenty five *lacs* of rupees. Moreover, seventy five *lacs* were given to him as a present. After some years Muníru-d daula, revising the treaty, increased the payment to twenty seven *lacs* of rupees but when the Emperor returned to Dehlí, the stipulated payments were withheld. Shujá'u-d daula, making peace with the English, was restored to his dominions of Oudh, where he soon gathered great strength. In a few years Ahmad Khán Bangash, Dundi Khán, and other famous Rohilla chiefs, departed this life, and of all the Rohilla chiefs there remained not one to raise the standard of sovereignty and Islám, except Háfiz Rahmat Khán from Sháh-Jáhánpúr, Bareilly, and Pilibhít, to Sambhal. Shujá u-d daula, with the aid of the English, invaded the territories of Háfiz Rahmat, who was

killed in battle, but the victory was entirely owing to British valour. The Rohilla country then came into the power of Shujá'u-d daula, and great distress fell upon it, for it was given up to his unrestrained desires. At length the Nawáb's excessive indulgence brought on him a severe disease. By the British directions he made a treaty with Faizu-llah Khán, son of 'Alí Muhammad Khán Rohilla, who obtained under it his hereditary estates of Rámpúr. Shujá'u-d daula, still labouring under his tormenting disease, removed from Laldong to Oudh, and there died. His son, Mirza Mání, succeeded him, with the title of *A'safu-d daula*.

CVIII

JĀMI JAHĀN NUMĀ

or

KUDRATU LLAH.

THE "WORLD-REFLECTING MIRROR" was written by Shaikh Kudratu llah Sadíki, an inhabitant of Maví near the town of Kábar in Rohilkhand. He quotes several authorities of the ordinary stamp, as well as all those mentioned in the *Khuldsatu t Tawdrikh*, which he would evidently wish the incautious reader to believe were consulted by him also in original.

There is nothing novel in the work, but the Biographies at the end are useful. It was commenced in the year 1191 A.H. (1777 A.D.), and bears the same date at the end but this is evidently a mistake, for, at the close of the Dehlí history events are brought down to the year 1193 A.H. (1779 A.D.), when twenty years had elapsed of the reign of Sháh Ālam, and in every corner of the kingdom people aspired to exercise independence. Alláhábád Oudh, Etáwah Shukohábád, and the whole country of the Afgháns (Rohillas) are in the possession of the Nawáb Wasir Āsafu-d daula, and the whole country of Bengal has been subjected by the strong arm of the Firingia. The country of the Játs is under Najaf Khán, and the Dakhin is partly under Nizám Ali Khán, partly under the Mahrattas, and partly under Haidar Náik and Muhammad Ali Khán Siráju d daula of Gopaman. The Sikhs hold the whole súbá of the Panjáb and Láhore, and Multán, and Jamagar and other places are held by Zábta Khán. In this manner other *samindárs* have

established themselves here and there. All the world is waiting in anxious expectation of the appearance of Imám Mahdí, who is to come in the latter days. Sháh 'Álam sits in the palace of Dehlí, and has no thought beyond the gratification of his own pleasure, while his people are deeply sorrowful and grievously oppressed even unto death." It is to be regretted that these desponding anticipations are not occasionally reverted to by the present fortunate generation.

The author gives us some information respecting himself at the close of his work. He tells us that his progenitors arrived in India as early as the time of Pírhí Ráj, and that he had a large body of foreign cavalry under his command at Sonpat. Some of his ancestors are buried in Sonpat and Ajmír, where they died waging holy wars. In course of time they moved into Rohilkhand, and Rája Táj Khán, of the Katehrzái clan, bestowed Maví and twelve other villages in Kábar upon the family. There they have continued to reside, and amongst them have appeared several prodigies of excellence and learning. In the course of their genealogy, he states many anachronisms and other improbabilities, which throw doubt upon the correctness of the family tree.

CONTENTS.

Preface, p. 1—Introduction, Creation and Pre-Adamite Eras, p. 8—Chapter I. Adam and the Prophets, p. 27—II. Philosophers, p. 144—III. Kings of Persia, in four Sections (*makálas*), p. 150—IV. Kings of Arabia before Islám, p. 197—V. The Prophet Muhammad, in five Sections, p. 206—VI. The 'Ummayyide Khalífs, p. 362—VII. The 'Abbáside Khalífs, p. 402—VIII to XX. The Sámánís, Ghaznívídes, Ghorians, and other Dynasties, p. 421—XXI. Khúndkárs of Rúm, p. 491—XXII. Kaiásaras of Rúm, p. 494—XXIII. The Kháns of the Turks, in three Sections, p. 511—XXIV. Changíz Khán and his sons, in four Sections, p. 514—XXV. Branches of the Mughals, p. 540—XXVI. Tímúr and his sons, p. 546—XXVII. The Uzbaks, p.

OVIII

JAM I JAHAN NUMA

OF

KUDRATU LLAH

THE 'WORLD-REFLECTING MIRROR' was written by Shaikh Kudratu llah Sadíqí, an inhabitant of Maví near the town of Kábar in Rohilkhand. He quotes several authorities of the ordinary stamp, as well as all those mentioned in the *Khuldsatu-t-Tawdríkh* which he would evidently wish the incautious reader to believe were consulted by him also in original.

There is nothing novel in the work, but the Biographies at the end are useful. It was commenced in the year 1191 A.H. (1777 A.D.) and bears the same date at the end but this is evidently a mistake, for at the close of the Delhi history events are brought down to the year 1193 A.H. (1779 A.D.), "when twenty years had elapsed of the reign of Sháh Álam and in every corner of the kingdom people aspired to exercise independence. Alláhábád Oudh, Etáwah, Shukohábád, and the whole country of the Afgháns (Rohillas) are in the possession of the Nawáb Wazír Ásafu-d daula, and the whole country of Bengal has been subjected by the strong arm of the Firingís. The country of the Játs is under Najaf Khán, and the Dakhin is partly under Nizám Ali Khán, partly under the Mahrattas, and partly under Haider Náik and Muhammad Ali Khán Siráju d daula of Gopamsu. The Sikhs hold the whole *sába* of the Panjáb and Láhore, and Multán and Janagar and other places are held by Zábíta Khán. In this manner other *zamlindárs* have

established themselves here and there. All the world is waiting in anxious expectation of the appearance of Imám Mahdí, who is to come in the latter days. Sháh 'Álam sits in the palace of Dehlí, and has no thought beyond the gratification of his own pleasure, while his people are deeply sorrowful and grievously oppressed even unto death." It is to be regretted that these desponding anticipations are not occasionally reverted to by the present fortunate generation.

The author gives us some information respecting himself at the close of his work. He tells us that his progenitors arrived in India as early as the time of Pírhí Ráj, and that he had a large body of foreign cavalry under his command at Sonpat. Some of his ancestors are buried in Sonpat and Ajmír, where they died waging holy wars. In course of time they moved into Rohilkhand, and Rája Táj Khán, of the Katehrzái clan, bestowed Maví and twelve other villages in Kábar upon the family. There they have continued to reside, and amongst them have appeared several prodigies of excellence and learning. In the course of their genealogy, he states many anachronisms and other improbabilities, which throw doubt upon the correctness of the family tree.

CONTENTS

Preface, p. 1—Introduction, Creation and Pre-Adamite Eras, p. 8—Chapter I. Adam and the Prophets, p. 27—II. Philosophers, p. 144—III. Kings of Persia, in four Sections (*mahálas*), p. 150—IV. Kings of Arabia before Islám, p. 197—V. The Prophet Muhammad, in five Sections, p. 206—VI. The 'Ummayyide Khalífs, p. 362—VII. The 'Abbáside Khalífs, p. 402—VIII to XX. The Sámánís, Ghaznívídes, Ghorians, and other Dynasties, p. 421—XXI. Khúndkárs of Rúm, p. 491—XXII. Kaiásaras of Rúm, p. 494—XXIII. The Kháns of the Turks, in three Sections, p. 511—XXIV. Changíz Khán and his sons, in four Sections, p. 514—XXV. Branches of the Mughals, p. 540—XXVI. Tímúr and his sons, p. 546—XXVII. The Uzbaks, p.

563—XXVIII. The Safavís, p 565—XXIX. The seven Climates and the Súbas of Hindustán, in two Sections, p 570—XXX. The Rájás of Hindústán, in fifteen Sections, p 592—XXXI. The Sultáns of Hindustán from Muhammad Sám to the present time, in five Sections, p 630—XXXII to XXXIX. Sultáns of the Dakhin, Gujarát, Thattá, Bengal, Jaunpur Málwá, Kashmir and Multán, p 804—Conclusion Biographies of learned Doctors, Devotees and Saints, and a brief account of the Author p 925

The only copy which I know of this work is a very clean and correct one, in the library of Sa ídu-d dín Ahmad Khán, a gentleman of Murádábád

Size—4to., 1378 pages of 21 lines each.

CIX.

MA-ĀSIRU-L UMARĀ

or

SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN SAMSA'MU-D DAULA

[This work may be called the Peerage of the Mughal Empire]
It consists of a Biographical Dictionary of the illustrious men who have flourished in Hindústán and the Dakhn under the house of Tímúr from Akbar to 1155 A.H.

[“Amír Kamálu-d dín, the fifth ancestor of Sháh Nawáz Khán, came from Khwáf to Hindústán in the reign of Akbar, whose service he entered, and his descendants held in succession some of the highest offices of State under the succeeding Emperors Sháh Nawáz Khán, whose original name was ‘Abdu-r Razzák al Husainí, was born at Láhore in 1111 A.H. (1699 A.D.) Early in life he went to Aurangábád, where most of his relatives resided, and he was not long afterwards appointed *Díwan* of Bírár. Having incurred the displeasure of Nízám-ul Mulk Āsaf Jáh, by favouring the revolt of his son Násir Jang, he was disgraced, and went into retirement. It was during this period that he composed the *Ma-ásnu-l Umará*. After he had passed five years in seclusion, Āsaf Jáh, in 1160 A.H. (1747 A.D.), shortly before his death, took him again into favour, and reinstated him in the *Díwaní* of Bnár. Sháh Nawáz Khán enjoyed the highest honours under Násir Jang, the son and successor of Āsaf Jáh, and subsequently became the chief minister of Salábat Jáng, the *Súbadán* of the Dakhn, and played a conspicuous part in the affairs of that portion of India, and the

struggles for supremacy between the English and French. He was assassinated in 1171 A.H. (1767 A.D.) Ghulām Alf implicates Bussy in his murder, but the charge appears to be without foundation, the native historian being no doubt misled by his prejudices.”]

The work was commenced by Shāh Nawāz Khān Samsāmu-d daula, but he left it unfinished, and in the turbulent scenes which succeeded his death, his house was plundered, and his manuscript scattered in various directions. It was considered as lost, till Mīr Ghulām Alf surnamed Azād, the author of two biographical works, the *Sare-ī Aẓād* and *Khazāna-ī Amīra*,¹ and a friend of Shāh Nawāz Khān collected the greater portion of the missing leaves, and restored the work to its entire form with a few additions, amongst which was the life of the author² and a preface which gives an account of the work.

[‘ Ghulām Alf was a poet and a biographer of poets. He was born in 1116 A.H. (1704 A.D.), but the date of his death is not known. He was at one time attached to Samsāmu-d daula in the capacity of amanuensis. He travelled into various parts of India, and visited Mecca and Medina, and, according to the *Khuldsatu l Afkār* after his journeys and pilgrimage he was much honoured during his residence at Aurangābād, by the *Subādars*, and associated in friendly intimacy with the sons of Nizāmu-l Mulk Āsaf Jāh yet with these temptations he never engaged in the affairs of the world

The biographies comprised in the first edition of the work extend to Ghulām Alf’s own time, and are 261 in number including the life of the author by the editor”]

At a subsequent period the son of Samsāmu d daula, named Abdu l Haī Khān, completed the work in its present form, giving insertion to his father’s original Introduction, and to the Intro-

¹ Though professedly a Biography of Persian Poets, the *Khazāna-ī Amīra* contains a very full account of the transactions of a great portion of the last century the author taking every opportunity of interweaving historical matter in his narrative. The passages relative to the Nawabs of Oudh occupy about one-fifth of the entire work.

² Translated by H. H. Wilson, in the *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, vol. iv

duction of Mir Ghulám 'Alí. So the work as it at present stands contains ["The Preface by the Editor—The Original Preface of Sháh Nawáz Khán—The Preface by Ghulám 'Alí—The Life of Sháh Nawáz Khán by Ghulám 'Alí—An Index to the Biographies.—The Biographies arranged in alphabetical order—Conclusion, containing a short life of the Editor, 'Abdu-l Hai Khán."]

["The biographies in the second edition are 731 in number, giving an increase of 569 lives not contained in the former edition. They are very ably written, and are full of important historical detail, and as they include the lives of all the most eminent men who flourished in the time of the Mughal Emperors of the House of Tímúr down to 1194 A.H. (1780 A.D.), the *Ma-ásiru-l umará* must always hold its place as one of the most valuable books of reference for the student of Indian History. 'Abdu-l Hai enumerates no less than thirty histories and biographical treatises from which he has drawn the materials for his portion of the work"]

Colonel Stewart has curiously confused the names of the authors of the *Ma-asiru-l umara*. He has completely reversed the relations of father and son, observing, "This book was compiled by 'Abdu-l Hai bin 'Abdu-r Razzák Sháh Nawáz Khán, and finished by his son Samsámu-d daula A.D. 1779"¹ He has repeated the error in the list of authorities prefixed to his History of Bengal. He appears to have been misled by the latter nobleman's different appellations, his name being 'Abdu-r Razzák, and his titles successively Sháh Nawáz Khán and Samsámu-d daula

["'Abdu-l Hai Khán was born in 1142 A.H. (1729 A.D.), and in 1162 A.H. (1748 A.D.) was elevated to the rank of Khán by Nizám Násir Jang, who also bestowed upon him the *Dívání* of Bírár. In the time of Salábat Jang he became commandant of Daulatábád. On his father's murder in 1171 A.H. (1757 A.D.), he was imprisoned in the fortress of Golkonda, but he was subse-

¹ Cat of Tippoo's Library, p. 19

quently released in 1173 A.H. (1759 A.D.) by Nizámu-d daula Asaf Jáh II, who treated him with great distinction, and reinstated him in his paternal title as Samsámu l Mulk. He died in 1190 A.H. (1781 A.D.). 'Abdu l Hai's title varies in a rather perplexing way. It was at first Shamsu-d daula Diláwar Jang. When he was released from prison he received his father's title, and became Samsámu-d daula Samsám Jang. In his Appendix to the *Ma dairu l umará* he calls himself Samsámu l Mulk, and gives his poetical name as *Sárim*. Mr Bland refers to a work in which he is called Samsámu l Mulk Diláwar Jang.¹]

Size—Fol. 17 in by 11½ 421 pages, 25 lines in a page

EXTRACTS.

Mahábat Khán Khán-Mánán Sipáh-sáldár

Zamána Beg was son of Ghuyur Beg Kábulí and belonged to the Saiyids of the pure Razwiyá stock. Khán zamán, son of Mahábat Khán in a history which he wrote traces the descent of his ancestors from the Prophet Moses. They were all men of position and wealth. Ghuyur Beg came from Shíráz to Kábul, and settled among one of the tribes of that neighbourhood. He was enrolled among the military followers of Mirza Muhammad Hakím, and on the death of the Mirza he obtained employment in the service of the Emperor Akbar when he distinguished himself greatly in the campaign against Ohítor. Zamána Beg in his youth was entered among the *ahadls* of Prince Salím (Jahángír) and, having rendered some acceptable services, he, in a short time received a suitable *mansab* and was made *Bakhshí* of the *shdgird-pohas*. When Rája Uchama made a treaty and agreement with Muazzam Khán Fathpurí at Alláhábád, and came to wait upon the Prince the city and its environs swarmed with his numerous followers. Whenever he went out, all men, high and low gazed with wondering eyes at his followers. This annoyed the Prince, who said one night in private. Why should I be troubled with this man? Zamána Beg said that if permission were given, he

¹ A large portion of this article has been taken from *Morley's Catalogue*.

would that very night settle his business. Having received directions, he went alone with a servant at midnight to the dwelling of the Rája, who was drunk and fast asleep. He left his servant at the door, and telling the Rája's servants to wait outside, because he had a royal message to deliver, he went into the tent, cut off the Rája's head, wrapped it in a shawl, and came out. Telling the servants that no one must go in, because he had an answer to bring, he took the head and threw it down before the Prince. Orders were immediately given for plundering the Rája's followers. When these discovered what had happened, they dispersed, and all the Rája's treasure and animals were confiscated to the State. Zamána Beg received the title of Mahábat Khán, and at the beginning of the reign of Jahángír he was raised to a *mansab* of 3000, and sent in command of an army against the Ráná ¹ * *

Mu'tamad Khán.

Mu'tamad Khán Muhammad Shaníf was a native of Persia, of obscure station. On his coming to India his good fortune caused his introduction to Jannat Makání (Jahángír). In the third year of the reign he was honoured with the title of Mu'tamad Khán. He was *Bakhshí* of the *Ahádís* for a long time. In the ninth year died Sulaimán Beg Fidái Khán, who was *Bakhshí* of the army of Prince Sháh Jahán in the campaign against the Ráná. Mu'tamad Khán was then appointed to the office. In the eleventh year, when the Prince was deputed to make arrangements in the Dakhn, the office of *Bakhshí* was again entrusted to him. * * Although he had a reputation for his knowledge of history, yet it appears from his work *Ibbál-náma Jahángíri*, which is written in an easy flowing style, that he had very little skill in historical writing, as, notwithstanding his holding the office of *Ahád-na'isi*, he has not only left out many trifling matters, but has even narrated imperfectly important facts.

¹ [The subsequent career of this nobleman occupies a leading place in the history of the reigns of Jahángír and Sháh Jahán, *supra* Vol VI.]

CX

TAZKIRATU L UMARÁ

or

KEWAL RÁM.

THIS is a Biographical account of the nobles of Hindustán, from the time of Akbar to Bahádur Sháh by Kewal Rám, son of Raghunáth Dás Agarwála, inhabitant of Kosma in Bulandshahr written in the year 1194 A.H (1780 A.D.) It gives an account of all dignitaries above the *mansab* of two hundred, and of the Hindu Rájas who distinguished themselves during that period. It contains very little more than the patents of nobility privileges and insignia bestowed upon each person, and the occasion of his promotion. It is altogether a very meagre compilation compared with the *Ma-darik-i-Umará*.

SIZE—8vo., 701 pages of 15 lines each

CXI.

SAWÂNII-I AKBARÍ

or

AMÍR HAIDAR HUSAINÍ

[THIS is a modern history of the Emperor Akbar, written by Amír Haider Husainí Wásití of Bilgrám, whose ancestors came from Wásit in Arabia. The work was compiled at the instance of "Mufakkhkharu-d daula Bahádu Shaukat-i Jang William Kirkpatrick," and so must have been written towards the close of the last century. It bears no date, and unfortunately extends only to the end of the twenty-fourth year of the reign. The author states that he derived his materials from the *Akbar-náma* of Abú-l Fazl, the *Muntakhab* of Badáúní, the *Tabakat* of Nizámu-d dín Alimad, Firishta, the *Akbar-náma* of Illáhdád Faizí Sihrimdí, the *Ma-asu u-l umar á* and other works. He adds that he used the four parts of the *Insha-e Abú-l Fazl*, and especially mentions the fourth part, expressing his surprise that it has been so little referred to by historians. The *Insha* is a well-known work, and has often been printed, but in three parts only, so, Mr Blochmann says, "it looks as if Amír Haider's copy of the fourth part was unique." But a reference made by Sir H. Elliot in p 413, Vol V of this work, shows that he had access to this rare portion of the work. The *Akbar-nama* of Abú-l Fazl is the authority mainly relied upon, and the author says he "has omitted those superfluities of language which Abú-l Fazl employed for rhetorical purposes."

"This work," adds Mr. Blochmann, "is perhaps the only critical historical work written by a native," and he particularly recommends it to the notice of European historians.¹

SIZE—Large 8vo., 843 pages of 15 lines each.]

¹ [*Annals Akbarí*, vol 1 pp xxxi and 316]

CXII

SIYARU L NUTA AKHKHIRIN

or

GHULAM HUSAIN KHAN

[THE first part of this work gives a general description of Hindústán of its provinces, cities, products and people. It also gives a summary of the ancient history as derived from the Sanskrit works translated by Fazi and others. It then notices the rise of the Muhammadan power and adds a succinct history of the reigns of the various sovereigns down to the death of Aurangzeb. This constitutes the first volume of the work, and its contents are generally identical with those of the *Khuldsatu t Tawdrikh*. The author has been severely condemned by Col Lees¹ for glaring plagiarism in having stated that he derived his matter from the work of an old *munshi* without ever mentioning the name of the author of the *Khuldsatu t Tawdrikh*. It has been shown by Sir H. M. Elliot, in No LXXXIV that the *Khuldsatu t Tawdrikh* itself is a gross piracy of an anonymous work called *Mulhasatu t Tawdrikh* and it may have been this very work that Ghulam Husain used and referred to as the production of "some old *munshi*."]]

[It is the second volume of the work that has become famous, and to which the title *Siyaru l Muta-akhhirin*,² "Review of Modern Times," is particularly applicable.] This consists of a

¹ [Journal of Royal Asiatic Society x. vol. III.]

² [Writers disagree as to the exact reading and meaning of the title. It may be *Siyaru l Muta-akhhirin*, "Review of Modern Times," which seems to be favoured by the French translator and the Calcutta editor — or *Siyaru l Muta-akhkhirin*, "Manners of the Moderns," as rendered by Briggs, and followed by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

general history of India from 1700 to 1786 A.D. It contains the reigns of the last seven Emperors of Hindústán, an account of the progress of the English in Bengal up to 1781 A.D., and a critical examination of their government and policy in Bengal. The author treats these important subjects with a freedom and spirit, and with a force, clearness and simplicity of style very unusual in an Asiatic writer, and which justly entitles him to pre-eminence among Muhammadan historians ["It is written," says General Briggs, "in the style of private memoirs, the most useful and engaging shape which history can assume, nor, excepting in the peculiarities which belong to the Muhammadan character and creed, do we perceive throughout its pages any inferiority to the historical memoirs of Europe The Duc de Sully, Lord Clarendon or Bishop Burnet need not have been ashamed to be the authors of such a production"]

The testimony which Ghulám Husain bears to the merits of the English is on the whole creditable to them. Dr Tennant observes that "of injustice and corruption, as judges, the author entirely acquits our countrymen, and of cruelty and oppression, as rulers, he brings not the slightest imputation From his intimate acquaintance with this subject, and his bias, if he felt any, being wholly against us, we may applaud our early adventurers for having obtained this honourable testimony to their character From want of knowledge in the language, he does accuse them of sometimes having suffered themselves to be imposed on by their *banians* and *sarkáís*, nor does he conceal that injustice was sometimes committed through their interference Persian writings and books are not committed to the press and disseminated by publication as in Europe This author's MSS., for many years, were handed about privately among the natives He could, therefore, have no fear of giving offence to the English by what he brought forward This is indeed apparent from many strictures he has written abundantly severe, nor does there seem any intention to please by flattery in a work that was never submitted to the perusal of the English

The praises of General Goddard, and of many other individuals, to be found in the *Siyaru l Muta-akhkhirin*, are no exception to this remark since they are evidently the effusions of sincerity and gratitude and some of them as that of Mr Fullarton were written long after the parties concerned had left the country. Without having any knowledge of civil liberty in the abstract, this author possessed the fullest enjoyment of it, and from this circumstance his testimony has become of great importance. ¹

The *Siyaru l Muta-akhkhirin* or "Manners of the Moderns," was completed in the year 1783 by Saiyid Ghulam Ali Khan Tabatabá, a relation of Nawáb Alivardi Khán. His father Hidáyat Ali Khán held the Government of Bihár in the *subadárship* of Mahábat Jang as the *adib* or deputy, of his nephew and son in law Haibat Jang. He was afterwards *Fayldár*, or military governor of Sonpat and Pánipat, in the reign of Muhammad Shah. On the flight of Sháh Álam from Delhi to avoid the persecution of Gházín d dín Khán he accompanied him as his *Mir bakshi* or chief paymaster; having obtained for his eldest son Ghulam Husain, the post of *Mir munshi* or principal secretary and for his second son Fakhrudaula, that of *Dikán : tan* or overseer of the household. The necessities of the Prince at length compelled Hidáyat Ali to relinquish his station, and he retired to his *jadgir* in Bihár where he died soon after the deposition of Kásim Ali Khán.

His son Ghulam Haider, afterwards acted as representative of Kásim Ali Khán in Calcutta, till his suspected attachment to the English occasioned his removal. He was then engaged in various services under our own Government, and received many marks of favour from General Goddard, whom he attended on several enterprises. In a short Preface he says "No one apparently having stood forth to write an account of the nobles of Hind since the death of Aurangzeb I will briefly record what I know on the subject, or have heard from trustworthy and esteemed narrators, to the end that if hereafter any intelligent

¹ Tennant's Indian Recreations, vol. I. p. 286.

historian should be inclined to write the events of former times, the thread of successive occurrences might not be entirely broken. Relying, therefore, on the Divine aid, I proceed to the execution of my task, and will put down in clear language, free from abstruseness, whatsoever I have heard related by persons considered worthy of credit. If any mistakes occur, my apology is evident: those who have furnished the information must be answerable."

Some further particulars of the author may be found in volumes i and iii of the *Asiatic Annual Register*, in which Extracts are given from his autobiography, which is said to have been prefixed to his History, but it does not appear there in the printed edition by 'Abdu-l Majid

This work was translated into English by Mustafá, a French renegade, and published at Calcutta in 1789 in three quarto volumes. The history of the translator is not very well known, but it appears from his Preface that he was in English employ, that he was a Muhammadan, and that he was plundered during a pilgrimage to Mecca. He was a French, Italian, Turkish, and apparently a classical scholar, also a perfect master of Persian and Hindústání. But although he prided himself upon his knowledge of English, he was not thoroughly versed in our tongue, and it is to be regretted that his translation was made into a language of which he was not a master, for his version is full of Gallicisms, although he says that he "could not write in any other language so fluently." A large portion of the impression of his work was lost on its way to England, [and it has long been a rare book, only to be found here and there in public libraries]

General Briggs undertook to bring out a new translation, [but he published only one volume, containing about one-sixth of the whole work, and this was more an amended version of the original translator's English than a revision of his translation] A portion of the work relating to the transactions in Bengal has been translated in the second volume of Scott's *History of the Deccan*

The *Siyar-i Muta-akhkhirin* has been printed more than once at Calcutta. An excellent edition of the first volume was brought out there in 1836 by Hakīm Abdu l Majīd, in a quarto volume of 534 pages.

The work is well known to English readers from the many quotations and abstracts which Mill has made from it in his *History of India* [and Ghulam Husain is 'the Musulmān historian of those times' whom Macaulay has quoted and spoken of with approval.¹ In fact the native side of the history of Ghulam Husain's days, as it appears in the works of English writers, rests almost entirely upon his authority. The limits of the present volume will not allow of such lengthy extracts as the merits of the work require, and it seems preferable to bring forward the views and statements of other writers, most of whom are entirely unknown to the European reader. For these reasons no Extracts from the work are here given but it is greatly to be desired that a complete translation of this history should be accessible to the students of Indian history.]

¹ Essay on Orléans.

CXIII.

MULAKHKHASU-T TAWÁRIKH

OF

FARZAND 'ALÍ HUSAIN.

THIS is an abridgment of the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhhkhurín* by Farzand 'Alí of Monghír, who says respecting himself.

“Being highly desirous to learn the history of the great kings of former times, I employed myself in the study of the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhhkhurín*, the unrivalled composition of Ghulám 'Alí Khán. As this book has many beauties and advantages, which are rarely found in any other work on history, it has ever been dear to my heart, but its extreme prolixity not only demands a long time for its perusal, but exhausts the patience of readers, so at the request of some of my friends, I made an abstract of the work, and denominated it *Mulakhhhasu-t Tawárikh*”

This work is divided into three parts. Part I. Brief account of the Kings of India, from the reign of Tímúr to the twenty-second year of Muhammad Sháh, 1738 A.D. Part II. A full account of the transactions in Bengal, 'Azímábád, and Orissa, to the commencement of the English rule in 1781 A.D. Part III. Transactions from the twenty-second year of Muhammad Sháh up to the twenty-third year of Sháh 'Álam's reign, 1781 A.D.

It has been printed in a quarto volume, containing 511 pages of 19 lines each.

There is another abridgment of the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhhkhurín* by Maulaví 'Abdu-l Karím, Head Master of the Persian Office. It was printed in Calcutta in one volume quarto in 1827, under the name of *Zubdatu-t Tawárikh*.

OXIV

TĀRĪKH I MAMĀLIK I HIND

or

GHULAM BASIT

THIS is a compilation by Ghulām Bāsīt, undertaken at the suggestion of an English officer. The title is the one borne by the copy at Bombay which I have had the opportunity of consulting [But there is a work bearing the title of *Tārīkh-i Bāsīt* which is probably the same as this.]

The author tells us of himself that he had no excellence of person or mind, and was long living on the income of a few acres of land which had descended to him from his ancestors when to his misfortune, his tenure, along with the other rent-free tenures in the province of Oudh, was resumed and he was consequently reduced to the greatest distress and embarrassment. The author in this emergency wished that, like his ancestors who for about three hundred years had been in the service of the Emperors of Hindūstān he also might enter the service of the same family. But although he observes, there were thousands and hundreds of thousands of people as insignificant as himself, who, notwithstanding the decline of the empire, subsisted upon the bounty of that house, he through his bad luck was disappointed in that expectation, and was obliged to seek employment under the English, who were noted for their generosity and courage. He assumed the name of a *munāfi* in order to secure his daily bread and through the grace of God and the kindness of

his masters, he at last obtained a sufficient provision for himself and children, and prayed God for the welfare of the English who had supported him.

In the year 1196 A.H. (1782 A.D.) he went to Calcutta, in company with Itikádu-d dāula Nasíru-l Mulk General Charles Burt, who one day requested him to write a brief account of the Rulers of Hindústán, whether Muslmán or Hindú, on the authority both of books and of oral testimony. As he considered gratitude paramount to all other obligations, he abstracted preceding authors, and noted down all that he had heard from his father Shaikh Saifu-llah of Bijnor, who had been during his whole life in the royal service, and had attained the great age of one hundred and five years. Although he abridged the accounts derived from other historians, he did so without the omission of any material points; and on the conclusion of his work, delivered one copy to his patron, and retained one for himself.

He does not state from what works he compiled his history, but in the course of it he mentions incidentally, amongst others, the *Mahábhárat*, *Matla'u-l Anwar*, *Tárikh-i Bahadúr-shahí*, *Tárikh-i Jamíní*, the histories of Hájí Muhammad Kandahárí and Nízamu-d dín Ahmad. As these are all mentioned by Firishta, it is probable that he only quotes them at second-hand.

He appears to have taken a very short time about the compilation, for he brings it down to the 10th of Ramazán of the same year in which he commenced it, namely, 1196 A.H. (1782 A.D.), the twenty-fourth year of Sháh 'Álam's reign, upon whose head he invokes a blessing.

The work is not divided into regular Books and Chapters. He begins with the Creation, proceeds from the Patriarchs, Hindú Demigods and Rájás to the Ghaznívides and Sultáns of Dehlí down to the reigning monarch. Before treating of the Tímúrian Sovereigns, he introduces an account of the Rulers of Sind, Multán, Kashmír, Bengal, Jaunpúr, the Bahmanís, the Kings of Bijápúr, Ahmadnagar, Bírár, Gujarát, Málwá, Khándesh and Malabái.

I know of only two copies of this history. One belonged to the late Mullá Fíroz of Bombay and another I saw at Kanauj with the title *Zubdatu t Takdrík*

[The Extract was translated by a *munsáfi*, and revised by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

SIZE—8vo 612 pages of 17 lines each

EXTRACT

In 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.), the Emperor Nuru-d dín Jahángír made over the fort of Surat in the province of Gujarát, to the English, against whom the Firuqís of Portugal bear a most deadly enmity and both are thirsty of each other's blood. This was the place where the English made their first settlement in India. Their religious belief is contrary to that of the Portuguese. For instance, they consider Jesus Christ (may the peace of God rest on him!) a servant of God and His prophet, but do not admit that he was the Son of God. They are in no wise obedient to the King of Portugal, but have their own king. At present, A.H. 1196 (1782 A.D.) these people have sway over most parts of Hindústán.

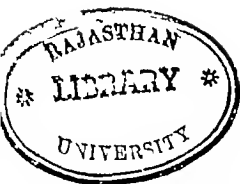
The people of Malibár are for the most part infidels, and their chief is called Ghmár (Ghamyár?). Their marriage ceremony consists in tying some writing round the neck of the bride, but this is not of much effect, for women are not restricted to one marriage. One woman may have several husbands, and she cohabits every night with one of them by turns. The carpenters, blacksmiths, dyers, in short, all except Brahmíns, form connexions with each other in this fashion.

Originally the infidel Khokhars of the Panjáb, before embracing Islám, observed a very curious custom. Among them also polyandry prevailed. When one husband went into the house of the woman he left something at the door as a signal, so that, if another husband happened to come at the same time, he might upon seeing it return. Besides this, if a daughter was born, she was taken out of the house immediately and it was proclaimed,

“Will any person purchase this girl, or not?” If there appeared any purchaser, she was given to him, otherwise she was put to death

It is also a custom among the Malíbárís, that in case of there being several brothers, none except the eldest is allowed to marry, because in that case there would be many heirs, and disputes might arise. If any of the other brothers desires a woman, he must go to some common strumpet of the *bászár*, but he cannot marry. If the eldest brother die, the survivors are to keep mourning for him during a whole year, and so on in proportion for the other brothers. Amongst them women make their advances to the men

The Malíbárís are divided into three classes. If a person of the highest class cohabit with one of the lowest, he is not allowed to eat until he has bathed, and if he should so eat, he is sold by the governor to the people of the lowest class, and is made a slave, unless he manages to escape to some place where he is not recognized. In the same manner, a person of the lowest class cannot cook for one of the highest, and if the latter eats food from the hands of the former, he is degraded from his class.



CHAHAR GULZAR SHUJAY

OF

HARI CHARAN DAS

THE author of this work is Hari Charan Dás son of Uday Rái, son of Mukund Rái, son of Ságar Mal late *chaudhari* and *kanungo* of the *pargana* of Mirat, in the province of Dehli. He tells us that he was in the employment of Nawáb Kásim Ali Khán and in the first year of the reign of Alamgir II., he accompanied the Nawáb and his daughter Najhu n Nisá Khánam, alias Bibí Khánam wife of the late Nawáb Najmu-d daula Is'hák Khán when they proceeded to Oudh to have an interview with Nawáb Mirzá Ali Khán Is'ikháru-d daula and Sálár Jang Khán khánán, the brothers of the deceased Nawáb, and sons of Nawáb Mu tamadu-d daula Is'hák Khán.

Kásim 'Ali Khán immediately after his arrival at Faizábád, departed this world, and the death of that nobleman was a heavy blow to all his relations and friends. The compiler after this lamentable event, was however kindly retained in the service of the daughter of the deceased Nawáb and his sons Shafik Ali Khán and Aká Ali Khán. Shafik Ali Khán, the elder brother was much affected by the death of his father and survived him only a few years. He was succeeded by his son Husam Ali Khán, who having the same favourable regard which his father had towards the compiler permitted him through the recommendation of Najhu n Nisá Begam to continue to receive his allowance.

Although the family of the deceased Nawáb was so kindly

disposed towards him, yet, on account of some events which he promises to detail, a considerable change took place in his circumstances, and he was not so comfortably situated as before. Having no employment which could occupy his attention, and not wishing to waste his time in idleness, he devoted himself to the study of histories and biographical accounts of the ancient Kings. In this agreeable pursuit he was liberally assisted by Ibráhím 'Alí Khán, *alias* Mirzá Khairatí, son of Hikmat-ma'áb Khán, physician to the Emperor Ahmad Sháh. This learned man was a near relation of the deceased Nawáb Kásim 'Alí Khán, and had come with him to Faizábád. He was one of the greatest scholars of the time, and had a tolerable knowledge of mathematics and other sciences. He had collected a large number of historical and other works, and spent a great part of his time in their study. Being acquainted with the circumstances and tastes of the compiler, he kindly lent him several works on history, such as *Firishta*, *Habibu-s Siyar*, *Mu-át-i 'A'lam*, *Khulásatu-l Akhbárát*, and others. But not satiated with the perusal of these books, the compiler also carefully went through the *Sháh-náma*, *Rájavalí*, *Ramáyana*, *Mahábhárat*, *Bhagarat*, Faizí's translation of the *Jog Bashist* from the Sanskrit into Persian, which he had in his own possession, besides other works which he borrowed from his friends.

Having by these means obtained an acquaintance with the history of ancient times, he wished to compile a work which might embrace an account of the Rájas, Kings, and Nobles of past ages, according to the information derived from the books above enumerated. He also designed to continue his work up to the 1199th year of the Hijra era (1785 A D), to produce a history of contemporary Kings and Amírs, and of those noblemen in whose employment he had been, noticing at the same time all the facts of historical importance which occurred under his own observation during his long life of eighty years. To this he also intended to add a sketch of his own and of his ancestors' lives, that he might leave a memorial to posterity.

From the time that the writer came to Oudh some allowance for his maintenance was made by Nawáb Shujá u-d daula, through the recommendation of Bibí Khánam and Shafík Alí Khán, and he continued to receive it for seventeen years, that is up to 1184 A.H. (1770 A.D.), when it was stopped by Bení Bahádur on account of some misunderstanding which arose between him and Bibí Khánam. This involved the writer in great pecuniary distress but after a few years when Bení Bahádur became blind, and was deprived of his authority an order was passed for restoring the payments which had been withheld. Although this was effected through the favour of Bibí Khánam in whose immediate employment he was yet he considered it his duty to make some return for the obligations which he was under to Nawáb Shujá u-d daula, and as that nobleman took great delight in gardens and orchards, and as every chapter of this work gives no less pleasure to the mind than a walk through the parterres of a garden, the compiler thought it proper to dedicate it to him, and gave it therefore the title of *Ohar Gulár Shujáí*, The Four Rose Gardens of Shujá "

The work is nevertheless divided into five Books, fancifully styled *Chamans*, or "parterres," an apparent inconsistency derived from the fact that four is a favourite number especially with respect to gardens, which, being generally square after the Oriental fashion, are divided into four even portions, by two transverse roads.

[The preceding account of the work was taken by Sir H. M. Elliot from the author's Preface. The writer is very communicative in other parts of his work as to his family and pecuniary matters, and he frequently enters into long details about them and his employments. He lived to the age of eighty and had seen many of the events which he describes, so that his work is of value, though it is somewhat discursive. The Extracts all relate to modern times. They were translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by *munshís*, and have been corrected in his handwriting.]

CONTENTS.

Book I History of Brahma, Mahes, etc —II Account of the Sati Yuga—III The Treta Yuga and the Avatárs—IV The Dwápara—V. The Kalí Yuga this book is divided into two parts.

Part I.—The Rájas of Dehlí, now called Sháh-Jahánábád, from the beginning of the Kalí Yuga, or the reign of Rája Judhishtar, in whose time the great war took place, up to the first irruption of the Muhammadans, as taken from the *Rájavalí* and Faizí's translation of the *Mahábhárata* from Hindí into Persian.

Part II.—History of the Muhammadans according to the most authentic works, and the author's own observation during a long life, from the establishment of their power in India to this the eightieth year of his age, and the 1198th of the Muhammadan era, corresponding with the twenty-fifth of Sháh 'Álam's reign

Part I.—Sec 1 Commences from Rája Judhishtar. Thirty Rájas of this line ruled during a period of 1739 years 3 months and 16 days The following are their names * * —i Rája Bisarwá and * * his successors, fourteen in number, reigned 500 years 2 months and 23 days —ii Rája Bír Báhu and * * his successors, sixteen in number, reigned 430 years 5 months —iv. Rája Dihandar and * * his successors, nine in number, reigned 359 years 11 months and 27 days —v. Rája Sakot —vi. Rája Bikramájít —vii. Samundarpál, Jundpál, son of Samundarpál, Neipál, son of Jundpál, Despál, son of Neipál, Nar Singh Pál, son of Despál, Sabhpál, son of Nar Singh Pál, Lakhpál, son of Sabhpál, Gobindpál, son of Lakhpál, Sarbpál, son of Gobindpál; Balípál, son of Sarbpál, Mehrpál, son of Balípál, Harpál, son of Mehrpál, Bhímpál, son of Harpál; Madanpál, son of Bhímpál, Karpál, son of Madanpál, Bikrampál, son of Karpál. The reigns of these sixteen princes make up a period of 685 years 5 months and 20 days —viii Rája Tilok Chand, Bikram Chand, son of Tilok Chand; Kártik Chand, son of Bikram Chand, Rám

Chand, son of Kártik Chand; Adhar Chand, son of Rám Chand
 Kalyán Chand, son of Adhar Chand, Bhím Chand son of Kalyán
 Chand Girah Chand, son of Bhím Chand, Gobind Chand,
 son of Girah Chand Rání Premvatí, wife of Gobind Chand
 These ten princes ruled during a period of 119 years 11 months
 and 0 days—ix. Har Prem Four Rájas of this family reigned
 during 49 years 11 months and 20 days—Gobind Chand, son of
 Har Prem Gopál Prem, son of Gobind Chand, Mahá Pátr,
 son of Gopál Prem.—x. Dahí Sen, Baláwal Sen son of Dahí
 Sen; Keshu Sen son of Baláwal Sen, Madhú Sen, son of
 Keshu Sen Sur Sen, son of Madhu Sen; Bhím Sen, son of Sur
 Sen Kanak Sen, son of Bhím Sen, Hari Sen, son of Kanak
 Sen Ghan Sen, son of Hari Sen Náráin Sen, son of Ghan
 Sen, Lakhman Sen son of Náráin Sen Madr Sen, son of
 Lakhman Sen—xi Rája Díp Singh. Six Rájas of this family
 ruled during 107 years and 7 months Rán Singh son of Díp
 Singh, Ráj Singh son of Rán Singh Chatar Singh, son of
 Ráj Singh Nar Singh, son of Chatar Singh, Jíwan Singh, son
 of Nar Singh.—xii Rája Pithaurá. Of this line five princes
 filled the throne during 80 years 6 months and 10 days Rái
 Abhai Mal, son of Rái Pithaurá; Darjan Mal, son of Abhai
 Mal Udaí Mal son of Darjan Mal; Rái Vijai Mal, son of
 Udaí Mal

Part II.—History of the Muhammadan Emperors, from the
 reign of Shahábn d dín Ghorí who first ruled in Hindústán, to
 the thirteenth year of Sháh Álam's reign, A H 1187 (1773 A.D.),
 a period of 635 years. This part is divided into nine Sections.
 [The author continues his list of contents in great detail.]

EXTRACTS.

*Khándí Ráo son of Malhár Ráo Mahratta, killed by Suraj Mal
 Ját and Appáji Mahratta by the Ráthor Rájputs.*

In 1160 A.H. (1747 A.D.) Appáji, Malhár Ráo, and other Mah
 rattas, having collected a large force from Málwá and Gujarát,
 poured like a torrent upon Díg and Kumbher then held by Súraj

Mal Ját They laid siege to those forts, and devastated the country The war continued for several months, and ended in the death of Khándí Ráo, who was killed in an action with Súraj Mal

After the death of this chief, the Mahrattas, finding themselves unable to stand against the Játs, turned their arms towards the country of Rája Bakht Singh and other Ráthor chiefs, and demanded a contribution from the Rája, who, immediately on receiving the message, assembled a council of war, and thus resolutely addressed all his chiefs "Alas ! how deplorable is the condition of Rájpúts, that a mean and contemptible tribe from the Dakhin demands tribute from them ! Where are those Rájpúts gone who were so brave, that only ten of them could oppose a thousand of the enemy, and who once with the edge of their sword not only punished the rebels who occupied the most secure and impenetrable valleys of Kábul, but drove them out and became masters of their strongholds ? While the Rájpúts occupied the road between Kábul and India, no power could force its way into this country from that direction, nor did any people there dare to disturb the peace of the subjects or rise in rebellion against the throne Surely, the blood of true Rájpúts is altogether extinct " He uttered many such inflammatory sentences before the assembly, and a Rájpút, roused by his speech, broke silence and said, "The Rájpúts of this time possess more courage than those of former ages, but the Rájas of the present time are not so brave or so judicious in command as they were of old " "Of course," replied the Rája, "if the soldiers of an army be cowards, blame is thrown upon the weakness and inability of its leader."

In short, after a long discussion, the Rájpút rose up with six other persons, two of whom were his sons, two his nephews, and two his friends They all mounted their horses, and spurring them on, proceeded direct to Áppájí's camp, which was at the distance of thirty kos from that of Rája Bakht Singh. They alighted from their horses, and at once entered the tent of Áppájí,

turning a deaf ear to the guards who stood at the door and tried to prevent them from going in. The chief of these brave Rájputs, dauntlessly approaching the Mahratta chief sat close to his cushion, and freely entered into a conversation with him. He asked him in the name of his Rája, what he meant by coming into this territory and demanding contribution from the Ráthor chief. "I came here," replied Appájí, "by the force of my arms, and I demand the tribute by right of might. If God pleases I will penetrate in a few days to the very palaces of your Rája."

No, no," said the Rájput, "you must not be too sure of your bravery and power. God has made other men stronger than you."

On hearing these words, Appájí's indignation knew no bounds, and at once breaking out into passion he began to abuse him and the Rája. The Rájput could not restrain himself and, inflamed with anger drew out his dagger and stabbing the Mahratta chief put an end to his existence with one blow. Having severed his head from his body he made off with it, and took it to Rájá Bakht Singh while his other companions engaged with the Mahrattas who, with loud shouts ran towards them to avenge the death of their chief. Three of these Rájputs were slain and three, though much wounded, escaped from the hands of the enemy. After the death of Appájí the Mahrattas were obliged to decamp and return to their country.

Death of Alwardí Khán Nárim of Bengal

Alwardí Khán the Governor of Bengal Maksudábád and Patna, having no son and seeing that his end was fast approaching appointed his daughter's son as his successor and enjoined on him the observance of two precepts. First, that he should never enter into hostilities with the English. Secondly that he should never exalt Ja far Alí Khán to any great rank, or entrust him with such power as to involve himself in difficulty, in case of his revolt.

Siráj-u-d daula, however soon forgot these precepts, and when,

after the death of 'Alīwardī Khán, he succeeded to power, he took Ja'far 'Alī Khán into his favour, and conferred on him a *jághí*, to which he also attached a troop of horse and foot, and placed his whole army under his command. The English at Calcutta punctually paid then annual tribute, according to the fixed rate. But Siráju-d daula, through his covetousness and pride of power, demanded an increase of tribute from them, and became openly hostile towards them. Actuated by his vanity and presumption, he suddenly attacked them in Calcutta, and having plundered their property and cash, put several of their officers to death, and returned to Murshidábád.

As the English had taken no heed of his movements, they could not oppose him at the time with success, but afterwards they collected a large army, and marched boldly towards Murshidábád. They also brought over Ja'far 'Alī Khán to their interest, upon the promise of making over the province of Bengal to him. When their army reached within one or two marches from Murshidábád, Siráju-d daula advanced to oppose them. Ja'far 'Alī Khán, who had the command of all his forces, wished to capture and surrender him to the English without any battle being fought, but Siráju-d daula soon became acquainted with his intentions, and seeing himself in a helpless situation, secretly embarked alone in a boat and fled.

After his flight the English assigned the province of Bengal to Ja'far 'Alī Khán, who established his rule there, and appointed his deputies in all its districts. All the property of Siráju-d daula was taken and divided between him and the English. When Siráju-d daula had gone thirty *kos* from Murshidábád, he stopped for a while, and ordered his servant to land in the jungle, and try to get some fire for his *hukka*. Accordingly the servant disembarked, and seeing the cottage of a *darvesh*, he approached it, and asked the occupant for some fire.

It is said that the *darvesh* had been a servant of Siráju-d daula, and, being ignominiously turned out by him for some fault, he had become a *fakír*, and taken up his abode in this jungle. When

he saw the servant of Siráj-u-d daula, with a *chillam* in his hand studded with gems, he instantly recognized him and asked him how he happened to be there. The servant, who was a sunpleton discovered the whole matter to him and the *darwesh*, quietly leaving him there, went with all speed to the governor of the neighbouring town, and informed him of Siráj-u-d daula's arrival. As orders for capturing the Nawáb had been issued by Ja'far Ali Khán and the English, and the governor had received them on the same day, he immediately embarked on a boat, and, having seized the Nawáb sent him under the custody of some trusty servants to Ja'far Ali Khán, who put him to death in A.H. 1160 (1747 A.D.)

Having so far gratified his ambition Ja'far Ali Khán with a settled mind devoted his attention to the management of Bengal, and took possession of all the wealth and royal equipage of Siráj-u-d daula, who had involved himself in this danger by not observing the wise advice of his grandfather.

Safdar Jang and Suraj Mal Jat

When Safdar Jang was appointed chief minister by Ahmad Sháh the districts which according to the established custom, comprised the *jdgír* of a minister were also granted to him. Faridábád, which is twelve *kos* distance from Sháh Jahánábád, had been formerly a part of this *jdgír* but since the time of the late minister, I'timádu-d daula, Balráam, a near relation of Suraj Mal Jat, having put the officers of the minister to death, had made himself master of this district, and gave him only what he liked out of its revenues. The magnanimous spirit of Safdar Jang could not brook this usage, and he demanded in strong terms the surrender of the district by Suraj Mal Jat and Balráam, but they still retained it, and answered him evasively.

At last, in A.H. 1160 (1747 A.D.) he marched to Dehli to punish them for their delay and soon recovered Faridábád from Balráam. Having pitched his tents there, he also demanded that Suraj Mal should resign all the places which belonged to the

Emperor, but the Ját chief, on receiving this demand, began to fortify his posts of Díg, Kumbher and other places with strong garrisons, guns, and all the munitions of war, and having prepared himself for an engagement, addressed the minister sometimes with promises of surrender and sometimes with threats of vengeance.

Fight between Káim Khán and Sa'du-llah Khán

In 1162 A H (1749 A D), when Safdar Jang was endeavouring to recover possession of the districts which belonged to the Emperor, a misunderstanding arose between Káim Khán, etc., the sons of Muhammad Bangash Afghán, and Sa'du-llah Khán and other sons of 'Alí Muhammad Khán Rohilla, and the two parties, the Afgháns and the Rohillas, went so far in their animosity towards each other that they both had recourse to arms. Many battles took place between them, and at last the contest ended in the destruction of Káim Khán, the eldest son of Muhammad Khán Bangash. The Afgháns, after the death of their chief, took to flight, and the Rohillas returned victorious to their homes.

When the news of Káim Khán's death became known, Safdar Jang left the matter with Súraj Mal Ját unsettled, and immediately came to Dehlí. With the permission of the Emperor, he soon marched to Farrukhabád, the residence of Káim Khán, and confiscated all the property of the Afgháns, leaving only a few villages sufficient for the maintenance of Ahmad Khán and the other sons and relatives of Muhammad Khán. He placed the estates of the Afgháns under the management of Rája Nuwul Rái, who acted as the Nawáb's deputy in the governorship of the province of Oudh and Alláhábád, and himself returned to Dehlí.

Ja'far 'Alí Khán and Kásim 'Alí Khán

Ja'far 'Alí Khán, who had joined with the English, put Siráju-d daula, his sister's son, who governed Muishidábád, to

death, and himself became governor of the province. Kásim Ali Khán, who was one of his near relations, acquired great strength and collected a large force on the strength of his connexion with the governor Miran, son of Jafar Ali Khán, became deputy of his father, and, having assembled a large army engaged in managing the affairs of the provinces. He resolved on punishing Khádím Husain Khán governor of Puraniya, who refused submission to Jafar Ali Khán. Having marched from Muksaúdábád, he reached the banks of the river which flows on the other side of Puraniya, and pitched his tents there. After a bridge of boats was made Miran determined to cross the river next morning and make a sudden attack upon Khádím Husain Khán. As he had collected a very large army and was himself exceedingly bold and enterprising Khádím Husain Khán was greatly alarmed, and prepared to escape during the night, leaving the city of Puraniya to the invader. But, accidentally about the middle of the night, Miran, who was sleeping in his tent, was struck dead by lightning. When his army was left without a leader many fled away for fear of Khádím Husain Khán and the rest, with the camp returned to Jafar Ali Khán at Murshidábád. It is said that Miran was very generous. One day [having had no occasion to bestow alms] he said, "Some evil is about to befall me," and the same night he was struck by lightning and died.

Jafar Ali Khán, after Miran's death became weak and embarrassed. Kásim Ali Khán his son in law who through his kindness had been enabled to obtain power and collect an army joined with the English, and having invited them from Calcutta, took Jafar Ali Khán prisoner. The English made Kásim Ali Khán governor of Bengal and Azímábád Patna, instead of Jafar Ali Khán in 1170 A.H.

Sháh Álam proceeds against Kálinjar

His Majesty the asylum of the world, Sháh Álam Bádsbáh having subdued the Deputy *Sábadár* of the province of Azímábád

and taken a contribution from him, returned to the province of Oudh, which belonged to Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula. The Nawáb advanced to receive him with honour. The Emperor, accompanied by him, went towards Jhānsi and the fort of Kálmjar, which were very strong places, and in the possession of the Bundela Rájas and Mahrattas. Shujá'u-d daula with his army went as far as Mahobá, which is near the fort of Kálmjar, and overran the country. The Rája of Kálmjar was obliged to pay him a contribution and also to promise an annual tribute.

The districts of Jhānsi, Kálpí, etc., which belonged to the Bundelas and others were after many battles and struggles taken from them and annexed to the dominions of the Emperor and Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula. * * Afterwards they crossed the Ganges, and proceeded to Mohli-ghát, where they encamped in 1177 A H (1763 A D).

Kásim 'Alí Khán meets Shah 'Álam and Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula to 'Azimabad, and a battle is fought with the English

When Kásim 'Alí Khán, Governor of the province of Bengal, Múksúdábád and 'Azimábád Patna, having fled from the English, reached the vicinity of Benares, which belonged to Shujá'u-d daula. Sháh 'Álam and the Nawáb were encamped on the banks of the Jumna, at the *ghát* of Bibípúr, within the boundary of Karra, to settle terms about the fort of Kálmjar, and correspondence was going on about the matter with Rája Hindúpat. At that place a petition was received by the Emperor and a letter by the Nawáb from Kásim 'Alí Khán, soliciting an interview, and requesting assistance, with promises of remuneration. Satisfactory replies were sent on the part of the Emperor and the Nawáb. Kásim 'Alí Khán therefore left Benares, and when he arrived at the *ghat* of Bibípúr, pitched his tents near the royal camp.

After an interview with the Emperor and Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, he presented them with a large donation in cash, valuables

and curiosities, and derived encouragement and consolation from them. But as in those days a question was under dispute with Rájá Hindupat, the Emperor and the Nawáb could not attend to any other matter till that was settled. Kásim Ali Khán, seeing that the Rájá would not come to amicable terms, and that the Emperor and the Nawáb could not go to Azimábád and Bengal until the dispute was adjusted offered his mediation, and after an interview with the Rájá settled the question. A part of the contribution money which the Rájá had become liable to pay was realized, and for the remainder Kásim Ali Khán became surety. After this he entreated the Emperor and the Nawáb for assistance, and represented his desperate circumstances to them. He also promised to pay monthly all the expenses of their armies, till such time as he might obtain victory over the English, and reconstitute himself in the provinces of Bengal and Azimábád.

Though some say that the Emperor did not wish to engage in hostilities, nevertheless it was at last determined that the provinces of Bengal and Azimábád should be taken from the English and given to Kásim Ali Khán and also that the English should be punished. Accordingly on the 1st of Zí l ka da, 1178 A.H. (20th April, 1765 A.D.)¹ the Emperor Shujá u d daula Wazír u l Mamalik and Kásim Ali Khán marched towards Azimábád as far as Benares. The English who were at Azimábád Patna trembled like an aspen at the fear of His Majesty Sháh Álam Bádaráh and Nawáb Shujá u d daula, and they sent petitions to them, soliciting forgiveness for their conduct. They deputed Shitáb Rái on their part, promising to give up Azimábád pay whatever might be demanded as a contribution, and obey any orders that might be given praying also that the Emperor and the Nawáb would return from Benares without attacking them.

The request of the English was not acceded to, Shitáb Rái was turned out of the camp, and the royal army marched on from Benares. The English being informed of this, left the city of

¹ [This is a year too late. The real date is 3rd May 1764.]

Patna, and having assembled at Bach Pahárí, six *kos* from that city, on the road to Benares, fixed their batteries there. Relying upon destiny they resolved to offer opposition, and prepared to fight.

The Emperor and the Nawáb, having marched from Benares, proceeded by rapid marches, like an arrow shot from a bow, and encamped at five *kos* from Bach Pahárí. The action commenced with the shooting of arrows and firing of muskets, and it continued for two days. The third day the brave and bold warriors of Shujá'u-d daula's army, making a vigorous attack, advanced their batteries close to Pahárí, and engaged with the English, who also spared no effort in resistance, and exerted themselves to fight.

The whole day the warriors of both sides stood firm fighting in the field. At the close of the day, when the sun approached the horizon, the brave soldiers of both parties ceased to combat, and the batteries remained fixed in their first positions. But Shujá'u-d daula, by the advice of some ignorant and inexperienced men who were with him, recalled the warriors of his army from Pahárí to his own tents. Although Shujá' Kulí Khán and others who were at the batteries remonstrated with him, and remarked that to remove them from their position would be highly inexpedient, because they had been fixed there with great difficulty and pains, and in case of retreat it would be very difficult to regain the position, yet the Nawáb would not listen to them, and having recalled the soldiers from Pahárí, ordered the batteries to be fixed near his camp.

The English, considering this a favour of God, occupied the position where the batteries of the enemy had been. The next day the Nawáb could not drive the English from it. In these same days, the wet season commenced, and rain began to fall. The place where the tents of the Emperor and Shujá'u-d daula were pitched being low, and water having collected there, it was considered unfit for the camp, and His Majesty and the Nawáb retreated to Baksar, which is thirty *kos* east of Benares. When the rains were over, in consequence of the war having been pro-

longed for several months, and the collection of the revenues from the provinces which belonged to Shujá u d daula having been delayed on account of the expedition, and as the army which was newly enlisted by the Emperor and the Nawáb for this war with the English as well as the veteran troops, began to demand their pay the Emperor and the Nawáb asked Kásim Ali Khán for the money which he had promised for the expenses of the army. But he evaded payment by frivolous excuses. As the demand for arrears created a mutinous spirit in the army and as Kásim Ali Khán, notwithstanding that he was importuned and entreated to pay the money would not come to a right understanding but resorted to unfair and dishonest expedients, the Emperor and the Nawáb took harsh measures against him and having called him from his tent, put him under the custody of a guard. Whatever property of his they could lay their hands on, such as elephants and horses they sold and paid the army from the proceeds.

When the rainy season was over the English having marched from Azimábád, pitched their tents near Baksar opposite the Emperor's and the Nawáb's camp at a distance of five or six *kos*. Lines of intrenchment were prepared on either side, and the action commenced with guns and muskets. As Nawáb Shujá u d daula had heavy artillery with him the English army could not stand against it, and they at last prepared to engage in close combat. When recourse was had to this kind of warfare both parties stood their ground firmly and the warriors of both sides expertly using their swords, bows and arrows, destroyed their opponents, and increased the business in the market of the angel of death. The brave and intrepid warriors of Nawáb Shujá u d daula's army having overcome the enemy fell upon his camp, and stretched out their hands to plunder. They put a great number of them to the sword, and beat the drums of triumph and conquest. The Nawáb ordered his soldiers not to let any one escape alive. The army of Shujá u d daula surrounded the enemy on all sides, and the English, having no way left for

flight, collected at one spot, and having resolved to die, made a very desperate attack upon their opponents. Shujá' Kulí Khán, *alias* 'Ísá, who was a slave of the Nawáb, and had 4000 horse under his command, observed the furious attack of the English, and cried out to his soldiers, "Friends ! it was for such a day as this that you put on those arms. Form a compact body, and at once charge the enemy, and put them to the sword." His followers seemed ready to obey the command. They read the *fátíha*, and lifted up their hands in prayer. 'Ísá, thinking that they would follow him, galloped his horse towards the English front, but only five horsemen out of four thousand followed him. Of those cowards who remained behind, some took to flight, and others stood idle on their ground. 'Ísá with his drawn sword furiously attacked the enemy like a Rustam. He killed many, and after astonishing feats of valour, drank the cup of martyrdom. Having shown his loyalty, he met with the mercy of God.

When Shujá' Kulí Khán, *alias* 'Ísá, was slain, all his cavalry at once took to flight, and caused great confusion in the army of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula. The English, being informed of this, with great impetuosity attacked the division of Rája Bení Bahádur, the deputy of the Nawáb. The Rája, who had never been in action, could not stand his ground, and fled without attempting to fight. As he commanded several thousands, both of horse and foot, his flight caused the defeat of the armies of the Emperor and the Nawáb. The English took possession of the intrenchments of the fugitives. Although the Nawáb tried much to rally them, and cried out (in the words of Sa'dí), "Ye brave men, exert yourselves to fight, and do not put on the clothes of women," yet none returned, all sought safety in flight.

When the Nawáb and the Emperor's forces fled, the English fell upon their camps, and began to plunder them. The Nawab hastened in confusion towards Benares, and halted when he arrived there. The English took possession of his tents, guns and other property. The Emperor also fled to Benares. The Nawáb, after

some days, hastened to Alláhábád, and stayed there three months collecting a large army

The English in the mean time, laid siege to Ohnnár Sidi Muhammad Bashir Khán, the Governor, offered opposition and, opening his artillery from the ramparts, fought very bravely. But when several days had passed and nobody came to reinforce him (for the fort was near Benares and the Nawáb was at Alláhábád) he was obliged to capitulate, and leave the fort in their possession. He was allowed to go to Nwáb Shujá ud daula at Alláhábád. The English made an alliance with Sháh Álam, who was at Benares, and marched with him from that place to Jaunpur. The Nwáb moved towards the same place at the head of a large army with the intention of hazarding a battle.

Both parties encamped near Jaunpúr at the distance of two or three *laes* from each other and skirmishes took place between them. Two or three English officers fell into the hands of the Mughals of the Nwáb's army and this obliged the English to propose terms of peace through the Mughal chiefs, who at their request advised the Nwáb to accept the terms. Bení Bahádur and some other short-sighted and ignorant people dissuaded him from liberating the English officers and he would not agree to peace. This created enmity and disaffection in the minds of the Mughal chiefs against the Nwáb and they accordingly entered into an understanding with the English, that if they delivered the Nawáb into the hands of the English on the day of battle, they should be rewarded with appointments in the provinces. The Nawáb being apprised of this, was greatly alarmed, because the Mughals were the most powerful body in his army. When the armies prepared to engage, the Mughals stood aloof and as the Nawáb's affairs were reduced to a desperate condition and a battle could not be hazarded, he broke up his camp near Jaunpur and retreated towards Lucknow.

When he reached that place, Simru¹ Gárdí, who was at the

¹ [The adventurer Sumroo or "Sombra."]

head of ten or twelve thousand Gárdí Telinga¹ soldiers, Gusáin Anúp Gír, who commanded several thousand horse; and 'Alí Beg Khán, Shtáb Jang, and A'ghá Bákir, who, though Mughals, had not joined with the insurgents, hastened to meet the Nawáb. Najaf Khán, Muhammad 'Alí Khán, A'ghá Rahím and other Mughal chiefs, went over to the English, and the rest of the army fled.

On the 9th of Sha'bán, A H 1178 (1 Feb. 1765), the Nawáb with his whole family, and all the property which he could collect, marched from Lucknow towards Bareilly, which belonged to Háfiz Rahmat Rohilla. On leaving Lucknow, the Nawáb encamped at *báoli* (well), near Rustam-nagar.

Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, having reached Bareilly, which formed the *ta'lúká* of Háfiz Rahmat Rohilla, left his family there with Sumrú Gárdí, who was at the head of several thousand horse and foot soldiers. He himself proceeded to Garh Muktesar, which is situated on the banks of the Ganges, thirty kos from Sháh-Jahánábád. He met there the chiefs of the Mahratta army, and made an alliance with them. Having returned thence, he came to Farrukhábád. Gusáin Anúp Gír, who was a great general and one of the oldest servants of the Nawáb, quarrelled with him while encamped on the banks of the Ganges near Garh Muktesar, on account of the pay of his regiments, and having deserted him, went over to Jawáhir Singh, son of Súraj Mal Ját.

When Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula arrived at Farrukhábád, he requested Ahmad Khán and Muhammad Khán Bangash, Háfiz Rahmat, Dúndí Khán, Najíb Khán, and other Rohilla and Afghán chiefs, to lend him their aid, but through fear of the English they all refused to accompany him. Gházíu-d dín Khán 'Imádu-l Mulk, who was in those days with Ahmad Khán at Farrukhábád, accompanied Shujá'u-d daula from Farrukhábád to the Mahrattas at Koia. The Mahrattas went with them to the ferry of Jájmau, on the banks of the Ganges. The English left Alláhábád, and came to the same place, when Nawáb Shujá'u-d

¹ [See note, p 155, *supra*]

daula, Gházíu-d dín Khán and the Mahrattas resolved to oppose them

After an obstinate battle, the army of the Mahrattas took to flight, and having plundered on their way the city of Kora, arrived at Kálpí. Gházíu d dín, with a few men, fled to Farrukh ábád. Shujá n-d daula, disappointed in obtaining help and assistance in every quarter determined to venture alone to the English, and make peace with them rather than wander from place to place in a state of embarrassment. He accordingly came unattended to Jájmau, where the English had encamped. When he approached the camp and the English were informed of his coming their chiefs who were very polite and affable, immediately came out of their tents, and proceeded on foot to meet him. They showed him great hospitality and respect, and accompanying him to their tents with due honour promised to restore to him the provinces which had been in his possession and told him that he was at liberty to place his family wherever he liked. The Nawáb, having taken his leave from the English pitched his tents at the distance of four kos from theirs. He summoned his family from Bareilly and sent them to Lucknow.

Simru commander of the Gárdí regiment, who was now in the service and in charge of the family of the Nawáb had been formerly in the employ of the English and, taking some offence at them had entered the service of Kásim Alí Khán, Governor of Bengal, and when the Khán was ruined had entered at Baksar into the service of Nawáb Shujá n-d daula. As peace was now made the English demanded his surrender by the Nawáb but the Nawáb respecting his bravery and courage did not consider it proper to comply but dismissed Simru from his service. Simru who was coming with the family of the Nawáb from Bareilly to Lucknow learnt the news of his dismissal on the way. On this he petitioned for the arrears of his pay and resolved to take severe measures in the event of refusal. The Nawáb Begum mother of Nawáb Shujá n-d daula, and Bení Bahádúr paid him what was due to him near Sháhábád and then dismissed him.

Having received his pay, he went to Jawálur Singh Ját at Díg and Kumbhei. The family of the Nawáb, with the Khánam Sáhiba and others, arrived at the *baoh* (well), near Lucknow, on the 9th Muharram, A. H. 1179 (28 June, 1765 A.D.), and pitched their tents there.

As by this time the Nawáb, in company with the English, had reached Phúphámau, near Alláhábád, his family followed him to the same place * * But the English intimated to him that he should leave the ladies of his family at Faizábád, and himself accompany them to Maksúdábád, where their chief resided. The Nawáb acted according to their request, and, having embarked in a boat, accompanied them to that city by water, with only a few attendants. When an interview took place between the English and the Nawáb on the way between 'Azímábád and Maksúdábád, they showed him great hospitality and kindness, and wrote him a letter, in which they restored to him both the provinces which had been in his possession. They took from him the district of Alláhábád, with several other *mahals*, the annual revenue of which amounted altogether to twelve *lacs* of rupees, and also the district of Kora, and they gave these places to Sháh 'Álam Bádsháh. They also promised to pay the Emperor annually a sum of fifty *lacs* of rupees on account of the provinces of Bengal and 'Azímábád, and having placed their officers in the fort of Alláhábád, they erected a factory there. From the 13th of Rabí'u-l awwal, A. H. 1179, the Nawáb's rule was again established in the provinces of Oudh and Alláhábád¹. The Emperor took up his residence in Sultán Khusiú's garden at Alláhábád. The English garrisoned the fort of Alláhábád, and erected a factory in Benares. Mr Hooper was appointed Resident at the Court of the Nawáb.

The English

How can I sufficiently extol the courage, generosity, and justice of the English? In bravery Rustam cannot be compared to

¹ [Alláhábád was not restored, but, as stated above, was given to the Emperor.]

them, because, with only 10,000 foot soldiers, they marched from Maksudábád to Azímábád, fighting against the army of Kásim All Khán consisting of 100 000 horse and foot, and never showed their backs in battle. In the same manner they engaged four times with the armies of Shujá u-d daula and the Emperor which amounted to more than 100 000 infantry and horse, and yet never retreated from the field. Moreover they have fought against the Mahrattas and Gházíu d dín Khán, and always with a similar result. Hátim Táí, who is said to have been the very model of generosity had not perhaps such a liberal mind and magnanimous spirit as they have, because, after obtaining victory over Siráj-u-d daula, they gave the provinces of Bengal and Azímábád to Jafar All Khán, and afterwards to Kásim All Khán, and after conquering the provinces of Oudh and Alláhábád, they restored them both to Nawáb Shujá u-d daula.¹ Naushír wán is mentioned as most just and equitable but in justice and equity the English are not inferior to him. When they entered the city of Lucknow and other cities and towns in the provinces of Oudh and Alláhábád as conquerors, they did not hurt there even an ant, and in no way injured or troubled any person. Notwithstanding that many turbulent and seditious characters instigated them and pointed out to them the riches of the people, told them that certain bankers possessed great wealth and urged that it should be exacted from them yet these righteous people allowed no mischief to be done, but on the contrary punished these low informers, and cautioned them against spelling such words again. They strictly ordered their soldiers to commit no act of oppression or extortion upon any individual. Mr Hooper was long a Resident at the Court of Nawáb Shujá u-d daula, and yet, during the period of seven or eight years he was so accredited neither he himself nor any of his servants committed a single act of violence against any person. Monsieur Lantin (?), a Firingí who was one of the greatest of Nawáb Shujá u-d daula's followers conducted himself in the same

¹ See note in preceding page.

exemplary manner; and although he sent Syám Lál, his *durán*, to prison at the instigation of the *durán*'s enemies, still he gave him no unnecessary pain. In short, the goodness of these people is beyond all bounds, and it is on account of their own and their servants' honesty that they are so fortunate and wealthy.

*Jawáhn Singh and Ratan Singh, sons of Súraj Mal Ját,
and their successors*

In the month of Jumáda-s sání, 1181 A H (Oct. 1767), Jawáhn Singh, son of Súraj Mal Ját, marched from Díg and Kumbher, which were his residences, to bathe in the tank of Pokhai, a great sacred place of the Hindús. It is situated near Ajmír, within the territory of Rája Mádhú Singh, son of Rája Jai Singh Kachhwáhá, and Jawáhn Singh, on reaching the boundary of the Rája's possessions, began to ravage the country and plunder the people. He overran most places in the territory. When he reached within two stages from Pokhai, he learnt that Rája Bijai Singh, son of Rája Bakht Singh Ráthor, had also come to bathe. Fearing on account of the outrages he had committed on his way, he wrote to Bijai Singh that he was suspicious of Mádhú Singh, and that, if he would permit him, he would come to bathe. The Rája wrote in reply that he should come only with 2000 horse, but Jawáhn Singh, contrary to this desire, proceeded with all his forces, which consisted of about 60,000 horse, one *lac* of foot, and one thousand large and small guns. On the 13th of Jumáda-s sání he bathed in the tank, and having halted a few days there, returned.

The news of his outrages and plundering having reached Mádhú Singh and other Rájpút chiefs, they considered it a great insult, and contrary to custom. All the Rájpúts having assembled together, went to Mádhú Singh, * * proposing to take revenge. Mádhú Singh replied that he did not think it worthy of himself to oppose Jawáhn Singh, whose forefathers had been of the lowest dependents and creatures of his ancestors, but that whosoever liked might go against him. Accord-

ingly Daler Singh and other Rájputs, to the number of about 20 000 horse and an equal body of foot soldiers, went to oppose Jawáhur Singh, who finding it difficult to force his way resolved to fight. A battle ensued. The Rájputs showed such bravery and courage, that they destroyed about 20 000 horse and foot of the army of Jawáhur Singh. Many also drank the cup of death on their part. Jawáhur Singh, not being able to stand before the cruel sword of the Rájputs took to flight alone, and with great difficulty and pain reached Díg and Kumbher. His guns, elephants horses treasure and all the furniture of pomp, fell into the hands of the Rájputs, who after staying a few days on the field returned to their respective residences.

Jawáhir Singh felt great shame of this defeat, and much of the vanity and pride which he had entertained was reduced. It is said that Jawáhir Singh had made a soldier his associate and had great friendship for him. * * This soldier having been guilty of some improper act, was disgraced. * * One day when the Ját chief had gone hunting with only a few attendants, that soldier taking his sword and shield, went to the place where Jawáhir Singh was standing carelessly with a few men and struck him a blow with his sword, saying "This is the punishment of the disgrace I have received." In one blow there was an end of Jawáhur Singh's existence who departed to the world of eternity in the month of Safar 1182 A H (June, 1768 A D). He was succeeded by his brother Ratan Singh. * *

When Ratan Singh was killed by a *fakir* the ministers of the State elevated his infant son Ranjit Singh to his place, and seated him upon the *masnad* of the chiefship. Nuwal Singh and Bhawání Singh sons of Suraj Mal but by another wife rose in opposition, and collected an army of Mahrattas and others to the number of about 30 000 horse, and an equal number of foot soldiers. The ministers of Ranjit called the Sikh forces from Láhore. These forces then entered the territories of the Ját, and stretched out their hands to plunder. Although the Ját's opposed them yet they did not withhold their hands.

At last, the armies of Ranjít Singh, being collected, fought with the Sikhs, and drove them out of his possessions. Nuwul Singh and Bhawání Singh went with the Mahratta army towards Málwá and Ujjain. The son of Ballú Ját, who had raised a rebellion in the territory, and wished to alienate a part from it, and make himself its master, was also baffled in his schemes, and could not succeed in his object.

In the month of Safar, 1183 A.H. (June, 1769 A.D.), the town of Díg Kumbher twice caught fire, and about twelve or thirteen thousand men were burnt. No account was taken of the animals and houses which were consumed.

In the same year Tinkají Holkar, son-in-law¹ of Malhar Ráo, Rám Chand Ganesli and other Mahrattas proceeded with a formidable army of one *lac* of horse and foot from the Dakhín, and reached the territory of Ranjít Singh. A great conflict took place between the Ját and Mahratta forces, and numerous men on both sides fell in the field. But the gale of victory blew in favour of the Mahratta army, and the Ját took refuge in the most fortified of their strongholds. The Mahratta army overran and spread devastation in the country which belonged to Ranjít Singh Ját, from Ágra to Kol and Jalesar. The Ját, having assembled their forces, prepared to oppose them, and at last peace was made between the parties. The Ját gave a contribution of about forty-five *lacs* of rupees to the Mahrattas, and saved the country from their depredations. Being restored to their possessions, they banished the fear of the Mahrattas from their minds. Civil feuds had broken out among Nuwul Singh, Ranjít Singh, and other sons and grandsons of Súraj Mal Ját, and great disturbances took place, in consequence.

Najaf Khán, in the commencement of the year 1187 A.H. (1773 A.D.), made an irruption into the territories of the Ját, the Bilúchís, Mewáttís, and other tribes also joined with him. He brought many places which belonged to them into his

¹ [He was "no way related to Malhar Ráo"—Malcolm's *Central India*, vol. 1 p. 163, Grant Duff, vol. II p. 196.]

possession, and has continued to spread disturbances in their territories up to this day, the 9th of Jumáda-s sání, 1189 A.H. (Aug 1775 A.D.) He subdued the Játs, and reduced the Rájás to subjection, as we have particularized in the chapter which gives his history. Najaf Khán took the fortress of Díg by storm from the Játs, who, according to some, also lost possession of Kumbher. This place as well as Agra, Mathurá, Bindraban, Kol, Jalesar and Kámá, beside many other *maháls*, fell into the possession of Najaf Khán, who at the present day, the 1st of the month of Jumáda l awwal, 1192 A.H. (1 June, 1778 A.D.), has been engaged for some time in besieging the fort of Máchehrí.

Account of Bengal Maksubábád and Patna Azimábád, and of the cities of Calcutta and Dacca

When the English had driven out Kásim Ali Khán from Bengal, Maksubábád and Azimábád Patna, they confirmed the son of Ja'far Ali Khán in the deputy governorship of Bengal, and Shitáb Rái in that of Azimábád Patna. The armies which were stationed in those provinces under the command of the former governors were all dismissed and the necessary number of Telinga *barkandás* were enlisted to be kept at the disposal of the deputy governors of the provinces. It is said that a very strange practice was introduced into the country namely that the English began to sell some articles themselves, and that they prohibited other traders from dealing in them according to former practice.

In the month of Shawwál 1183 A.H. (Feb 1770 A.D.) in the city of Calcutta, where the English resided such a storm raged that many men were killed, and houses destroyed by the force of the hurricane. In the same year such a dreadful famine occurred in Calcutta, Bengal, and Azimábád that in places where four *maunds* of grain had been sold for a rupee, even four *strs* were not then to be obtained for the same money. Consequently many persons died of hunger. It is said that in Bengal and

'Azímábád about three million seven hundred thousand men were starved to death; and many sold their sons and daughters for grain, or for four or eight *anas* a piece. On account of this dearth, the English sent several hundred boats from Calcutta to Faizábád for the purpose of procuring grain. Thus the price of corn was also raised in Faizábád and Lucknow.

It is said that in the month of Muharram, 1183 A.H. (May, 1769 A.D.), such showers of hailstones fell, that the whole city of Calcutta, where the English resided, was reduced to ruins. Several men were killed, houses levelled to the ground, and only a few men survived. In the same month and the same year hailstones fell also in the city of Maksídábád.

It is said that the English are so just and honest, that they do not interfere with the wealth of any rich men, bankers, merchants and other people who reside in their cities, but, on the contrary, they are very kind to those who are wealthy. But from those who are powerful they manage to obtain money by their wisdom and adroitness, and even by force if necessary, but they are not oppressive, and never trouble poor people. They are a wonderful nation, endowed with equity and justice. May they be always happy, and continue to administer justice!

Arrival of Governor General Hastings at Lucknow.

When, in 1198 A.H. (1784 A.D.), the news spread in Faizábád, Lucknow, and other places under the jurisdiction of the Nawáb Wazíru-l Mamálik Ásafu-d daula, ruler of the provinces of Oudh and Alláhábád, that the Governor General, Mr. Hastings, was coming from Calcutta towards Lucknow, Nawáb Ásafu-d daula, with a view to welcome him, marched from that city on the 9th of Rabi'ü-s sání, and encamped at Jhúsi, near Alláhábád. When the intelligence of the Governor General's arrival at Benares was received, the Nawáb despatched the minister, Haidar Beg Khán, accompanied by Almás 'Alí Khán, Governor of Koia and Etáwa, an officer of great ability and influence. They met the Governor General at Benares, and having presented their *nazars*,

remained in attendance on him. When the Governor General reached Alláhábád, Nawáb Asaf-ud-daula crossed the river and after an interview had taken place between these magnates, they came together to Lucknow. Great rejoicings were made by the people on account of the arrival of the Governor General, for the English are very just, equitable and humane.

Destruction of Pilgrims at Hardwar

Every year, in the month of Baisákh (April) the people of India, particularly Hindus, resort to Hardwar, a place of great sanctity for the purpose of bathing and a fair lasts for several days. It is said that in Jumáda l awwal 1198 A.H. (April, 1784 A.D.) in the (Hindí) month of Baisákh, when the people had collected as usual, such a deadly blast arose that fifteen hundred persons, men and women died from it in less than two hours. In the same month and year thousands of persons lost their lives from starvation in Dehli in a space of five or six days, on account of the dearth of corn. The famine raged from Multán down to Bengal and Maksudábád, with such violence that people were reduced to a very deplorable state. They laboured under double difficulties one the scarcity of grain, and the other the want of employment, which equally affected both the soldier and the tradesman.

Mr Hastings Governor General imprisoned and sent home by orders of the King of England.¹

Mr Hastings, who some years previously had been appointed by the King of England as Governor of Bengal, Maksudábád, and Azímábád Patna, revolted from his obedience and paid no attention to the King's orders, declaring that he was a servant of the Kings of India.² The King of England sent another governor to Calcutta in his place; and when he arrived in Calcutta, and

¹ [This short Extract has been retained, not for its accuracy but for its native view of the subject.]

² [The Directors of the East India Company.]

went to visit Mr Hastings, that gentleman killed him by the power of his sorceries.

After this, the King of England despatched another officer to fill the place of Mr. Hastings at Calcutta, but that gentleman declined to resign charge of the government. At last they determined on fighting a duel, with the understanding that the victor should assume the office of Governor. A day was fixed, and on that day they fought a duel. Mr Hastings escaped, but wounded his antagonist in the arm with a pistol-ball, who was consequently obliged to return to England.

The King of England then contrived a plot, and sent to Calcutta about four hundred European soldiers, in a vessel under the command of Mr. Macpherson, with a letter to Mr. Hastings, to the effect that, as in these days he had many battles to fight, Mr. Macpherson had been despatched with these soldiers to reinforce him, and to render service to him whenever exigency might require it. Secret instructions were given to Mr. Macpherson and the soldiers to seize Mr Hastings and forward him to His Majesty's presence. When the ship reached near Calcutta, Mr Macpherson sent the Royal letter to Mr Hastings, and saluted him with the fire of guns of the ship. Mr. Hastings, having read the letter, embarked in a boat, and, in company of the other English officers who were with him in Calcutta, proceeded to welcome Mr Macpherson. On his approaching the vessel, Mr Macpherson paid a salute, and with a double guard of the European soldiers, went from the ship into Mr Hastings's boat. Immediately on boarding the boat, he ordered the soldiers to surround Mr Hastings, and having thus made him a prisoner, showed him the orders for his own appointment as Governor, and the warrant which His Majesty had given for the apprehension of Mr Hastings, who saw no remedy but to surrender himself a prisoner. Mr Macpherson sent him to England in a ship under the custody of the European guard which had come out for that purpose.

OXVI

TARÍKH I SHAHADAT I FARRUKH SIYAR

OF

MIRZÁ MUHAMMAD BAKHSH

[THE full title of this work is *Tárikh-i Shahádat-i Farrukh Siyar wa Julus-i Muhammad Sháh*. The author Mirzá Muhammad Bakhsh, was a poet, and wrote under the name Ashob. Nothing has been found about him beyond what he himself tells us in his Preface. He was a soldier and served with Nawáb Mu'izz ul Mulk 'from the beginning to the end of the war with Ahmad Sháh Abdálí. He records how in this war he personally overthrew and granted quarter to three Abdálí horsemen for which exploit he obtained great applause and reward. Afterwards he served under Khán khánán (Intizám ud daula), and obtained a *mansab* of 2000 with his ancestral title of Kaswar Khán but he adds that this title was beyond his deserts, and he remained contented with his simple name of Muhammad Bakhsh. Subsequently he acted in company with Imádu l Mulk Gháziu-d dín Khán. He seems to have been a bold dashing officer and he had several brothers and friends serving with him. His name frequently appears in the course of the work when he records what he himself did or saw as in the Extract which follows.

The work bears no special relation to the death of Farrukh Siyar. The author's intention was to write the history of the hundred years from the death of Aurangzeb to the present time, 1196 A.H. (1782 A.D.) but Sir H. M. Elliot's MS. and another in the Library of the India Office close with the return of Nádir Sháh, and the death of Zakariya Khán governor of the

Panjáb The history is very summary up to the beginning of the reign of Muhammad Sháh, after which it is written in full detail. The author acknowledges his obligations to the *Tárikh-i Muhammad Sháh*, but has also recorded "what he heard from trustworthy persons, and what he saw when serving Sultáns and *vazírs*" In his Preface he mentions the works that he used for his Introduction. They are the usual authorities: the *Albá-náma*, *Tabakát-i Akbari*, *Ikbál-náma-i Jahángír*, "the Journal which Jahángír himself wrote in a very pleasant style," and many other works. There are some references also to his own poetical productions—a poem of 700 couplets called *Falah-áshob*, written at Bhartpúr, "one of the strong fortresses of Súraj Mal Ját," and another called *Kán-náma*, "Book of Deeds," in 3000 couplets, written by command to celebrate the wars of Nawáb Mu'ínu-l Mulk.

In the course of the Preface he speaks of the English in highly eulogistic terms. He specially mentions Captain Jonathan Scott, whose learning and acquirements he extols in verse, and for whose encouragement he is grateful. He also acknowledges the countenance and kindness which he received from Colonel Polier at Lucknow.

SIZE—9 inches by 8, 670 pages of 15 lines each.]

EXTRACT

[When Nízámú-l Mulk went forth to treat with Nádir Sháh, the author of this work, with several horsemen consisting of his brethren and near relations, by the strength of their horses, but with great difficulty and much management, got in front of the elephants of Ásaf Jáh Nízámú-l Mulk, and arrived first at the battle-field * * As we were before all, we had the first sight. The Persians and others of Nádir's army, having dismounted and picketed their horses, were plundering and ransacking without check. They had broken open the chests with blows of axes and swords, torn in pieces the bags of gold and silver, and having scattered the contents on the ground, were engaged in

picking them up Furniture, especially the culinary utensils of silver and copper, fell into the hands of the plunderers.

When we reached the place of meeting, it was dark, and every one, great and small, remained on the spot he first reached His Majesty approached with a large escort of men and guns with great splendour Next came the train of the chief *wazir* Azîmu llah Khân Zahiru d danla Bahâdur His elephant was in armour and he himself rode in an iron *howda* and was clothed in armour from head to foot, so that his eyes were the only parts of his body that were visible He was attended by a suitable escort of men and arms, and made his obeisance to his monarch and his *salâm* to Âsaf Jâh Next came the *Waziru l manâlik* Bahâdur * * All the chiefs were mounted on elephants clad in armour in war *howdas* of iron variously ornamented, and all the elephant riders from the greatest to the least were covered with arms and armour from head to foot]

CXVII

WAKI AT I AZFARÎ

[This is one of the works mentioned by Sir H. M. Elliot as containing matter for the history of Shâh Âlam He did not obtain a copy of the work, and all that is known about it is derived from a letter written to Sir Henry by Sir Walter Elliot. It says, The *Wâkî at i Azfarî* is a mere autobiography of an individual of no note This Azfarî had some intercourse with Ghulâm Kâdir in his youth, and gives a few particulars of events which passed under his own observation From the extracts inclosed in this letter it is apparent that the work was written after the death of Ghulâm Kâdir which occurred in 1788 A.D.]

CXVIII.

BAHRU-L MAWWAJ

OF

MUHAMMAD 'ALÍ KHÁN ANSÁRÍ.

THE author of this work is Muhammad 'Alí Khán Ansárí, Ibn 'Izzatu-d daula Hidáyatu-llah Khán, son of Shamsu-d daula Lutfu-llah Khán Sádik Tahawwur Jang.

Being devoted from his early youth, as most of these authors say of themselves, to history and studies subsidiary to it, and passing most of his time in the company of those who spoke and wrote of these subjects, he determined upon writing a general history, and as he had already written an account of the Prophets, he thought he could not do better than devote his time to a more secular History, embracing the lives of the Kings who in past times have ruled upon the earth, so that, through both his labours combined, he might derive the double reward of hope of heaven and advantage upon earth. Relying, therefore, upon the help of God, he allowed "the parrot of his tongue to expatiate in the garden of language," and after spending a very long time upon his compilation, he completed it in the year 1209 A H, corresponding with A D 1794-5.

It is a comprehensive and useful work, as will be seen from the list of contents given below, but it presents nothing particularly worthy of extract

The work is divided into nine Chapters, and forty-nine Sections, fancifully called seas (*bahr*) and waves (*mauj*) respectively, and hence the title of *Bahr u-l Mawwáj*, "The Tempestuous Sea"

CONTENTS.

Preface, p 1 —Book I In six Chapters 1 Peshdádians, 2. Kaiánians 3 Tawáifu l Muluk 4 Sássánians, 5 Akáura; 6 Tabbas of Yemen, p 8.—II. In two Chapters 1 Ummayyides 2 'Abbásides, p 64 —III In eleven Chapters 1 Tálurians 2 Saffárians, 3 Sámánians, 4 Ghaznívides 5 Ghorians, 6 Bawaludes 7 Saljukians 8 Khwárizmsháhís; 9 Atábaks 10 Isma'ílans 11 *Chiefs of Kará Khitái and Kirmán*, p. 112 —IV In eight Chapters 1 The Cossars, 2 The Saljuks of Rum 3 Dánishmandias, 4 Salsfias 5 Mangúchakas 6 Rulers of Karáman 7 Zulkadarnas 8 Othmánís, p 175 —V On the Sharífs of Mecca and Médina, p. 208 —VI In four Chapters 1 Turk the son of Yáfath 2 Tátár and his descendants; 3 The Mínghals 4 Puranyar Kaan p. 211 —VII In seven Chapters, on Changíz Khán and his descendants, p 219 —VIII In five Chapters 1 Chanbánians 2 Ylkánians 3 Muzaffarians 4 Rulers of Kirit 5 Saribárans, p 274 —IX. In Six Chapters 1 Tímur and his descendants 2. His descendants who ruled in Yrán and Khurásán 3 Kará kúnlú Turks 4 Ak kúnlú; 5 Saffarians 6 Nádír Sháh, Ahmad Sháh Abdálí, etc. p 319

Size—Large 8vo containing 437 pages, with 17 lines to a page.

This work is known to me only from a copy in the Library of the Rája of Benares and I have never heard of any other A ponderous commentary on the Kurán bears the same title.

CXIX.

'IBRAT-NÁMA

OF

FAKÍR KHAIRU-D DÍN MUHAMMAD.

[THE author of this work was Fakír Khairu-d dín Alláhábádí, who also wrote the History of Jaunpúr translated by Major Pogson and the *Bahwánt-nama*, to be hereafter noticed. During the latter part of his life he resided at Jaunpúr, in the enjoyment of a pension from the British Government, which he had earned principally by the assistance which he rendered to Mr. Anderson in his negotiations with the Maháttas. He left the service of Mr. Anderson through sickness, and was afterwards in the service of one of the Imperial princes. Subsequently he retired to Lucknow, and obtained some favour from the Nawáb Sa'ádat 'Alí, whom he greatly extols, and whose high sounding titles he recites in full as "I'timádu-d daulat wau-d dín I'tizádu-l Islám wau-l Mushmín Wazíru-l mamálik 'Umdatul Mulk Yamínu-d daulat Nazímu-l Mulk Nawáb Sa'ádat 'Alí Khán Bahádui Mubáriz Jang." The author died about the year 1827.]

The work may be considered as a History of the reigns of 'Álamgír II and Sháh 'Álam, for although it begins with Tímúr, the lives of the Emperors before 'Álamgír are dismissed in a very summary way, and occupy altogether only 25 pages. The main portion of the work, the reign of Sháh 'Álam especially, is very full and minute, and the author shows himself particularly well acquainted with the affairs of Sindhia. The work is of considerable length, and is divided into years and many chapters. It closes soon after recounting the horrible cruelties practised on the Emperor Sháh 'Álam and his family by the infamous Ghulám

dir, whose atrocities he describes at length, and whose conduct he denounces in the strongest language. 'The greatest of all the calamities that have fallen upon Hindustán were the acts of the tyrant Ghulám Kádír, which deprived the Imperial house of all honour and dignity, and consigned himself, his relations and his tribe to everlasting infamy."

A subsequent chapter describes the death of Ghulám Kádír, and his career induced the author to give his work the title of *Kitáb al-Náma*, 'Book of Warning.' It extends to 1204 A.H. (1790 A.D.) and was written before the end of the reign of Sháh Alam. The history is well written, in simple intelligible language, and deserves more notice than the limits of this work will allow. No Extracts follow translated chiefly by the Editor, but a few passages are by *munshi*.

Mr H. Elliot a copy was bought at Lucknow, and is a folio 14 inches by 9 containing 500 pages of 25 lines to the page.]

EXTRACTS

Mutiny against Imádu-l Mulúk Gháznu-d dín

Imádu-l Mulúk, after arranging the revenue and other matters on the accession of 'Alamgir II), set about a reformation of the cavalry and *shin dágh*¹ system which had fallen into a very corrupt state. He removed the Emperor from Sháh Jahánábád to Pánípat, and then, taking away from the officials of the cavalry the lands which they held round the capital, he appointed his own officers to manage them. The chiefs of the cavalry being hurt by the deprivation of their sources of income, and being encouraged by the Emperor and some of his councillors were seditious against the *scámr*, and sent their *wakíls* to him to demand their pay. The *scámr* directed Najib Khán to inquire into the matter and he set his son, Zábíta Khán, to the work. ** The soldiers, dissatisfied with their *wakíls*, and ready for a disturbance, sent thirty or forty of their most violent leaders

[The word *shin* seems to have a wider meaning than that suggested in page 136. There were various *dághs*. In the *Cháshma-i Gulshar* the *shamsher* (sword) is mentioned.]

to get redress for their grievances. These men, complaining and railing against their officers, went to the pavilion of the *wazīr*, and, collecting there in a mob, raised a great tumult. The *wazīr* heard this, and, proud of his rank and power, came fearlessly out to quell the disturbance. The rioters seized him, and began to abuse him in terms unmentionable. Numbers gathered together from every side, and the mob increased. They tore off his clothes, and in the struggle his turban even fell from his head. Then they dragged him through the streets of Pánípat to their camp. The *wazīr*'s forces, hearing of the disturbance, gathered and prepared to fight, but when they saw their master in the hands of the mutineers, they were helpless. The chiefs of the *dagh* went to the *wazīr* with apologies, and brought him a turban and such garments as they could get. The *wazīr*, seeing how frightened they were, flew into a rage, and reviled them. Meanwhile a message was brought from the Emperor to the officers, offering to make himself responsible for their pay if they would deliver over the *wazīr* to him a prisoner, and telling them that if he escaped from their hands, they would have hard work to get their pay from him.

The passions of the mob being somewhat quieted, their chiefs thought that the best way of saving themselves was to communicate the Emperor's message to the *wazīr*. They came humbly before him, with importunities, and brought an elephant, on which they seated him. Hasan Khán, one of the chiefs, took his seat in the *howda* with him, and attended him as his servant to the door of his tent. As soon as the *wazīr* had alighted, Hasan Khán also dismounted from the elephant, and mounting a horse went off to the camp. The *wazīr* entered his tent, and sat down. He then inquired what had become of Hasan Khán, and on being told, he went out and mounted an elephant. His own officers and soldiers were collected there, prepared to act, and waited only for directions. He gave them orders to kill every man of that riotous party, whoever he might be, and wherever they might find him, not one was to be allowed to escape with life. The

Rohillas of Nujib Khán and other adherents fell upon the doomed band, and in a short space of time no trace of them was left. Many were killed, and a few with (only) a nose and two ears escaped by flight. 'Imádu l Mulk was much hurt and troubled by the part the Emperor had taken. In a few days they returned to Dehli and he, leaving the Emperor under the watch of his confidants, proceeded to Láhore.]

'Imádu l Mulk Gháznu-d dín sees the widow of Mu ínu l Mulk

['Imádu l Mulk formed the design of recovering Láhore, and marched for that purpose from Dehli with a large army, taking with him Prince Alí Gnuhar. They went forward as if on a hunting excursion. Under the advice of Adína Beg Khán, he sent forward from Lúdhnyána a force under the command of Saiyid Jamshu-d dín Khán, which accomplished the march of forty or fifty *kos* in one day and night, and reached Láhore early on the following morning. The widow of Mu ínu l Mulk was asleep in her dwelling and awoke to find herself a prisoner. She was carried to the camp of 'Imádu l Mulk, who upon her arrival waited upon her and begged to be excused for what he had done. Having consoled her he kept her near himself, and gave the province of Láhore to Adína Beg Khán for a tribute of thirty *lacs* of rupees. Prince Alí Gnuhar was annoyed by the complaints and reproaches of the widow of Mu ínu l Mulk, and tried to induce 'Imádu l Mulk to reinstatate her, but the minister paid no heed to his remonstrances, and annoyed him in every way. The widow hurt by the treatment she had received, let loose her tongue and in a loud voice reviled and abused the *wazir*. She added: "This conduct of yours will bring distress upon the realm, destruction to Sháh Jahánábád, and disgrace to the nobles and the State. Ahmad Sháh Durrání will soon avenge this disgraceful act and punish you."

Ahmad Sháh (Abdálí) on hearing of this daring act of 'Imádu l Mulk, came hastily to Láhore. Adína Beg Khán being unable to resist, fled towards Hání and Hussár. 'Imádu l

Mulk was frightened, and by the good offices of Prince 'Alí Gauhar, he succeeded in effecting a reconciliation with the widow of Mu'ínu-l Mulk. When Ahmad Sháh drew near to Delhí, 'Imádu-l Mulk had no resource but submission, so he sought pardon of his offence through the mediation of the widow. With all the marks of contrition he went forth to meet the Sháh, and the widow interceding for him, he was confirmed in his rank and office, upon condition of paying a heavy tribute. On the 7th of Jumáda-l awwal, 1170 A H. (28 Jan 1757 A D), he entered the fortress of Sháh-Jahánábád, and had an interview with the Emperor 'Álamgir. He remained in the city nearly a month, plundering the inhabitants, and very few people escaped being pillaged. * *

When Ahmad Sháh demanded the tribute from 'Imádu-l Mulk, the latter asked how it could be thought possible for him to have such a sum of money; but he added that if a force of Durránís and a Prince of the house of Tímúr were sent with him, he might raise a large sum from the country of Sirhind. The Abdálí named Prince 'Alí Gauhar, but that Prince had been greatly pained and disgusted by the wilfulness and want of respect shown by 'Imádu-l Mulk on their march to Láhore, so he declined * * 'Imádu-l Mulk, having assembled a large force, went into Oudh, and Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula marched boldly out of Lucknow to oppose him, and took post at Sándí. Conflicts between their advanced forces went on for several days, but an agreement was arrived at through the medium of Sa'du-llah Khán, by which Shujá'u-d daula agreed to pay five *lacs* of rupees in cash to furnish supplies]

Transactions of the year 1173 A H (1759-60 A D). Mantrydom of 'Álamgir II¹

'Imádu-l Mulk (Gházíu-d dín Khán), who was very apprehensive of Najíbu-d daula, excited Dattá Sindhia and Jhankú Mah-

¹ [Sir H M Elliot selected this passage from the *Alhábá'u-l Muhabbat*, but as it was copied verbatim from this work, it has been restored to the rightful owner]

ratta to hostilities against him and promised them several *lacs* of rupees, on condition of their expelling him from the country which he occupied. The Mahratta chiefs accordingly at the head of their southern armies attacked Najibu-d daula with impetuosity, and he, as long as he was able, maintained his ground against that force, which was as numerous as ants or locusts, till at last, being able to hold out no longer, he took refuge in the fort of Sakartál. The sonthrons laid siege to the fort, and having stopped the supplies of grain, put him to great distress. Sindhia, seeing Najibu-d daula reduced to extremities, sent for Imádu-l Mulk from Sháh-Jahánábád, in order to complete the measures for chastising him.

Imádu-l Mulk, suspicious of the Emperor, and knowing that Intizam-u d daula Khán khánán was his chief adviser murdered that noble in the very act of saying his prayers. He then treacherously sent Mahdí Alí Khán of Kashmir to the Emperor to report that a most saintly *darweesh* from Kandahár had arrived in the city who was lodged in the *kotla* of Fíroz Sháh, and that he was well worth seeing. The Emperor who was very fond of visiting *fakirs*, and particularly such a one as had come from the country of Ahmad Sháh became extremely desirous of seeing him and went to him almost unattended. When he reached the appointed place, he stopped at the door of the chamber where his assassins were concealed and Mahdí Alí Khán relieved him of the sword which he had in his hand, and put it by. As he entered the house, the curtains were down and fastened to the ground. Mirzá Bábar son of Izzu-d dín son in law of the Emperor beginning to suspect foul play drew his sword, and wounded several of the conspirators. Upon this the myrmidons of Imádu-l Mulk surrounded and took him prisoner and having taken the sword from him placed him in a *palankin*, and sent him back to the royal prison. Some evil minded Mughals were expecting the Emperor in the chamber and when they found him there unattended and alone, they jumped up and inflicting on him

repeated wounds with their daggers, brought him to the ground, and then threw his body out of the window, stripped off all the clothes, and left the corpse stark naked. After lying on the ground for eighteen hours, his body was taken up by order of Mahdí 'Alí Khán, and buried in the sepulchre of the Emperor Humáyún.¹ This tragedy occurred on Thursday, the 20th of Rabí'u-s sání, 1173 A.H. (30th Nov. 1759 A.D.) On the same day a youth named Muhiu-l Millat, son of Muhiu-s Sunnat, son of Kám Bakhsh, was raised to the throne with the title of Sháh Jahán II.

'Imádu-l Mulk hastened to Sakartál, and came to an understanding with Najíbu-d daula. In the mean time, the report of Ahmad Sháh Durrání's invasion spread among the people. 'Imádu-l Mulk, in fear of his life, saw no other means of safety than in seeking the protection of Súraj Mal, and accordingly departed without delay for that chief's territory. Please God, an account of the arrival of Sháh Durrání shall be related hereafter.

Insult to Sháh 'Álam

It is a custom among the Hindús that at the *holí* festival they throw dust upon each other, and indulge in practical jokes. On the 14th of Jumáda-l awwal, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of His Majesty Sháh 'Álam, when this festival occurred, Anand Ráo Narsí dressed up a person in fine garments to represent the Emperor, and applied long false mustaches and a beard to his lips and chin. The person was placed on an old bedstead, with a lad in his arms, in the dress of a woman, to represent the Emperor's daughter, whom he very tenderly loved, and always kept in his presence when he went out in a litter or on an elephant. The bedstead was carried on the shoulders of

¹ The circumstances of this Emperor's death are not mentioned by the ordinary authorities. Dow is the most circumstantial. Compare Mill's *British India*, vol. II p. 473, Grant Duff's *History of the Marhattas*, vol. II p. 137, *Seir Mutaqherin*, vol. II p. 166, *Life of Hafiz Rahmat Khan*, p. 57, Elphinstone's *India*, vol. II p. 635, Scott's *History of the Deccan*, vol. II p. 236, Dow's *History of India*, vol. II p. 473, Franklin's *Shah Aurum*, p. 13.

four men, and before it went several persons of low caste in the habit of the Emperor's attendants, with clubs umbrellas, and other *insignia* of royalty in their hands. In this manner they proceeded in regular procession, beating drums, and surrounded by a multitude of spectators. They passed by the Jahán numá palace where the Emperor was sitting. This great insolence, however, excited no indignation in His Majesty's noble mind but on the contrary he ordered a reward of five hundred rupees to be given to those persons. Sháh Nizámu d dín, who was an enemy of Anand Ráo availed himself of the opportunity and having succeeded in kindling the Emperor's anger represented the matter on His Majesty's part to Mahárája Sindhu, in whose camp Anand Ráo resided. * * The Mahárája was highly incensed on being informed of this disrespectful and impudent proceeding and immediately ordered that the tents of Anand Ráo should be plundered and that he should be sent to Ráj Muhammad, *dárogha* of artillery. No sooner was the order passed than his tents and all his property were given up to plunder and he himself was seized and placed in front of a gun. The Emperor on being informed of the orders which the Mahárája had given sent one of his eunuchs to tell the Mahárája that His Majesty was pleased to pardon the offender, but that he hoped, as a warning to others, the Mahárája would turn him out of his camp. Orders were accordingly given by the Mahárája, he was called back from the gun and his life was spared but he was disgraced and banished from the presence. Anand Ráo remained concealed in the camp for a few days, and after having collected his property which was left from the spoil, he went away to Ujjain.

THIRTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN 1202 A.H. (1787-8 A.D.)

Atrocities of Ghulám Kádír

[When Ghulám Kádír Khán and Isma'il Beg Khán had made their way into Dehlí by the contrivance of Náxir Mansur Ali

Khán and the connivance of the Mughal chiefs, Ghulám Kádír assumed the chief authority. He began to oppress the citizens, and demanded money from the Emperor. These proceedings made the Emperor very angry. Ghulám Kádír went to the Emperor to ask him for the pay of the soldiers, and for some supplies to maintain his own dignity. The Emperor replied that if he possessed any money, he would not withhold it. Ghulám Kádír replied that one of the Princes must be placed in his charge, so that he might go and fight with the Mahrattas. The Emperor told him to go out of the city to hunt, and that Sulaimán Shukoh should then be sent to him. He accordingly departed, and fixed his head-quarters near the *hotla* of Fíroz Sháh. Afterwards the Prince was mounted on an elephant and was brought with his retinue to the camp. The officers presented their *nazars*, and five hundred horse, a regiment of foot and four guns were placed at the door of the Prince's tent as a guard * *

Ghulám Kádír proceeded to the palace, * * and urged the Emperor to procure money from somewhere and to give it to him for the pay of the troops. At this juncture a message was brought to Ghulám Kádír from the *Mahla Zamáníya* (the queen dowager), offering to give him ten *lacs* of rupees, on condition of Sháh 'Álam being deposed, of Prince Bedár Bakht, son of the late Emperor Ahmad Sháh, being raised to the throne, and the fort and city being placed in his possession. Ghulám Kádír agreed to this, and confirmed the plan by his word and covenant, expressing his devotion to the house of Bábar. On the 26th Shawwál, 1202 A H (31st July, 1788 A D), he went to the palace, attended by five hundred men, to demand money for the soldiers, and to express his fears of the Emperor. On the Emperor inquiring what he meant, he replied that his enemies and detractors had raised suspicions against him in the Emperor's mind, and to guard against this he required that the charge of the palace should be placed in the hands of his own people, so that he might come and state freely what he had to represent. The Emperor

replied that he seemed destined to be the ruin of the royal house, and that his name would stand infamous on the page of history. Nazir Mansur Ali Khán observed that Isma'il Khán was present with a statement and agreement, and that (for confirming it by oath) he had also brought the Holy Kurán. He was called forward the compact was confirmed upon the Holy Kurán, under the signatures of himself and Ghulám Kádír. The Emperor said, "I place myself under the protection of the Kurán, and submit to your wishes."

Having obtained the Emperor's consent, the *Nazir* placed the gates of the palace in charge of Ghulám Kádír's men. * * Four thousand horses were posted in and about the palace * * and all the environs were in the possession of the men of Ghulám Kádír and the *Mirzá* (Bedár Bakht). They took possession of the doors of the female apartments, beat the eunuchs with stones and sticks, seized upon the goods and furniture, and took the wardrobe and the store-rooms out of the hands of the royal servants. A few personal attendants and eunuchs were all that remained with the Emperor. No one was left who could go out to ascertain what was passing and the Emperor was in great trouble and anxiety. At that moment Prince Akbar said, "One choice is yet left: if you will allow us, we brothers will all fall upon those traitors, and will bravely encounter martyrdom. He replied, "No one can escape the decrees of the Almighty: there is no contending against doom: the power is now in the hands of others." Prince Akbar raised a great cry, drew his sword, and placed it to his throat to kill himself. The Emperor snatched the sword from his hand and put it to his own throat. A cry arose from all who were present, and the noise spread through the palace. Ghulám Kádír came in alarmed. The Emperor with great politeness, called him near and placing his head upon his own breast, said in his ear, "Twenty *lacs* of rupees have been provided but let them be expended in the business of the Mahrattas and not in a way that will bring censure and lasting disgrace upon me." * *

On the 27th Shawwál Ghulám Kádír, having come to an

understanding with Isma'íl Beg Khán, went into the presence of the Emperor, who was seated in his private apartments, and began to speak fawningly. The Emperor said, "I relied upon your promise and your oath on the Kurán, and kept myself in private, tell me what you require, for I have no remedy." Ghulám Kádír frowned and replied, "I have no reliance on you. He who speaks of sitting in private should give up the claim to sovereignty." At that moment Gul Muhammad Khán brought forward Prince Bedár Bakht. Ghulám Kádír insolently stepped forward, and took the Emperor's dagger from his girdle, while his companions wrested the swords from the hands of the Princes. The Emperor's personal attendants and the eighteen Princes were removed to the *salátín*.¹ Ghulám Kádír then took the hand of Prince Bedár Bakht, and placed him on the royal seat. The chiefs who were present made their offerings, and the drums were beaten to proclaim the name of Bedár Bakht. He thus ascended the throne on the 27th Shawwál, 1204 A H (22nd June, 1790).

On the 8th Zí-l ka'da Ghulám Kádír sent his stern officers to Bedár Bakht for ten *lacs* of rupees. He excused himself, saying that the Imperial family had been swept clean, but he would send what he could scrape together. He sent some vessels of silver and other articles, and said that if more was required, application should be made to Sindhwa and the Rájás who were well affected towards the Imperial throne. Rohilla 'Alí said, "Your Majesty must go into the private apartments, for the money will not be obtained without some trouble." He said, "If there is any more money, you are welcome to it. I came out of the *salátín* with a shirt and an old pair of trowsers, which I still have, but you know all about it." Ghulám Kádír took the gold and silver-mounted articles from the apartments of Sháh 'Álam and the princes and princesses, then piled them in a heap and burnt them, and sent the metal to the mint to be coined. He

¹ [This word recurs, and, as here used, it probably is an abbreviation of the words *decorhi salatin*, apartments of the Princes. (See *supra*, p. 141.)]

took several cart-loads of swords, daggers, and muskets belonging to the Emperor and Princes, some he gave to his companions, and some he sent to the store-house

Sháh 'Álam and the Princes were kept as prisoners in the Motí Mahall Ghulám Kádír ordered that Prince Akbar and Prince Sulaimán Shukoh should be bound and whipped by the carpet-spreaders. Sháh 'Álam exclaimed, "Whatever is to be done, do to me! These are young and innocent" Bedár Bakht now came in. Ghulám Kádír abused them, and put every one of them in the hot sunshine. Bedár Bakht, having sat there a little while informed him how to find money, and said "My servants are at your command, threaten them and ask for it" The female attendants of the palace were then bound, and hot oil being poured on the palms of their hands and their feet they gave information of two ice vaults from which a box of gold silver and mounted vessels was taken * * Sháh 'Álam was sitting in the sun and complaining when Ghulám Kádír said to some truculent Afgháns, "Throw this babbler down and blind him" These men threw him down and passed the needle into his eyes. They kept him down safe on the ground for a time with blows of sticks and Ghulám Kádír asked him derisively if he saw anything and he replied, "Nothing but the Holy Kurán between me and you." All night long he and his children and the women of his palace kept up loud cries. Ghulám Kádír remained that night in the Motí Mahall and hearing these cries, he writhed like a snake, and directed his servants to beat and kill those who made them. But some of these men dreaded the questioning of the day of judgment, and held their hands

On the 9th Zil ka da, * * Ghulám Kádír said to Bedár Bakht, "Come out, and I will show you a sight. Perforce, he went out of the door and sat down. Ghulám Kádír went to Sháh 'Álam and said, "Find me some gold, or I will send you to join the dead." Sháh 'Álam reviled and reproached him saying "I am in your power cut off my head for it is better to die than to live like this. Ghulám Kádír sprang up, and threw himself upon the

Emperor's bosom, Kandahárí Khán and Purdíl Khán seized his hands, two of their companions held his feet; Kandahárí Khán tore out one of his eyes, and that bloodthirsty reckless ruffian tore out the other with his own hands, amid the wailings of the Emperor. Ghulám Kádír then gave orders that the needle should be passed into the eyes of Prince Akbar, Sulaimán Shukoh, and Ahsan Bakht. The ladies came from behind their curtains, and threw themselves at the feet of Ghulám Kádír, to pray for mercy; but he kicked them on their breasts, and sent them away. The heart of Miyár¹ Singh was in flames, and, overpowered with rage, he cried, "Ghulám Kádír! cease your fury, and withdraw your hands from these helpless (princes); for if you do not, you will hardly escape from me." Seeing his passion, Ghulám Kádír arose, and said, "Punish all three of them, and I will consider what to do with them another time." He then ordered some of his followers who were present to beat them with sticks till they were senseless, and to put them in prison. Then he called for a painter, and said, "Paint my likeness at once, sitting, knife in hand, upon the breast of Sháh 'Álam, digging out his eyes." He then forbade his attendants to bring any food or water either to Sháh 'Álam or his sons.

The poor Emperor kept groaning and crying, but no one heeded him. Next day Bedár Bakht sent two surgeons to dress his wounds, and ordered him to be supplied with water. His servants reported to him that the poor Emperor's eyes were running with blood, and that the (only) water he had to drink was what flowed from his eyes. * * Ghulám Kádír went to Sháh 'Álam, and seizing him by the beard, said, "I have inflicted all this severity upon you for your faults, but I spare your life for God's sake, otherwise I should have no scruple in tearing you limb from limb." On the 12th Zí-l ka'da he went into the jewel-house, and took out a chest and a box of jewels, he also took several copies of the *Kur'án*, and eight large baskets of books out of the library. On the 13th his spies informed him

¹ [A very doubtful name. It is variously written "Matár," "Bivár," etc.]

that two sisters of Sulaimán Shukoh, one aged five years and the other four, had died from thirst. When he heard it, he laughed and said, ' Let them be buried where they lie.' One of his men went to Bedár Bakht, and said ' Ghulám Kádír wants the jewels you have.' The Prince immediately brought them out of his private apartments and handed them over.

Next day Ghulám Kádír taking Bedár Bakht with him, went to Malika Zamániya and Sálíba Mahall,¹ and said, ' Where is the money that was promised?' They said, ' What you demand from us is n more fancy and dream of yours.' When he heard this, he sent a person into the private apartments, with directions to bring them both out with only the garments they stood upright in and to seize upon all the money and valuables which could be found. Accordingly they took Malika Zamániya and Sálíba Mahall in the dresses they were wearing (*bá libás : badan*) and placing them in a *rath* conducted them with three hundred attendants to the Motí Mahall. Workmen were then sent in to break down the roof and walls. Neither Nádir Sháh Ahmad Sháh Durrání nor Tárájí Bháo had ever dreamed of plundering the ladies of the *harem* but now all the valuables, the accumulations of fifty or sixty years, were brought out. * *

On the 25th Zí I ka da Ghulám Kádír called Prince Akbar Sulaimán Shukoh, and the other Princes, nineteen in number before him and with harsh words called upon them to sing and dance before him. They declined but he would not listen to them saying that he had long heard praises of their singing and dancing. He then commanded his attendants to cut off the Princes noses if they did not sing. The Princes and boys, seeing there was no escaping from his commands, did as they were directed, and sang and danced. He was very pleased and asked them what recompense they desired. They said, ' Our father and children are in great want of water and food, we ask for some.' He gave his consent. He then turned all his attendants out of

¹ [Both these ladies were widows of Muhammad Sháh. The former was a daughter of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar.]

the room, and, placing his head upon the knees of Prince Akbar, went to sleep, leaving his sword and knife in their presence. He closed his eyes for an hour (*sā'at*), and then getting up, he slapped each of them on the neck, and said, "Can such (craven) spirits entertain the idea of reigning? I wanted to try your courage. If you had any spirit, you would have made an end of me with my sword and dagger." Then abusing them in foul disgusting words, he sent them out of his presence

Afterwards he called for Bedār Bakht and his brothers, and placed wine before them. With his own hands he several times filled the cups, and they continued drinking till evening, when they got up and danced and sang, and acted disgracefully. A eunuch came in, and told him that a daughter of Sháh 'Ālam, a child of ten years old, had died of hunger and thirst crouching on the earth. He cried, "Bury her just as she is, in the place where she lies" When Rájā Míyar Singh heard of these things, he sent bread and provisions for Sháh 'Ālam and his children Ghulám Kádír was angry—he sent for the Rájā, and frowning at him, asked, "What concern have you with those men? Remove your people from the watch, for I will place Rohillas to keep guard" The Rájā told him that the day of retribution for these deeds was approaching, and that it was not well to offend the chiefs. He replied that he would do whatever came into his heart * *

On the 17th Zí-l ka'da (*sic*) Wai Khailí (his myrmidon) reported to him that he had probed the walls of the apartments of Malika Zamániya and Sáhíba Mahall till he had made them like sieves, that he had stripped everybody, and that no hole had been left unsearched by his fingers. He had found a few pearls. One of Bedār Bakht's ladies had died of fright at what was passing, and now the Afgháns, having stripped the ladies, were thinking about taking them with (without?) gowns or bodices¹. He added, "The power is in your hands, but it is not well to cast such shame upon the honour of princes." It all depended on his pleasure, but Ghulám Kádír replied that when the Em-

peror's servants plundered his father's private apartments they had done worse than that to his women.¹ "Now," said he, 'it shall be a sight for the time, for my men shall take the hands of kings daughters, conduct them home and take possession of their persons without marriage' His then ordered Wai Khaili to go and take possession of the house of Khairu n nisa Begam sister of Sháh Álam to strip her daughters and women naked and to search for jewels. After taking * * all they could find, he asked the Princes for gold, and they replied, 'You have taken all we have, and we are now ready to die.' At his command the stony hearted carpet spreaders beat them so that the blood gushed from their mouths and noses. Then they placed the Princes in the *saldán*.

Ghulám Kádír heard from Wai Khaili of the beauty of the daughters of Mirza Haiká and Mirza Jaika (?) and when he was sitting in the Moti Mahall in the evening he ordered these unhappy ladies to be placed before him without veils or curtains. He was pleased with their beauty showed them to his boon companions and acted indecently to every one of them. When Bedár Bakht was informed of this, he beat himself upon the head and bosom and sent an attendant to the ruffian to dissuade him from such actions. He replied (sarcastically) "What power has this slave to do anything against His Majesty?" He (Bedár Bakht) then wrote to Rája Miyár Singh who shuddered when he read the letter and went to Ghulám Kádír. The Rája called Ghulám Kádír out of that private room and said to him 'It is not right to deal thus with the daughters of enemies. No one seizes sons and daughters for the faults of their fathers. Sháh Álam did not cast any evil looks upon the daughters or sisters of your father refrain from such proceedings. Ghulám Kádír answered (*in coarse terms to the effect*) that he intended to take them into his *harem* and make them his concubines, and as for

¹ ["On this occasion the Emperor is said by tradition to have transmutated Ghulám Kádír Khán into a haram page"—Kaene's *F H of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 101 200. There is no mention of this in the *Ibrat-nama*, and the narrative is rather against the tradition.]

the other Princesses, he would give them to his Afgháns, so that they might have a chance of bringing forth men of courage Rája Miyár Singh, against the will of Ghulám Kádír, went into the room, cast a sheet over (the Princesses' heads), and sent them home]

Death of Ghulám Kádír

[It is said that on the 18th Rabí'u-l awwal, Ghulám Kádír (*after being defeated by the forces of Sindhía*), started off for Ghaus-kada, his home, with only a few trusted followers mounted on swift horses. In the darkness of the night his companions lost him, he went one way, and they went another. He endeavoured to find them, but did not succeed. The road was full of water and mud, and the horse putting his foot into a hole, rolled Ghulám Kádír to the ground. The night was dark, and the way bristled with thorny acacias, so that he knew not which way to turn. When the morning came, he looked around, and seeing some inhabited place, he proceeded thither. On reaching the habitation, he put his head into the house of a *brahman*. The master of the house, seeing a stranger in such a state, asked him what was the matter. Ghulám Kádír answered that * *.¹ But his own action betrayed him. He took off a diamond ring from his finger, and gave it to the housekeeper as an inducement to guard him all day, and to guide him at night towards Ghaus-kada. The *brahman* knew of his infamous character and evil deeds. The *brahman* himself, in days gone by, had suffered at the hands of the ruffian, and his village had been ravaged. His oppressor was now in his power, and he made the door fast * *

The *brahman* went in search of some chief who would appreciate the information he had to give, and was led by fortune to the tents of 'Alí Bahádúr, to whom he communicated his intelligence. 'Alí Bahádúr showed him great attention, and sent a large party of horse forward with him, while he himself followed * *. The horsemen entered the *brahman's* house, seized their prisoner, and

¹ [The words of the answer are not complete.]

bound him With various indignities they brought him to Alí Bnádúr * * who sent him to the fort of the Mahrattas, * * under charge of Ráná Khán who put a chain upon his legs a collar on his neck, and conveyed him in a bullock-carriage to Sindhia, guarded by two regiments of sepoys and a thousand horse * * On the 4th Jumáda-s sání, under the orders of Sindhia, the ears of Ghulám Kádír were cut off and hung round his neck, his face was blackened, and he was carried round the camp and city Next day his nose and upper lip were cut off, and he was again paraded On the third day he was thrown upon the ground, his eyes were torn out, and he was once more carried round. After that his hands were cut off, then his feet, and last of all his head The corpse was then hung neck downwards from a tree A trustworthy person relates that a black dog white round the eyes came and sat under the tree and licked up the blood as it dripped. The spectators threw stones and clods at it, but still it kept there On the third day the corpse disappeared and the dog also vanished. Mahárája Sindhia sent the ears and eye-balls to the Emperor Sháh Álam.]

CXX

CHAHAR GULSHAN

OF

RĀM CHATAR MĀN.

THIS work, which is also called *Akhbār u-l Nawādir*, "Accounts of Rare Things," was composed by Rāi Chatar Mān Kāyath in the year 1173 A H (1759 A.D.), the last sheets being finished only a week before his death. As it was left in an unconnected shape, it was arranged and edited, after his death, by his grandson, Rāi Bhān Rāizāda, in 1204 A H (1789-90 A.D.), as is shown by a chronogram in the Preface; but as the work ends with the accession of the nominal Emperor Shāh Jahān the Second in A H 1173, it is evident that the Editor has added nothing to his grandfather's labours.

The Editor states that when Chatar Mān had travelled the road of eternity, he, as a dutiful grandson, was anxious to display this nosegay of wisdom to some effect, in order that those who wander in the garden of eloquence might, by a close inspection of its beauties, which are endowed with perpetual verdure, feel the bud of their heart expand with delight.

The *Chahar Gulshan* or "Four Gardens," is, as the name implies, divided into four Books, and is said by the Editor to contain so much information in a small compass that it resembles the ocean placed in a cup. The historical part is a mere abstract, and of no value, nor are any authorities quoted for its statements, but the work has other points of interest, especially in the matter of the Biographies of the Muhammadan saints,

which are written in a true spirit of belief, though the writer is a Hindu. The accounts of the Hindu *sakhs*, the Itineraries, and the Statistical Tables of the twenty two *súbas* of Hindustán, are also useful, though it is to be regretted that the latter are not given in sufficient detail to enable us to institute safe comparisons between its results and those given in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

CONTENTS.

BOOK I The Kings of Hindustán from Judhisithura to the fall of the Mughal empire, with a statistical account of the several *subas* of Hindustán proper, and of their Rulers and Saints p 4 —II An account of the southern *subas* of India, and of their Rulers and Saints, p 147 —III Itineraries from Dehlí to the different quarters of India, p 219 —IV An account of the Hindu *sakhs*, p. 232

The *Chahár Gulshan* is common in India, and I have seen several copies, none conspicuously good, except that in the possession of Nawáb Ali Muhammad Khán of Jhajar

Size—Quarto, 500 pages of 13 lines each.

CXXI.

TĀRĪKH-I IBRĀHĪM KHĀN.

[ACCORDING to the author's statement in his Preface, "These wonderful events, forming a volume of warning for men of sagacity, are chronicled by the hasty pen of the humblest of slaves, 'Alí Ibrāhīm Khān, during the administration of the illustrious noble of celestial grandeur, the centre of the circle of prosperity, the ally of foe-crushing victory, the sun of the firmament of wisdom, the unfurled of the standards of pomp and dignity, the excellent prince bearing the highest titles, the privy councillor of His Majesty the King of England, the chief of mighty and magnificent rulers,—the Governor General, Charles, Earl of Cornwallis, may his good fortune last for ever!"]

At the end of the volume we are informed that "this book, composed by the illustrious Nawāb Ibrāhīm Khān Bahādur, was completely written from beginning to end by the pen of Mulla Bakhsh at the town of Benares, and was finished in 1201 A H (1786 A.D.)

This work is very valuable for the clear and succinct account it gives of the Mahrattas. The whole of it was translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by the late Major Fuller, and is here printed with the exception of some unimportant passages, and the account of the battle of Pānīpat, which has been previously drawn from another work written by one who took part in the battle.

SIZE—6 inches by 4 219 pages of 9 lines each]

EXTRACTS.

As the comprehension of the design of this work is dependent on a previous acquaintance with the origin and genealogy of

Bálájí Ráo the eloquent pen will first proceed to the discussion of that subject

Origin and Genealogy of the Mahrattas

Be it not lidden, that in the language of the people of the Dakhin, these territories and their dependancies are called "Dihast,"¹ and the inhabitants of the region are styled "Mahrattas" The Mahrattí dialect is adopted exclusively by these classes, and the chieftainship of the Mahrattas is centred in the Bhonsla tribe The lineage of the Bhonslas is derived from the Udípur Rájás, who bear the title of Ráná and the first of these, according to popular tradition, was one of the descendants of Naushírwán. At the time when the holy warriors of the army of Islám subverted the realms of Irán, Naushírwán's descendants were scattered in every direction, and one of them having repaired to Hindustán was promoted to the dignity of a Rája In a word, one of the Ráná's progeny afterwards quitted the territory of Udípur in consequence of the menacing and disordered aspect of his affairs and having proceeded to the country of the Dakhin fixed his abode in the Carnatic. The chiefs of the Dakhin regarding the majesty of his family with respect and reverence entered into the most amicable relations with him His descendants separated into two families, one the Aholias, the other the Bhonslas

Memoir of Sáhují of the tribe of Bhonslas.

Sáhují was first enrolled among the number of Nizám Sháh's retainers, but afterwards entered into the service of Ibráhím Adil Sháh who was the ruler of the Kokan In return for the faithful discharge of his duties, he received in *jágír* the *parganas* of Púná, etc. where he made a permanent settlement after the manner of the *camindars* Towards the close of his life having attained the high honour of serving the Emperor Jahángír he was constantly in attendance on him, while his son Sivají stayed

¹ [Properly *dakastá* " See Grant Duff, vol. I. p. 11]

at the *jágir*. As Ibráhím 'Ádil Sháh for the space of two years was threatened with impending death, great disorder and confusion prevailed in his territories from the long duration of his illness, and the troops and retainers, whom he had stationed here and there, for the purpose of garrisoning the forts, and protecting the frontier of the Kokan, abandoned themselves to neglect in consequence of their master's indisposition.

Memoir of Sira, the son of Sahú

* * Ultimately, the Emperor Aurangzeb, the bulwark of religion, resolved upon proceeding to the Dakhn, and in the year 1093 A.H. bestowed fresh lustre on the city of Aurangábád by the favour of his august presence. For a period of twenty-five years he strove to subvert the Mahiatta rule, but as several valiant chieftains displayed the utmost zeal and activity in upholding their dynasty, their extermination could not be satisfactorily accomplished. Towards the close of His Majesty's lifetime, a truce was concluded with the Mahrattas, on these terms, viz. that three per cent. out of the revenues drawn from the Imperial dominions in the Dakhn should be allotted to them by way of *sarí deshmukhí*, and accordingly Ahsan Khán, commonly called Míi Malik, set out from the threshold of royalty with the documents confirming this grant to the Mahrattas, in order that, after the treaty had been duly ratified, he might bring the chiefs of that tribe to the court of the monarch of the world. However, before he had had time to deliver these documents into their custody, a royal mandate was issued, directing him to return and bring back the papers in question with him. About this time, His Majesty Aurangzeb 'Álamgír hastened to the eternal gardens of Paradise, at which period his successor Sháh 'Álam (Bahádúr Sháh) was gracing the Dakhn with his presence. The latter settled ten per cent. out of the produce belonging to the peasantry as *sarí deshmukhí* on the Mahrattas, and furnished them with the necessary documents confirming the grant.¹

¹ See *suprà*, Vol. VII p. 408

When Sháh Álam (Bahádur Sháh) returned from the Dakhin to the metropolis Dáud Khán remained behind to officiate for *Amiru l umard* Zu l fikár Khán in the government of the provinces. He cultivated a good understanding with the Mahrattas, and concluded an amicable treaty on the following footing, viz. that in addition to the above-mentioned grant of a tithe as *sar deshmukhi* a fourth of whatever amount was collected in the country should be their property while the other three-fourths should be paid into the royal exchequer. This system of division was accordingly put in practice but no regular deed granting the fourth share which in the dialect of the Dakhin is called *chauth* was delivered to the Mahrattas. When Muhammad Farrukh Siyar sat as Emperor on the throne of Delhi, he entertained the worst suspicions against *Amiru l umard* Saiyid Husain Ali Khán, the chief of the Bárha Saiyids. He dismissed him to a distance from his presence by appointing him to the control of the province of the Dakhin. On reaching his destination, the latter applied himself rigorously to the task of organizing the affairs of that kingdom but royal letters were incessantly despatched to the address of the chief of the Mahrattas, and more especially to Rája Sahu, urging him to persist in hostilities with *Amiru l umard*. * *

In the year 1129 A H (1717 A.D.) by the intervention of Muhammad Anwar Khán Burhánpurí and Sankarájí Malhár he concluded a peace with the Mahrattas,¹ on condition that they would refrain from committing depredations and robberies, and would always maintain 18 000 horsemen out of their tribe wholly at the service of the *Názim* of the Dakhin. At the time that this treaty was ratified, he sealed and delivered the documents confirming the grant of the fourth of the revenues, and the *sar deshmukhi* of the province of the Dakhin, as well as the proceeds of the Kokaú and other territories which were designated as their ancient dominions. At the same period Rája Sahu appointed Báráj, son of Basu Náth (Biswa Náth) who belonged

¹ See *suprà*, Vol. VII. p. 466

to the class of Kokaní Brahmíns, to fill the post of his *vahíl* at the Court of the Emperor, and in all the districts of the six provinces of the Dakhín he appointed two revenue commissioners of his own, one to collect the *sar deshmukhí*, and the other to receive the fourth share or *chauth*. * *

Amín-u-l umará Husain 'Alí, having increased the *mansabs* held by Bálájí, the son of Basú Náth, and Sankarájí Malhár, deputed them to superintend the affairs of the Dakhín, and sent them to join 'Alim 'Alí Khán * * After the death of Bálájí, the son of Basú Náth, his son, named Bájí Ráo, became his successor, and Holkar, who was a servant of Bálájí Ráo, having urged the steed of daring, at his master's instigation, at full speed from the Dakhín towards Málwá, put the (*subadár*) Giridhar Bahádur to death on the field of battle. After this occurrence, the government of that province was conferred on Muhammad Khán Bangash, but owing to the turbulence of the Maháttas, he was unable to restore it to proper order. On his removal from office, the administration of that region was entrusted to Rája Jai Singh Sawái. Unity of faith and religion strengthened the bonds of amity between Bájí Ráo and Rája Jai Singh, and this circumstance was a source of additional power and influence to the former, insomuch that during the year 1146 (1733 A D) he had the audacity to advance and make an inroad into the confines of Hindústán. The grand *wasír* 'Itimádu-d daula Kamru-d dín Khán was first selected by the Emperor Muhammad Sháh to oppose him, and on the second occasion Muzaffar Khán, the brother of Samsámu-d daula Khán-daurán. These two, having entered the province of Málwá, pushed on as far as Sironj, but Bájí Ráo returned to the Dakhín without hazarding an engagement * *

In the second year after the above-mentioned date, Bájí Ráo attempted another invasion of Hindústán, when the *wasír* 'Itimádu-d daula Kamru-d dín Khán Bahádur and the Nawáb Khán-daurán Khán went forth from Dehlí to give him battle. * * On this occasion several engagements took place, but

victory fell to the lot of the *ka-lr*, and peace having been ultimately concluded, they both returned to Dehli

In the third year from the aforesaid date, through the mediation of *Amiru Iumará* Khán-daurán Khán Bahádur the government of Málwá was bestowed on Báji Ráo whereby his power and influence was increased twofold. The Ráo in question, having entered Málwá with a numerous force soon reduced the province to a satisfactory state of order. About the same time he attacked the Rája of Bhádáwar and after putting him to flight, devastated his territory. From thence he despatched Pílájí with the view of subduing the kingdom of Antarbéd (Doáb) which is situated between the Ganges and Jumna. At that very time Nawáb Burhán Mulk had moved out of his own province, and advanced through Antarbéd to the vicinity of Agra. Pílájí therefore crossed the Jumna, and engaged in active hostilities against the above-named Nawáb but having been vanquished in battle, he was forced to take to flight and rejoin Báji Ráo. An immense number of his army were drowned while crossing the Jumna but as for those who were captured or taken prisoners, the Nawáb presented each one with two rupees and a cloth and gave him permission to depart. Báji Ráo becoming downcast and dispirited after meeting with this ignominious defeat, turned his face from that quarter and proceeded towards Dehli * *

Samsámu-d daula *Amiru-l umará* Bahádur after considerable deliberation sallied forth from Sháh-Jahánábád with intent to check the enemy but Báji Ráo not deeming it expedient at the time to kindle the flame of war retired towards Agra, and *Amiru I umará*, considering himself fortunate enough in having effected so much re-entered the metropolis. Thus was the first occasion on which the Muhrattas extended their aggressions so far as to threaten the environs of the metropolis. Though most of the men in the Mahratta army are unendowed with the excellence of noble and illustrious birth, and husbandmen carpenters, and shopkeepers abound among their soldiery yet, as they undergo all sorts of toil and fatigue in prosecuting a guerilla warfare, they

prove superior to the easy and effeminate troops of Hind, who for the most part are of more honourable birth and calling. If this class were to apply their energies with equal zeal to the profession, and free themselves from the trammels of indolence, their prowess would excel that of their rivals, for the aristocracy ever possess more spirit than the vulgar herd. The free-booters who form the vanguard of the Mahratta forces, and marching in advance of their main body, ravage the enemy's country, are called *pūkhárahs* (*pūkhárahs*?),¹ the troops who are stationed here and there by way of picquets at a distance from the army, for the purpose of keeping a vigilant watch, are styled *máti*, and *chhápáh* is synonymous in their dialect with a night-attack. Their food consists chiefly of cakes made of *jawán*, or *bagra*, *dál*, *an had*, with a little butter and red pepper, and hence it is that, owing to the irascibility of their tempers, gentleness is never met with in their dispositions. The ordinary dress worn by these people comprises a turban, tunic, *selah* (loose mantle), and *jángthah* (short drawers). Among their horses are many mares, and among the offensive weapons used by this tribe there are but few fire-arms, most of the men being armed with swords, spears, or arrows instead. The system of military service established among them is this: each man, according to his grade, receives a fixed salary in cash and clothes every year. They call their stables *págáh*, and the horsemen who are mounted on chargers belonging to a superior officer are styled *bárgahs* * *

Báláji's Exploits

When Bájí Ráo, in the year 1153 A.H. (1740 A.D.), on the banks of the river Nerbadda, bore the burden of his existence to the shores of non-entity, his son, Báláji Ráo, became his successor, and after the manner of his father, engaged vigorously in the prosecution of hostilities, the organization and equipment of a large army, and the preparation of all the munitions of

war His son continued to pass his days sometimes at war and at other times at peace, with the Nawáb Ásaf Jáb At length, in the year 1163 (1760 A.D.), Sáhu Ráo, the successor of Sambhájí passed away, and the supreme authority departed out of the direct line of the Bhonslas. Bálájí Ráo selected another individual of that family, in place of Sáhu's son, to occupy the post of Rája, and seated him on the throne whilst he reserved for himself the entire administration of all the affairs of the kingdom Having then degraded the ancient chieftains from the lofty position they had held, he denuded them of their dignity and influence and began aggrandizing the Kokani Brahmans, who were of the same caste as himself He also constituted his cousin, Sadásheo Ráo commonly called Bháo Ráo, his chief agent and prime minister The individual in question was of acute understanding and thoroughly conversant with the proper method of government Through the influence of his energetic counsels many undertakings were constantly brought to a successful issue, the recital of which would lead to too great prolixity In short, besides holding the fortress of Bījápur he took possession anew of Daulatábád the seat of government of the illustrious sovereigns, together with districts yielding sixty *lacs* of rupees, after forcibly wresting it out of the hands of Nizáma l Mulk Nizám Ali Khán Bahádar He likewise took into his service Ibráhím Khán Gárdí who had a well organized train of European artillery with him

The Abdálí Monarch

Ahmad Sháh Abdálí, in the year 1171 A.H (1767-8 A.D) came from the country of Kandahár to Hindustán and on the 7th of Jumáda-l sawwal of that year had an interview with the Emperor Álamgír II. at the palace of Sháh-Jahánábád he exercised all kinds of severity and oppression on the inhabitants of that city and united the daughter of Azzu-d dín, own brother to His Majesty in the bonds of wedlock with his own son, Timúr Sháh. After an

interval of a month, he set out to coerce Rája Súraj Mal Ját, who, from a distant period, had extended his sway over the province of Ágra, as far as the environs of the city of Dehlí. In three days he captured Balamgarh, situated at a distance of fifteen *kos* from Dehlí, which was furnished with all the requisites for standing a siege, and was well manned by Súraj Mal's followers. After causing a general massacre of the garrison, he hastened towards Mathurá, and having razed that ancient sanctuary of the Hindús to the ground, made all the idolators fall a prey to his relentless sword. Then he returned to Ágra, and deputed his Commander-in-Chief, Jahán Khán, to reduce all the forts belonging to the Ját chieftain. At this time a dreadful pestilence broke out with great virulence in the Sháh's army, so that he was forced to abandon his intention of chastising Súraj Mal, and unwillingly made up his mind to repair to his own kingdom.

On his return, as soon as he reached Dehlí, the Emperor 'Alamgír went forth with Najíbu-d daula Bahádui, and had an interview with him on the margin of the Maksúdábád lake, when he preferred sore complaints against 'Imádu-l Mulk Gházíu-d dín Khán Bahádur, who was at that time at Farrukhábád, engaged in exciting seditious tumults. The Sháh, after forming a matrimonial alliance with the daughter of his late Majesty Muhammad Sháh, and investing Najíbu-d daula with the title of *Amru-l umar á* and the dignified post of *bakhshí*, set out for Láhore. As soon as he had planted his sublime standard on that spot, he conferred both the government of Láhore and Multán on his son, Tímúr Sháh, and leaving Jahán Khán behind with him, proceeded himself to Kandahár.

Jahán Khán despatched a warrant to Adína Beg Khán, who at that time had taken up his residence at Lakhí Jangal, investing him with the supreme control of the territory of the Doáb, along with a *khl'at* of immense value, and adopted the most conciliatory measures towards him, whereupon the latter, esteeming this amicable attention as a mark of good fortune, applied himself zealously to the proper administration of the

Doáb When Jahán Khán however summoned him to his presence, he did not consider it to his advantage to wait upon him, so quitting the territory of the Doáb he retired into the hill country After this occurrence, Jahán Khán appointed a person named Murád Khán to the charge of the Doáb and sent Sarbuland Khán and Sarfaráz Khán of the Abdálí tribe, along with him to assist him Adína Beg Khán, having united the Sikh nation to his own forces advanced to give battle to Murád Khán, when Sarbuland Khán quaffed the cup of martyrdom on the field of action, and Murád Khán and Sarfaráz Khán seeing no resource left them but flight, returned to Jahán Khán, and the Sikhs ravaged all the districts of the Doáb

As soon as active hostilities were commenced between Najíbu-d daula and Imádu l Mulk, the latter set out from Farrukhábád towards Dehlí, to oppose the former and forwarded letters to Baláji Ráo and his cousin Bháo soliciting aid, and inviting the Mahratta army to espouse his cause. Bháo who was always cherishing plans in his head for the national aggrandizement, counselled Baláji Ráo to despatch an army for the conquest of the territories of Hindustán which he affirmed to be then as it were, an assembly unworthy of reverence, and a rose devoid of thorns.

Memoir of Raghunáth Ráo

In 1171 A.H. (1757 8 A.D.) Raghunáth Ráo a brother of Baláji Ráo accompanied by Malhár Ráo Holkar Shamsheer Bahádur, and Jayají Sindhia, started from the Dakhin towards Dehlí at the head of a gallant and irresistible army to subdue the dominions of Hindustán. As soon as they reached Ágra, they turned off to Sháh-Jahánábád in company with Imádu l Mulk, the *scour* who was the instigator of the irruption made by this torrent of destruction. After a sanguinary engagement, they ejected Najíbu d daula from the city of Dehlí and consigned the management of the affairs of government to the care of Imádu l Mulk, the *scour*

Raghunáth Ráo and the rest of the Mahratta chiefs set out from Dehlí towards Láhore, at the solicitation of Adína Beg Khán, of whom mention has been briefly made above. After leaving the suburbs of Dehlí, they arrived first at Sirhind, where they fought an action with 'Abdu-s Samad Khán, who had been installed in the government of that place by the Abdálí Sháh, and took him prisoner. Turning away from thence, they pushed on to Láhore, and got ready for a conflict with Jahán Khán, who was stationed there. The latter, however, being alarmed at the paucity of his troops in comparison with the multitude of the enemy, resolved at once to seek safety in flight. Accordingly, in the month of Sha'bán, 1171 A H (April, 1758 A D), he pursued the road to Kábul with the utmost speed, accompanied by Tímúr Sháh, and made a present to the enemy of the heavy baggage and property that he had accumulated during his administration of that region. The Mahratta chieftains followed in pursuit of Tímúr Sháh as far as the river Attock, and then retraced their steps to Láhore. This time the Mahrattas extended their sway up to Multán. As the rainy season had commenced, they delivered over the province of Láhore to Adína Beg Khán, on his promising to pay a tributary offering of seventy-five *lacs* of rupees, and made up their minds to return to the Dakhn, being anxious to behold again their beloved families at home.

On reaching Dehlí in the course of their return, they made straight for their destination, after leaving one of their warlike chieftains, named Jankú, at the head of a formidable army in the vicinity of the metropolis. It chanced that in the year 1172 A H. (1758-9 A.D.) Adína Beg Khán passed away, whereupon Jankújí entrusted the government of the province of Láhore to a Mahratta, called Sámá, whom he despatched thither. He also appointed Sádík Beg Khán, one of Adína Beg Khán's followers, to the administration of Sirhind, and gave the management of the Doáb to Adína Beg Khán's widow. Sámá, after reaching Láhore, applied himself to the task of government, and pushed on his troops as far as the river

Attock. In the meanwhile, 'Imádu l Mulk, the *scázir*, caused Sháh Alamgír II to suffer martyrdom in retaliation for an ancient grudge, and placed the son of Muhi n s Sunnat, son of Kám Bakhsh, son of Anrangzeb 'Alamgír on the throne of Delhi

Dattá Sindhva

Dattá Sindhva, Jankuj's uncle, about that time formed the design of invading the kingdom of the Rohillas whereupon Najibu-d daula and other Rohilla chiefs becoming cognizant of this fact, and perceiving the image of ultimate misfortune reflected in the mirror of the very beginning, wrote numerous letters to the Abdálí Sháh, and used every persuasion to induce him to come to Hindustán. The Sháh, who was vexed at heart on account of Tímur Sháh and Jahán Khán having been compelled to take to flight, and was brooding over plans of revenge accounted this friendly overture a signal advantage, and set him self at once in motion.

Dattá, in company with his nephew Jankú, after crossing the Jumna, advanced against Najibu d daula, and Imádu l Mulk, the *scázir* hastened to Dattá's support, agreeably to his request. As the number of the Mahratta troops amounted to nearly 80 000 horse Najibu d daula, finding his strength inadequate to risk an open battle threw up intrenchments at Sakartál, one of the places belonging to Antarbéd (the Doáb) situated on the bank of the river Ganges and there held himself in readiness to oppose the enemy. As the rainy season presented an insurmountable obstacle to Dattá's movements, he was forced to suspend military operations, and in the interim Najibu-d daula despatched several letters to Nawáb Shujá u d daula, begging his assistance.

The Nawáb, urged by the promptings of valour and gallantry started from Lucknow in the height of the rains which fell with greater violence than in ordinary years, and having with the utmost spirit and resolution traversed the intervening roads, which were

all in a wretched muddy condition, made Sháhábád the site of his camp. Till the conclusion of the rainy season, however, he was unable to unite with Najíbu-d daula, owing to the overflowing of the river Ganges.

No sooner had the rains come to an end, than one of the Mahiatta chieftains, who bore the appellation of Gobind Pandit, forded the stream at Dattá's command, with a party of 20,000 cavalry, and allowed no portion of Cháandpúr and many other populous places to escape conflagration and plunder. He then betook himself to the spot where Sa'du-llah Khán, Dúndí Khán, and Háfiz Rahmat Khán had assembled, after having risen up in arms and quitted their abodes, to afford succour to Najíbu-d daula. These three, finding themselves unable to cope with him, took refuge in the forests on the Kamáún hills.

Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, being apprised of this circumstance, mounted the fleet steed of resolution, and in Rabí'u-l awwal, 1173 A H (Oct. Nov. 1759 A D), taking his troops resembling the stars in his train, he repaired on the wings of speed to Cháandpúr, close to the locality where Najíbu-d daula was stationed. As Gobind Pandit had reduced the latter's force as well as his companions to great straits, by cutting off their supply of provisions, Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur despatched 10,000 cavalry, consisting of Mughals and others, under the command of Muzá Najaf Khán Bahádur, Mír Bákar Himmatí and other leaders, to attack the Pandit's camp. He also afterwards sent off Anúpgar Gusáin, and Ráj Indar Gusáin in rear of these. The leaders in question having fought with becoming gallantry, and performed the most valiant deeds, succeeded in routing the enemy. Out of the whole of Gobind Pandit's force, 200 were left weltering in blood, and as many more were captured alive, whilst a vast number were overwhelmed in the waters of the Ganges. Immense booty also fell into the hands of the victors, comprising every description of valuable goods, together with horses and cattle. Gobind Pandit, who after suffering this total defeat had escaped from the field of battle across the river Ganges, gave himself up to despair,

and took to a precipitate flight. As soon as this intelligence reached the ears of Háfiz Halimnt Khán and the rest of the Rohilla chieftains, they sallied forth from the forests of Kamáún and repaired to Nawáb Shujá u d daula's camp. Meanwhile Najibu d daula was released from the perils and misfortunes of his position.

Nawáb Shujá u d daula Bahádur assembled the Rohilla chiefs and offered them advice in the following strain: 'The enemy has an innumerable army, his military prowess is formidable, and he has gained possession of most of the districts in your territory; it is therefore better for you to make overtures for peace. Every one both high and low applauded the Nawáb's judicious counsel and voted that pacific negotiations should be immediately entered into with Dattá; but the truce had not yet been established on a secure basis when the news of Ahmad Sháh Abdálí's approach and of his arrival on this side of Láhore, astonished the ears of all. Dattá, with the arrogance that ever filled his head, would not allow the preliminaries of peace to be brought to a conclusion, but haughtily discarding the amicable relations that he was in process of contracting moved with a resolute step along the road to Dehlí with a view to encounter the Abdálí Sháh. He was accompanied at that time by 80 000 horsemen, well armed and equipped.

When the Sháh set out from Láhore in the direction of Dehlí he thought to himself that on the direct road between these two places, owing to the passage to and fro of the Mahratta troops, it would be difficult to find any thriving villages, and grain and forage would be almost unprocureable. Consequently in the month of Rabí ul lawwal 1173 A.H. he crossed the river Jumna, and entered Antarbéd. Be it not unknown that Antarbéd is the name given to the land lying between the Ganges and Jumna, its frontier being Hardwar and the Kamáún hills, which are situated in the northern quarter of Hind. * *

In short, Ahmad Sháh Durrání entered Antarbéd, and Najibu d daula and the other Rohilla chiefs whose territories were situated

in that kingdom, came to join the Sháh. They likewise brought sums of money, as well as grain and provisions, to whatever extent they could procure them, and delivered them over for the Sháh's use. Through this cordial support of the Rohilla chiefs, the Sháh acquired redoubled strength, and having directed his corps of Durránís, who were employed in the campaign on skirmishing duties, to pursue the ordinary route, and be in readiness for an engagement with Dattá, proceeded himself to the eastward, by way of Antaibed.

On this side too, Dattá, travelling with the speed of wind and lightning, conducted his army to Sirhind, where he happened to fall in with the Sháh's skirmishing parties. As the Durránís are decidedly superior to the Mahratta troops in the rapidity of their evolutions, and in their system of predatory warfare, the moment they confronted each other, Dattá's army was unable to hold its ground. Being compelled to give way, he retired to Dehlí, keeping up a running fight all the way, and took up a position in the plain of Báwalí, which lies in the vicinity of Shah-Jahánábád. At that juncture, Jankújí proposed to his nephew with haughty pride, that they should try and extricate themselves from their critical situation, and Jankújí at once did exactly what his respected uncle suggested. In fact, Dattá and his troops dismounted from their horses after the manner of the inhabitants of Hind about to sacrifice their lives, and boldly maintained their footing on the field of battle. The Durránís assailed the enemy with arrows, matchlocks, and swords, and so overpowered them as not to allow a single individual to escape in safety from the scene of action. This event took place in Jumáda-l awwal, 1173 A H (Jan 1760 A D).

Malhár Ráo Holkar

As soon as this intelligence reached the quick ear of Malhár Ráo Holkar, who at that time was staying at Makandara, he consigned the surrounding districts to the flames, and making up

his mind, proceeded in extreme haste to Súrāj Mal Ját, and importuned that Rája to join him in the war against the Durrání Sháh. The latter, however, strongly objected to comply with his request stating that he was unable to advance out of his own territory to engage in hostilities with them as he had not sufficient strength to risk a pitched battle, and that if the enemy were to make an attack upon him he would seek refuge within his forts. In the interview it came to Holkar's knowledge, that the Afgháns of Antarbéd had moved out of their villages with treasure and provisions, with intent to convey them to the Sháh's camp and had arrived as far as Sikandra, which is one of the dependencies of Antarbéd, situated at a distance of twenty kos from Dehlí towards the east. He consequently pursued them with the utmost celerity and having fallen upon them, delivered them up to indiscriminate plunder.

The Abdálí Sháh having been apprised of this circumstance despatched Sháh Kalandar Khán and Sháh Pasand Khán Durrání at the head of 15 000 horse, to chastise Holkar. The individuals in question, having reached Dehlí from Nárnaul a distance of seventy kos in twenty four hours, and having halted during the day to recover from their fatigues, effected a rapid passage across the Jumna, as soon as half the night was over, and by using the utmost expedition, succeeded in reaching Sikandra by sunrise. They then encompassed Holkar's army and made a vast number of his men fall a prey to their relentless swords. Holkar found himself reduced to great straits, he had not even sufficient leisure to fasten a saddle on his horse but was compelled to mount with merely a saddle-cloth under him and flee for his life. Three hundred more horsemen also followed after him in the same destitute plight, but the remainder of his troops, being completely hemmed in, were either slain or captured, and an immense quantity of property and household goods, as well as numbers of horses, fell into the hands of the Durránís. About this time, too, the Sháh arrived at Dehlí from Nárnaul, and took up his quarters in the city.

Forces of the Dakhn.

In the year 1172 A.H. (1758-9 A.D.), Raghunáth Ráo, the brother of Bálájí Ráo, after confiding the provinces of Láhoie and Multán to Adína Beg Khán, and leaving Jankújí with a formidable army in the vicinity of the metropolis of Dehlí, arrived at the city of Púná along with Shamsheer Bahádui, Malhár Ráo Holkar, and Jayájí Sindhiya. Sadásheo Ráo Bháojí, who was Bálájí Ráo's cousin, and his chief agent and prime minister, began instituting inquiries as to the receipts and disbursements made during the invasion of Hind. As soon as it became apparent, that after spending the revenue that had been levied from the country, and the proceeds arising from the plundered booty, the pay of the soldiery, amounting to about sixty *lacs* of rupees, was due, the vain illusion was dissipated from Bháojí's brain. The latter's dislike to Raghunáth Ráo, moreover, had now broken into open contumely and discord, and Bálájí Ráo, vexed and disgusted at finding his own brother despised and disparaged, sent a letter to Bháojí, declaring that it was essentially requisite for him now to fulfil the standard of invasion in person against Hindústán, and endure the fatigues of the campaign, since he was so admirably fitted for the undertaking. Bháo, without positively refusing to consent to his wishes, managed to evade compliance for a whole year, by having recourse to prevarication and subterfuge.

Biswás Ráo, the son of Bálájí Ráo.

Biswás Ráo, Bálájí Ráo's eldest son, who was seventeen years old, solicited the command of the army from his father, and though the latter was in reality displeased with his request, yet in the year 1173 A.H. (1759-60 A.D.) he sent him off with Bháojí in company. Malhár Ráo, Pílájí Jádaun, Ján Ráo Dhamadsaí, Shamsheer Bahádur, Sabúlí Dádájí Ráo, Jaswant Ráo Bewár, Balwant Ráo, Ganesh Ráo, and other famous and warlike leaders, along with a force of 35,000 cavalry, were also associated with Bháo. Ibráhím Khán Gárdí, who was the superintendent

of the European artillery, likewise accompanied him. Owing to the extreme sultriness of the hot season they were obliged to rest every other day and thus by alternate marches and halts, they at length reached Gwálor.

As soon as the story of 'Imádu l Mulk and Jankújí Sindhiá's having sought refuge in the forts belonging to Súraj Mal Ját, and the particulars of Dattá's death and Holkar's defeat, as well as the rout and spoliation of both their forces, were poured into the ears of Biswás Ráo and Bháoji by the reporters of news and the detailers of intelligence vast excitement arose so that a sojourn of two months took place at Gwálor. Malhár Ráo Holkar, who had escaped with his life from the battle with the Darránís and in the mean time had joined Biswás Ráo's camp then started from Gwálor for Sháh Jahánábád by Bháo's order at the head of a formidable army and having reached Agra, took Jankújí Sindhiá along with him from thence and drew near to his destination.

Ahmad Sháh Abdálí on ascertaining this news sallied out from the city of Dehlí to encounter him; but the latter finding himself unable to resist, merely made some dashing excursions to the right and left for a few days, after the guerilla fashion. As the Sháh however would never once refrain from pursuing him he was ultimately forced to make an ignominious retreat back along the road he had come, and having returned to Gwálor went and rejoined Bháoji. The rainy season was coming on, * * so Ahmad Sháh crossed the river Jumna, and having encamped at Sikandra, gave instructions to the officers of his army to prepare houses of wood and grass for themselves, in place of tents and pavilions.

Bháó and Biswás Ráo having marched from Gwálor after travelling many stages, and traversing long distances as soon as they reached Akbarábád Holkar and Jankújí, at Bháo's instigation betook themselves to Rája Suraj Mal Ját and brought him along with them to have an interview with Bháo. The latter went out a kos from camp to meet him and 'Imádu l

Mulk, the *wasir*, also held a conference with Bháo through Súraj Mal's mediation. Súraj Mal proposed that the campaign should be conducted on the following plan, viz. that they should deposit their extra baggage and heavy guns, together with their female relatives, in the fort of Jhánsí, by the side of the river Chambal, and then proceed to wage a predatory and desultory style of warfare against the enemy, as is the usual practice of the Mah-ratta troops; for under these circumstances their own territory would be behind their backs, and a constant supply of provisions would not fail to reach their camp in safety. Bháo and the other leaders, after hearing Súraj Mal's observations, approved of his decision, but Biswás Ráo, who was an inexperienced youth, intoxicated with the wine of arrogance, would not follow his advice. Bháo accordingly carried on operations in conformity with Biswás Ráo's directions, and set out from Akbarábád towards Dehlí with the force that he had at his disposal. On Tuesday, the 9th of Zí-l hijja, 1173 A.H. (23 Sept 1760 A.D.), about the time of rising of the world-illumining sun, he enjoyed the felicity of beholding the fort of Dehlí. The command of the garrison there was at that time entrusted to Ya'kúb 'Alí Khán Bahmanzái, brother to Sháh Walí Khán, the prime minister of the Durrání Sháh, who, in spite of the multitude of his enemies, would not succumb, and spared no exertions to protect the fort with the few martial spirits that he had with him.

Capture of the fort of Dehlí.

Bháo, conjecturing that the fort of Dehlí would be devoid of the protection of any garrison, and would therefore, immediately on being besieged, fall under his subjection, went and took up a position near Sa'du-llah Khán's mansion, with a multitude of troops. * * Ibráhím Khán Gárdí, who was a confederate of Bháo, and had the superintendence of the European artillery, planted his thundering cannon, with their skilful gunners,

opposite the fort on the side of the sandy plain and having made the battlements of the Octagon Tower and the Asad Burj a mark for his lightning-darting guns overturned many of the royal edifices. Every day the tumultuous noise of attack on all sides of the fort filled the minds of the garrison with alarm and apprehension. The overflowing of the Jumna presented an insurmountable obstacle to the crossing of the Durrání Sháh's army and hindered it from affording any succour to the besieged. The provisions in the fort were very nearly expended, and Ya'kub 'Alí Khán was forced to enter into negotiations for peace. He first removed with his female relatives and property from the fort to the domicile of Allí Márdán Khán and then, having crossed the river Jamna from thence on board a boat, betook himself to the Sháh's camp. On the 19th of the aforesaid month and year, Bhao entered the fort along with Bhowás Ráo and took possession of all the property and goods that he could find in the old repositories of the royal family. He also broke in pieces the silver ceiling of the *Dikán : Khass* from which he extracted so much of the precious metal as to be able to coin seventeen *lacs* of rupees out of it. Nárad Shankar Brahmin was then appointed by Bháo to the post of governor of the fort.

The Durrání Sháh after his engagement with Dattá, which terminated in the destruction of the latter had despatched Najfbu-d daula to the province of Oudh with a conciliatory epistle, which was as it were a treaty of friendship for the purpose of fetching Nawáb Shajá u-d daula Bahádar. Najfbu-d daula accordingly betook himself by way of Etáwa to Kanauj and about the same time Nawáb Shujá u-d daula marched from Lucknow and made the ferry of Mahdipur which is one of the places in Etáwa situated on this side the river Ganges, the site of his camp. An interview took place in that locality and as soon as the friendly document had been perused, and the Nawáb's heart had been comforted by its sincere promises, he came to the fixed determination of waiting on the Sháh, and he sent back Rája Bení Bahádur, who at that time possessed greater power and

influence than his other followers, to rule as viceroy over the kingdom during his absence. When Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula approached the Sháh's army, the prime minister, Sháh Walí Khán, hastened out to meet him, and, having brought him along with him in the most courteous and respectful manner, afforded him the gratification, on the 4th of Zí-l hijja, 1173 A H (18th July, 1760 A D), of paying his respects to the Sháh, and of folding the son of the latter, Tímúr Sháh, in his embrace.

Bháó remained some time in the fort of Sháh-Jahánábád, in consequence of the rainy season, which prevented the horses from stirring a foot, and deprived the cavalry of the power of fighting, he sent a person named Bhawání Shankar Pandit to Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, with the following message: "If it is inconvenient for you to contract an alliance with your friends, you should at least keep aloof from the enemy, and remain perfectly neutral to both parties." The above-named Pandit, having crossed the river Jumna, went to Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur, and delivered this message. The latter, after ascertaining its drift, despatched his eunuch Yákút Khán, who was one of the oldest and most confidential servants of his government, in company with Bhawání Shankar Pandit, and returned an answer of this description: "As the Rájás of this empire and the Rohilla chiefs were reduced to the last extremity by the violent aggressions of Raghunáth Ráo, Dattá, Holkar, and their subordinates, they solicited the Abdálí Sháh to come to Hindústán, with the view of saving themselves from ruin. 'The seed that they sowed has now begun to bear fruit.' Nevertheless, if peace be agreeable to you, from true regard for our ancient friendship, my best endeavours shall be used towards concluding one." Eventually, Bháo proposed that as far as Sirhind should be under the Sháh's dominion, and all on this side of it should belong to him, but the whole rainy season was spent in negotiation, and no peace was established.

In the interim, Rája Súraj Mal Ját, who discerned the speedy downfall of the Mahratta power, having moved with his troops,

in company with Imádu l Mulk, the *kazir*, from his position at Sarai Badarpur, which is situated at a distance of six *kos* from Delhi on the eastern side, and traversed fifty *kos* in one night, without informing Bháo betook himself to Balamgarh,¹ which is one of his forts

As the Mahratta troops made repeated complaints to Bháo regarding the scarcity of grain and forage, the latter, on the 29th of the month of Safar 1174 A.H. (9th October 1760 A.D.) removed Sháh Jahán son of Muhi'u-s Sunnat, son of Kám Bakhsh son of Aurangzeb Alamgir, and having seated the illustrious Prince, Mirzá Jawán Bakht, the grand son of Alamgir II., on the throne of Delhi, publicly conferred the dignity of *kazir* on Shujá'u-d daula. His object was this, that the Durrání Sháh might become averse to and suspicious of the Nawáb in question. Leaving Nárad Shankar Brahma of whom mention has been made above, behind in the fort of Sháh-Jahánábád, he himself set out, with all his partisans and retainers, in the direction of Kunjpura.² This place is fifty four *kos* to the west of Delhi, and seven to the north of the *pargana* of Karnál and it is a district the original cultivators of which were the Rohillas.

Capture of the fort of Kunjpura.

Bháo on the 10th of Rabi'u l awwal, 1174 A.H. (19th October 1760) encompassed the fort of Kunjpura with his troops, and subdued it in the twinkling of an eye by the fire of his thundering cannon. Several chiefs were in the fort, one of whom was Abdu-s Samad Khán Abdálí governor of Sirhind, who had been taken prisoner by Raghunáth Ráo in 1170 A.H. (1756-7), but had ultimately obtained his release, as was related in the narrative of Adína Beg Khán's proceedings. There were, besides, Kutb Khán Rohilla, Dalí Khán, and Nijábat Khán all *zamindars* of places

¹ [“To Dig — *Nigdr-masma-i Hind.*]

² [“A stout and substantial stronghold containing a garrison of nearly 30,000 men.” — *Nigdr-masma-i Hind.*]

in Antarbéd, who had been guilty of conveying supplies to the Abdáli Sháh's camp. After reducing the fort, Bháo made 'Abdu-s Samad Khán and Kutb Khán undergo capital punishment, and kept the rest in confinement, whilst he allowed Kunjpúra itself to be sacked by his predatory hordes.

As soon as this intelligence reached the Sháh's ear, the sea of his wrath was deeply agitated, and notwithstanding that the stream of the Jumna had not yet subsided sufficiently to admit of its being forded, a royal edict was promulgated, directing his troops to pay no regard to the current, but cross at once from one bank to the other. As there was no help but to comply with this mandate, on the 16th of the month of Rabí'u-l awwal, 1174 A H (25th October, 1760 A.D.), near Sháh-Jahánábád, on the road to Pákpát, which is situated fifteen kos to the north of Dehlí, they resigned themselves to fate, and succeeded in crossing. A number were swallowed up by the waves, and a small portion of the baggage and quadrupeds belonging to the army was lost in the passage. As soon as the intelligence reached Bháo's ear, that a party of Durránís had crossed, * * he sounded the drum of retreat from Kunjpúra, and with his force of 40,000 well-mounted and veteran cavalry, and a powerful train of European artillery, under the superintendence of Ibráhím Khán Gárdí, he repaired expeditiously to Pánípat, which lies forty kos from Dehlí towards the west.

Battle between the Mahatta Army and the Durránís

The Abdáli Sháh, after crossing the river Jumna at the *ghat* of Pákpát, proceeded in a westerly direction, and commanded that Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur and Najíbu-d daula should pitch their tents on the left of the royal army, and Dúndí Khán, Háfizu-l Mulk Háfiz Rahmat Khán, and Ahmad Khán Bangash on the right. As Bháo perceived that it was difficult to contend against the Durránís in the open field, by the advice of his counsellors he made a permanent encampment of his troops in the outskirts of the city of Pánípat, and having in-

trenched it all round with his artillery, took up his quarters in this formidable position * *

In the interim Gobind Pandit, who was the *tahsildár* of the district of Shinkohábád etc., betook himself to Dehli at Bháu's suggestion with a body of 10,000 cavalry and intercepted the transport of supplies to the Durrání Sháh's army¹ * *

When the basis of the enemy's power had been overthrown (at Panípat) and the surface of the plain had been relieved of the insolent foe, the triumphant champions of the victorious army proceeded eagerly to pillage the Mahratta camp and succeeded in gaining possession of an unlimited quantity of silver and jewels, 500 enormous elephants 50 000 horses 1000 camels, and two *lacs* of bullocks with a vast amount of goods and chattels and a countless assortment of camp equipage. Nearly 30 000 labourers too who drew their origin from the Dakhn fell into captivity. Towards evening the Abdálí Sháh went out to look at the bodies of the slain and found great heaps of corpses, and running streams produced by the flood of gore * *. Thirty two mounds of slain were counted, and the ditch, protected by artillery of such immense length that it could contain several *lacs* of human beings, besides cattle and baggage, was completely filled with dead bodies.

Assassination of Sindhu Jankúí.

Ráo Káshí Náth on seeing Jankúí who was a youth of twenty with a handsome countenance and at that time had his wounded hand hanging in a sling from his neck became deeply grieved, and the tears started from his eyes * *. Jankúí raised his head and exclaimed It is better to die with one's friends than to live among one's enemies.

The Nawáb in unison with Sháh Wall Khán solicited the Sháh to spare Jankúí's life whereupon the Sháh summoned Barkhúrdár Khán, and consulted him on the propriety of the

¹ [For accounts of the skirmishes and battle, see *supra* p. 144. This work is more diffuse, and enters into greater details, but the two accounts agree in the main.]

step, to which the Khán in question returned a decided negative. At the same time, one of the Duránís, at Barkhúndán Khán's suggestion, went and cut Jankújí's throat, and buried him under ground inside the very tent in which he was imprisoned.

Ibrahim Khán Gárdí's Death

Shujá'u Kulí Khán, a powerful and influential servant of the Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula Bahádur, having captured Ibráhím Khán Gárdí on the field of battle, kept him with the said Nawáb's cognizance in his own tent. No sooner did this intelligence become public, than the Duránís began in a body to raise a violent tumult, and clamorously congregating round the door of the Sháh's tent, declared that Ibráhím Gárdí's neck was answerable for the loss of so many thousands of their fellow-countrymen, and that whoever sought to protect him would meet the penalty of their resentment. Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, feeling that one seeking refuge cannot be slain, prepared for a contest with the Duraní forces, whereupon there ensued a frightful disturbance. At length, Sháh Walí Khán took Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula aside privately, and addressing him in a friendly and affectionate tone, proposed, that he should deliver up Ibráhím Khán Gárdí to him, for the sake of appeasing the wrath of the Duránís, and after a week, when their evil passions had been allayed, he would restore to him the individual entrusted to his care. In short, Ashraf-ul Wuzrá (Sháh Walí Khán), having obtained him from the Nawáb, applied a poisonous plaster to his wounds; so that, by the expiration of a week, his career was brought to a close.

Discovery of Bháojí's Corpse

The termination of Bháojí's career has been differently related. Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula, having mounted after the victory, took Shishá Dhar Pandit, Ganesh Pandit, and other associates of Bháojí along with him, and began wandering over the field of battle, searching for the corpses of the Mahratta chiefs, and more

especially for Bháojí's dead body. They accordingly recognized the persons of Jaswant Ráo Balwár, Pílájí, and Sabhájí Náth who had received forty sword cuts, lying on the scene of action and, in like manner, those of other famous characters also came in view. Bháo's corpse had not been found, when from beneath a dead body three valuable gems unexpectedly shone forth. The Nawáb presented those pearls to the Pandits mentioned above, and directed them to try and recognize that lifeless form. They succeeded in doing so through the scar of a gunshot wound in the foot, and another on the side behind the back which Bháo had received in former days. With their eyes bathed in tears they exclaimed "This is Bháo the ruler of the Dakhín"¹. Some entertain an opinion that Bháo after Biswás Ráo's death, performed prodigies of valour and then disappeared from sight, and no one ever saw him afterwards. Two individuals consequently both natives of the Dakhín have publicly assumed the name of Bháo, and dragged a number of people into their deceitful snare. As a falsehood cannot bear the light, one was eventually put to death somewhere in the Dakhín by order of the chiefs in that quarter, and the other having excited an insurrection at Benares, was confined for some time in the fort of Ohunár. After his release despairing of the success of his project, he died in the suburbs of Gorakhpur in the year 1193 A. H.

Nawáb Shuján d daula Bahádur having obtained permission of the Sháh to burn the bodies [*of the Bháo and other chiefs*], deputed Rája Hummat Bahádur and Ráo Káshí Náth, his principal attendants, to perform the task of cremation. Out of all those hapless and unfortunate beings [*who survived the battle*] a number maintained a precarious existence against the violent assaults of death for some days, but notwithstanding that they used the most strenuous exertions to effect their escape in divers directions from Pánipat, not a single one was saved from being slain and plundered by the zamindárs of that quarter. Out of the whole of the celebrated chiefs too with the exception of

¹ [The *Nigâr-nama-i Hind* gives further identifications of the corpse: see *infra*]

goodwill towards this fatherless child, treating him as if he were your own son and do not permit any harm to come upon him " Having said this, he departed from the world on the 9th of Zí l ka da, 1174 A H (14th June, 1761 A.D.), and the period of his reign was twenty-one years

Mádhu Ráo, son of Bálujl.

Mádhu Ráo after the demise of his father, was installed in the throne of sovereignty at Puná, and Raghunáth Ráo conducted the administration of affairs as prime minister, after the manner of the late Bháo

Account of the pretender Bháo

One of the remarkable incidents that occurred in Mádhu Ráo's reign was the appearance of a counterfeit Bháo who in the year 1175 A.H (1762-3 A.D.) having induced a number of refractory characters to flock to his standard and having collected together a small amount of baggage and effects with camp equipage and cattle, excited an insurrection near the fort of Karáza, which is situated at a distance of twelve kos from Jhánsi towards the west. He gave intimation to the governor of the fort, who held his appointment of the Puná chiefs, as to his name and pretensions, and summoned him by threats and promises into his presence. The latter who, up to that time, had been in doubt whether Bháo was dead or alive, being apprehensive lest this individual should in reality prove to be Bháo proceeded to wait upon him, and presented some cash and valuables by way of offering. After that the Bháo in question sent letters into other *parganas* and having summoned the revenue officers from all quarters, commenced seizing and appropriating all the cash, property and goods. Whatever horses, elephants, or camels he found with any one he immediately sent for and kept in his own possession.

This pretender to the name of Bháo always kept his face

half covered under a veil, both in public and private, on the plea that the wound on his visage was still unhealed, and people were completely deceived by the stratagem, no one could have the impudence to scrutinize his features. In short, for six months he persevered in his imposture, until the news reached Púná, when some spies went over to him to examine strictly into the case, and discovered that he was not Bháo.

About the same period, Malhár Ráo Holkar was moving from the Dakhin towards Hindústán, and his road happened to lie through the spot where the pretender in question had pitched his tents. The above-mentioned spies disclosed the particulars of the case to Malhár Ráo, who thought to himself, that until Párbatí Bái, the late Bháo's wife, had seen this individual with her own eyes, and all her doubts had been removed, it would not do to inflict capital punishment on the impostor, for fear the lady should think in her heart that he had killed her husband out of spite and malice. For this reason, Malhár Ráo merely took the impostor prisoner, and having appointed thirty or forty horsemen to take care of him, forwarded him from thence to Púná. The few weak-minded beings, who had gathered round him, were allowed to depart to their several homes, and Holkar proceeded to his destination. When the pretender was brought to Púná, Mádhú Ráo likewise, out of regard for the feelings of the late Bháo's wife, deemed it proper to defer his execution, and kept him confined in one of the forts within his own dominions. Strange to say, the silly people in that fort did not discover the falseness of the impostor's claims, and leagued themselves with him, so that a flesh riot was very nearly being set on foot. Mádhú Ráo, however, having been apprised of the circumstances, despatched him from that fort to another stronghold, and in the same way his removal and transfer was constantly taking place from various forts in succession, till he was finally confined in a stronghold, that lies contiguous to the sea on the island of Kolába, which is a dependency of the Kokan territory.

Nawáb Nizám 'Alí Khán Bahádur

The following is another of the events of Madhu Ráo's reign. Bithal, *diwán* of Nawáb Nizám 'Alí Khán Bahádur advised his master that as the Mahrattas were then devoid of influence, and the supreme authority was vested in an inexperienced child, it would be advisable to ravage Puná. Jánují Bhonsla Rája of Nágpur Gopál Ráo a servant of the Peshwa, and some more chiefs of the Mahratta nation approved of the *diwán's* suggestion and led their forces in a compact mass towards Puná. When they drew near its frontier Raghunáth Ráo, who was Madhu Ráo's chief agent and prime minister, got terrified at the enemy's numbers, and finding himself incompetent to cope with them retired with his master from Puná. Nawáb Nizám 'Alí Khán Bahádur then entered the city and did not spare any efforts in completing its destruction.

After some time, Raghunáth Ráo recovered himself, and having entered into friendly communication with Jánují Bhonsla and the other chiefs of his own tribe, by opening an epistolary correspondence with them he alienated the minds of these men from the Nawáb. In short, the above-named chiefs separated from the Nawáb on the pretence of its being the rainy season and returned to their own territories. In the interim Raghunáth Ráo and Madhu Ráo set out to engage Nawáb Nizám 'Alí Khán Bahádur who deeming it expedient to proceed to his original quarters, beat a retreat from the position he was occupying. When the bank of the river Godáverí became the site of his encampment, an order was issued for the troops to cross over. Half the *matériel* of the army was still on this side, and half on that when Raghunáth considering it a favourable opportunity commenced a furious onslaught. The six remaining chiefs of the Nawáb's army were slain and about 7000 Afgháns, etc., acquired eternal renown by gallantly sacrificing their lives. After this sanguinary conflict, the Nawáb hastily crossed the river and extricated himself from his perilous position. As soon as the flame of strife had been

extinguished, a peace was established through the intervention of Malhūr Ráo Holkar, who had escaped with his life in safety from the battle with Abdálí Sháh. Both parties concerning in the advantages of an amicable understanding, returned to their respective quarters.

Quarrel between Raghunáth Ráo and Mádhú Ráo

When Raghunáth Ráo began to usurp greater authority over the administration of affairs; Gopiká Bá, Mádhú Ráo's mother, growing envious of his influence, inspired her son with evil suspicions against him, and planned several stratagems, whereby their mutual friendship might result in hatred and animosity, till at length Raghunáth Ráo became convinced that he would some day be imprisoned. Consequently, he mounted his horse one night, and fled precipitately from Púná with only a few adherents. Stopping at Násik, which lies at a distance of eight stages from Púná, he fixed upon that town as his place of refuge and abode, and employed himself in collecting troops, insomuch that Núradjí Sankar, the revenue collector of Jhánsí, Jaswant Ráo Lúd, Sakhá Rám Bápu and Nílkant Mahádeo, volunteered to join him, and eagerly engaged in active hostilities against Mádhú Ráo. As soon as Raghunáth Ráo arrived in this condition close to Púná, Mádhú Ráo was also obliged to sally forth from it in company with Tumbak Ráo, Bápují Mánik, Gopál Ráo and Bhímjí Landí. When the line of battle began to be formed, Raghunáth Ráo assumed the initiative in attacking his adversaries, and succeeded in routing Mádhú Ráo's force by a series of overwhelming assaults, and even captured the Ráo himself, together with Nar Singh Ráo. After gaining this agreeable victory, as he perceived Mádhú Ráo to be in safety, and his malicious antagonists overthrown, he could not contain himself for joy. As soon as he returned from the battle-field to his encampment, he seated Mádhú Ráo on a throne, and remained himself standing in front of him, after the manner of slaves. By fawning and coaxing,

he then removed every trace of annoyance from Mádhu Ráo's mind, and requested him to return to Puná. After dismissing him to that city, he himself went with his retinue and soldiery to Násik.

Haider Náik

After the lapse of some years of Mádhu Ráo's reign a vast disturbance arose in the Dakhin. Haider Náik having assembled some bold and ferocious troops * * with intent to subdue the territory of the Mahrattas, set out in the direction of Puná. Mádhu Ráo came out from Puná, and summoned Raghunáth Ráo to his assistance from Násik whereupon the latter joined him with a body of 20,000 of his cavalry. In short, they marched with their combined forces against the enemy; and on several occasions encounters took place in which the lives of vast multitudes were destroyed. Although Haider Náik's army proved themselves superior in the field, yet peace was ultimately concluded on the cession and surrender of some few tracts in the royal dominions; after which Haider Náik refrained from hostilities, and returned to his own territory whilst Mádhu Ráo retired to Puná, and Raghunáth Ráo to Násik.

Raghunáth Ráo's movements.

When a short time had elapsed after this, the idea of organizing the affairs of Hindustán entered into Raghunáth Ráo's mind. For the sake of preserving outward propriety therefore, he first gave intimation to Mádhu Ráo of his intention and asked his sanction. The Ráo in question, who did not feel himself secure from Raghunáth Ráo, and considered any increase to his power a source of greater weakness to himself, addressed him a reply couched in these terms. "It were better for you to remain where you are in the enjoyment of repose." * * Raghunáth Ráo would not listen to these words but marched out of Násik in company with Mahájí Sindhia, taking three powerful armies along with him.

As soon as he reached Gwáhor he commenced hostilities against Ráná Chattar Singh, who possessed all the country round Gohad, and laid siege to the town itself. Godh is the name of a city, founded by the aforesaid Ráná. It is fortified with earthen towers and battlements, and is situated eighteen *kos* from Gwáhor. Mádhú Ráo, during the continuance of the siege, kept constantly sending messages to Ráná Chattar Singh, telling him to persist in his opposition to Raghunáth with a stout heart, as the army of the Dakhni should not be despatched to his kingdom to reinforce the latter. In a word, for the period of a year they used the most arduous endeavours to capture Gohad, but failed in attaining their object. During this campaign the sum of thirty-two *lacs* of rupees, taken from the pay of the troops and the purses of the wealthy bankers, was incurred by Raghunáth Ráo as a debt to be duly repaid. He then returned to the Dakhni distressed and overwhelmed with shame, and entered the city of Násik, whither Mádhú Ráo also repaired about the same time, to see and inquire after his fortunes. In the course of the interview he expressed the deepest regret for the toils and disappointment that the Ráo had endured, and ultimately returned in haste to Púná, after thus sprinkling salt on the galling wound. Shortly after this, Kankuná Tántiá and his other friends persuaded Raghunáth Ráo to adopt a Brahmin's son * * Accordingly the Ráo attended to the advice of his foolish counsellors, and selected an individual for adoption. He constituted Amrat Ráo his heir.

Raghunáth Ráo's imprisonment at Púná

Mádhú Ráo no sooner became cognizant of this fact, than he felt certain that Raghunáth Ráo was meditating mischief and rebellion, and seeking to usurp a share in the sovereignty of the realm. He consequently set out for Násik with a force of 25,000 horsemen, whilst, on the other hand, Raghunáth Ráo also organized his troops, and got ready for warfare. Just about that

he then removed every trace of annoyance from Mádhu Ráo's mind, and requested him to return to Puná. After dismissing him to that city, he himself went with his retinue and soldiery to Násik.

Haider Náik.

After the lapse of some years of Mádhu Ráo's reign, a vast disturbance arose in the Dakhin. Haider Náik having assembled some bold and ferocious troops, * * with intent to subdue the territory of the Mahrattas set out in the direction of Puná. Mádhu Ráo came out from Puná, and summoned Raghunáth Ráo to his assistance from Násik whereupon the latter joined him with a body of 20 000 of his cavalry. In short, they marched with their combined forces against the enemy; and on several occasions encounters took place in which the lives of vast multitudes were destroyed. Although Haider Náik's army proved themselves superior in the field yet peace was ultimately concluded on the cession and surrender of some few tracts in the royal dominions; after which Haider Náik refrained from hostilities, and returned to his own territory whilst Mádhu Ráo retired to Puná, and Raghunáth Ráo to Násik.

Raghunáth Ráo's movements.

When a short time had elapsed after this, the idea of organizing the affairs of Hindustán entered into Raghunáth Ráo's mind. For the sake of preserving outward propriety therefore, he first gave intimation to Mádhu Ráo of his intention, and asked his sanction. The Ráo in question, who did not feel himself secure from Raghunáth Ráo, and considered any increase to his power a source of greater weakness to himself addressed him a reply couched in these terms. "It were better for you to remain where you are in the enjoyment of repose." * * Raghunáth Ráo would not listen to these words but marched out of Násik in company with Maháji Sindhua, taking three powerful armies along with him.

As soon as he reached Gwálor he commenced hostilities against Ráná Chattar Singh, who possessed all the country round Gohad, and laid siege to the town itself. Godli is the name of a city, founded by the aforesaid Ráná. It is fortified with earthen towers and battlements, and is situated eighteen kos from Gwálor. Mádhú Ráo, during the continuance of the siege, kept constantly sending messages to Ráná Chattar Singh, telling him to persist in his opposition to Raghunáth with a stout heart, as the army of the Dakhm should not be despatched to his kingdom to reinforce the latter. In a word, for the period of a year they used the most arduous endeavours to capture Gohad, but failed in attaining their object. During this campaign the sum of thirty-two lacs of rupees, taken from the pay of the troops and the prizes of the wealthy bankers, was incurred by Raghunáth Ráo as a debt to be duly repaid. He then returned to the Dakhm distressed and overwhelmed with shame, and entered the city of Násik, whither Mádhú Ráo also repaired about the same time, to see and inquire after his fortunes. In the course of the interview, he expressed the deepest regret for the toils and disappointment that the Ráo had endured, and ultimately returned in haste to Púná, after thus sprinkling salt on the galling wound. Shortly after this, Kankumá Tántiá and his other friends persuaded Raghunáth Ráo to adopt a Brahmin's son * * Accordingly the Ráo attended to the advice of his foolish counsellors, and selected an individual for adoption. He constituted Amrat Ráo his heir.

Raghunáth Rao's imprisonment at Púná

Mádhú Ráo no sooner became cognizant of this fact, than he felt certain that Raghunáth Ráo was meditating mischief and rebellion, and seeking to usurp a share in the sovereignty of the realm. He consequently set out for Násik with a force of 25,000 horsemen, whilst, on the other hand, Raghunáth Ráo also organized his troops, and got ready for warfare. Just about that

period, however, Kankuná Tántiá and Takují Holkar,¹ who were two of the most powerful and influential men in Raghunáth's army, declared to him that it was necessary for them to respect their former obligations to Mádhu Ráo and therefore improper to draw the sword upon him. After a long altercation, they left the Ráo where he was, and departed from Násik. Raghunáth from the paucity of his troops not deeming it advantageous to fight, proffered enduring disgrace, and fled with 2000 adherents to the fort of Dhúdhát.²

Mádhu Ráo then entered Násik, and commenced sequestrating his property and imprisoning his partisans after which he pitched his camp at the foot of the above-named fort, and placed Raghunáth in a most precarious position. For two or three days the incessant discharge of artillery and musketry caused the flames of war to blaze high but pacific negotiations were subsequently opened and a firm treaty of friendship entered into whereupon the said Ráo came down from the fort, and had an interview with Mádhu Ráo. The latter then placed his head upon the other's feet, and asked pardon for his offences. Next day having mounted Raghunáth Ráo on his own private elephant, he himself occupied the seat usually assigned to the attendants, and continued for several days travelling in this fashion the distance to Puná. As soon as they entered Puná, Mádhu Ráo imitating the behaviour of an inferior to a superior exceeded all bounds in his kind and consoling attentions towards Raghunáth Ráo. After that he selected a small quantity of goods and a moderate equipment of horses and elephants out of his own establishment, and having deposited them all together in one of the most lofty and spacious apartments, solicited Raghunáth Ráo in a respectful manner to take up his abode there. The latter then became aware of his being a prisoner with the semblance of freedom and reluctantly complied with Mádhu Ráo's requisition.

¹ [These names are very doubtful in the MS. The latter one is no doubt intended for Tákají.]

² [Dhocrup, a fort in the Chander range.—Grant Duff, vol. II. p. 199.]

Rája of Nágpúr.

As soon as Mádhú Ráo had delivered his mind from all apprehension regarding Raghunáth Ráo, he led his army in the direction of Nágpúr, in order to avenge himself on Janújí Bhonsla, the Rája of that place, who had been an ally and auxiliary of Raghunáth Ráo, in one of his engagements. The Rája in question, not finding himself capable of resisting him, fled from his original residence, so that for a period of three months Mádhú Ráo was actively engaged in pursuing his adversary, and that unfortunate outcast from his native land was constantly fleeing before him. Ultimately, having presented an offering of fifteen *lacs* of rupees, he drew back his foot from the path of flight, and set out in safety and security for his own home.

Mádhú Ráo's Death.

After chastising the Rája of Nágpúr, Mádhú Ráo entered Púná with immense pomp and splendour, and amused himself with gay and festive entertainments. But he was attacked with a fatal disease, and * * his life was in danger. On one occasion he laid his head on Raghunáth Ráo's feet, and * * asked forgiveness for the faults of bygone days. Raghunáth Ráo grieved deeply on account of his youth * *. He applied himself zealously to the cure of the invalid, and whenever he found a trace, in any quarter or direction, of austere Brahmins and skilful Pandits, he sent for them to administer medicines for his recovery. At length, when the sick man began to despair of living, he imitated the example of his deceased father, and placed his younger brother, whose name was Naráin Ráo, under the charge of Raghunáth Ráo, and having performed the duty of recommending him to his care, yielded up his soul in the year 1186 A H (1772 A D). The duration of his reign was twelve years.

Narain Rao, son of Balaji Rao

Narain Rao after being seated on the throne of sovereignty owing to his tender age, committed various acts that produced an ill feeling among his adherents both great and small, not Puná more especially in Raghunáth Rao on whom he inflicted unbecoming indignities. Although Mádhu Rao had not behaved towards his uncle with the respect due to such a relative, yet, beyond this much that he would not grant him permission to move away from Puná, he had treated him with no other incivility; but used always till the day of his death to show him the attention due from an inferior to a superior and supplied him with wealth and property far exceeding the limits of his wants. In short, Raghunáth Rao having begun to form plans for taking Narain Rao prisoner first disclosed his secret to Sakhá Rám Bápu who was Mádhu Rao's prime minister, and having seduced that artless courtier from his allegiance made him an accomplice in his treacherous designs. Secondly having induced Kharak Singh and Shamshor Singh the chiefs of the body of Gárdís, to join his conspiracy he raised the standard of insurrection. Accordingly those two faithless wretches one day under the pretence of demanding pay for the troops, made an assault on the door of Narain Rao's apartment, and reduced him to great distress. That helpless being who had not the slightest cognizance of the deceitful stratagems of the conspirators, despatched a few simple-minded adherents to oppose the insurgents, and then stealthily repaired to Raghunáth Rao's house. Kharak Singh and Shamshor Singh, being apprised of the circumstance, hurried after him and, unsheathing their swords, rushed into Raghunáth Rao's domicile. Raghunáth Rao first fell wounded in the affray and subsequently Narain Rao was slain. This event took place in the year 1187 A.H., so that the period of Narain Rao's reign was one year.

Reign of Raghunáth Ráo

Kharak Singh and Shamsheer Singh, through whose brains the fumes of arrogance had spread, in consequence of their control over the whole train of European artillery, with wilful and headstrong insolence seated Raghunáth Ráo on the throne of sovereignty, without the concurrence of the other chiefs, and the said Ráo continued to live for two months at Púná after the manner of rightful rulers. After Narám Ráo had been put to death, a certain degree of shame and remorse came over the Púná chiefs, and the dread of their own overthrow entered their minds. Sakhá Rám Bápú consequently, in unison with Trimbak Ráo, commonly called Mátamádhari Balhah,¹ and others, deemed it advisable to persuade Raghunáth Ráo that he should go forth from Púná, and employ himself in settling the kingdom. The said Ráo accordingly acted upon their suggestion, and marched out of Púná, attended by the Mahratta chiefs. As soon as he had got to the distance of two or three stages from the city, the wily chiefs, by alleging some excuse, obtained leave from Raghunáth Ráo to return, and repaired from the camp to the city. They then summoned to them in private all the commanders of the army, both great and small, when they came to the unanimous decision, that it was incompatible with justice to acquiesce in Raghunáth Ráo's being invested with the supreme authority, and that it would be better, as Narám Ráo's wife was six months advanced in pregnancy, providing she gave birth to a male child, to invest that infant with the sovereignty, and conduct the affairs of government agreeably to the details of prudence. As soon as they had unanimously settled the question after this fashion, a few of the chiefs took up a position in the outskirts of the city of Púná, by way of protection, and formed a sturdy barrier against the Magog of turbulence. Raghunáth Ráo, having become aware of the designs of the conspirators, remained with a slender party

¹ [Grant Duff calls him "Trimbuck Rao Mama." The word transcribed from the MS as "Balhah" is very doubtful.]

in his encampment. Having brooded over his troubles, he saw no remedy left but that of forsaking the country, and was consequently forced to retire towards the Carnatic. His object was to collect a sufficient force round him, with which he might return to Puná and resume hostilities. However, owing to the vulgar report that attributed Naráin Ráo's murder to him, every blade of grass that sprung from the ground was ready to plunge a dagger into his blood. For this reason, he found it impossible either to stay or reside in the Carnatic, so he hastened away to Surat.

Death of the pretender Bháo

The direct confusion had found its way into the kingdom in consequence of the report of Naráin Ráo's death. At that critical juncture the pretender Bháo, who was confined in a stronghold in the Kokan territory lying adjacent to the salt ocean, seized the opportunity of escaping by fraud and stratagem out of his prison and having induced a party of men to place themselves under his orders took possession of some of the forts and districts of that country. He was just on the point of waging open war had not Mahájí Sindhua Bahádúr set out in the interim from Puná to the Kokan territory for the purpose of coercing him. On reaching his destination he engaged in hostilities with the aforesaid Bháo, whereupon the latter's associates took to flight and departed each by his own road. As Bháo was thus left alone, he went on board a ship in utter consternation with a view to save his life from that vortex of perdition but death granted him no respite, and he fell alive into the hands of the heroes who accompanied Mahájí Sindhua Bahádúr. The latter brought him along with him to Puná, and removed the dust of uncertainty from the mirror of every mind. Ultimately he caused the ill-fated wretch to be bound to a camel's foot and paraded round the whole town; after which he put him to death.

Sawái Mádhú Ráo, son of Naráin Ráo, surnamed the Peshwá Sáhib

The Peshwá Sáhib, the rightful heir of Naráin Ráo, at the time of his father's murder, was dwelling in his mother's womb * * When she had completed the time of her pregnancy, a child, in the year 1188 A H. (1774 A D), shed a grace over the bosom of its nurse, and bestowed comfort on the illustrious chiefs. * * He was invested with the appellation of Sawái Mádhú Ráo.

Advance of the English Commanders upon Púná

Raghunáth Ráo, having reached Surat, turned towards the leaders of the English army, who dwelt on the borders of the sea, and offered to take upon himself the responsibility of showing the way over the various routes into the Dakhín, and to subjugate that kingdom so teeming with difficulties. As the commanders of the English army were possessed of adequate means for making an invasion, and had their heads inflamed with the intoxication of boldness and intrepidity, they took Raghunáth Ráo along with them, and moving away from Surat with their valiant troops experienced in war, and their lion-hearted forces active as tigers, they set out to conquer and annex the Dakhín territories

Having traversed the intervening stages at a resolute pace, they arrived at Núrglát, which is situated at a distance of twenty kos from Púná. The Mahratta chieftains also sallied forth from Púná with a vast body of retainers, and opposed their advance with the utmost perseverance at Núrglát, whereupon a tremendous contest and a frightful slaughter ensued, until the combatants on both sides had neither the power nor the inclination left to assail each other any more. At length, by the intervention of the obscurity of night, the tumult of war subsided, and the world-consuming fire of guns and matchlocks, whose flames arose to the highest heavens, hid its face in the ashes of night, so that the soldiery on either side were obliged

to retire to their respective quarters. During that night, the prudent belligerents made up their minds to a peace, and in the morning the chiefs of the rival forces obtained an interview and enjoyed a conference. The English leaders after negotiating a truce and consolidating the basis of friendship delivered up Raghunáth Ráo who had been the instigator of this conflict and the originator of this hostile movement to the Mahratta chiefs, on condition of their granting him a *jágir* and treating him with kindness and consideration. They then turned away from that quarter with all their troops and followers and repaired to their usual place of abode.

The Mahratta chiefs had formed the fixed determination in their minds of taking vengeance on the ill fated Raghunáth Ráo, but Mahájí Sindhia Bahádur prompted by his manly and generous feelings diverted them from their headlong and cruel purposes so that the matter was managed mercifully and kindly and the Ráo in question, having been presented with a *jágir* received permission to remain at large. The unfortunate wretch however departed from the pleasant vale of existence to the desert of non entity without reaching his destination, for the career of the wicked never ends well.

Mahájí Sindhia Bahádur

When the fourth year from the birth of Sawái Mádhú Ráo anrnamed the Peshwá Sáhib had elapsed and security and repose had settled on the minds of high and low throughout the territories of the Dakhin Mahájí Sindhia Bahádur who was distinguished among all the Puná chiefs for his gallantry and daring sagacity and intelligence having satisfied his mind as to the settlement of that kingdom set out to conquer Gohad. He succeeded in taking prisoner Ráná Chatter Singh, who was in the citadel, after a siege attended with hard fighting and took possession of the surrounding districts along with the fortress of Gwáhor which is a mountain stronghold.

About the same time, a mutual feeling of envy and hatred

had become firmly implanted in the minds of Mirzá Muhammad Shafi' Khán and Muhammad Beg Khán Hamadání,—who had been the chief officers of State to the late Amíru-l umará Mirzá Najaf Khán Bahádur, and after his death had been partners in the government of the province of Ágra,—owing to their each craving after an increase of power and dignity, which is ever a hindrance to the existence of friendship and good feeling among equals and contemporaries. At last, Muhammad Beg Khán Hamadání seized the opportunity, during an interview, of putting Muhammad Shafi' Khán to death, and on this account, Afrásiyáb Khán, who was the Imperial *Mu-á álish*, and one of Amíu-l umará Mirzá Najaf Khán Bahádur's *protégés*, becoming alarmed, demanded succour of Mahájí Sindhia Bahádur. The latter had firmly resolved in his mind on repairing to the sublime threshold, but had not yet fulfilled the duty of paying his respects, when, under the influence of Sindhia Bahádur's destiny, Afrásiyáb Khán was killed by the hand of an assassin.

Sindhia Bahádur's army having overshadowed the metropolis by its arrival, he brought Muhammad Beg Khán Hamadání, after a siege, completely under his subjection, and in the year 1199 A H traversed the streets of the metropolis. When he obtained the good fortune of saluting the threshold * * of His Majesty, the shadow of God, the Emperor Sháh 'Álam, * * he was loaded with princely favours, and distinguished by royal marks of regard, so that he became the chief of the supporters of government, and His Majesty's most staunch and influential adherent * *

As Mádhú Ráo, the Peshwá Sáhib, at the present auspicious period, pursues, in contradistinction to his uncle, the path of obedience to the monarch of Islám, and Mahájí Sindhia Bahádur is one of those who are constantly attached to the ever-triumphant train, hence it happens that the plant of this nation's prosperity has struck root firmly into the earth of good fortune, and their affairs flourish agreeably to their wishes.

CXXII

LUBBU S SIYAR

or

ABU TALIB LONDONI

This is a very useful little manual of general history compiled in 1208 A.H (1793-4 A.D.), by Mírzá Abu Muhammad Tabrízí Isfahání and being carried down to modern times, embraces an account of Europe and America.

The author is usually known in India as Abu Tálib Londoni from his voyage to and adventures in England and Europe, an amusing account of which was written by him on his return in 1803, and is well known to the European world by the translation of Major Stewart.

In the Preface to this work he tells us that he had collected several works of history and travel, and had often perused them but found amongst them none that contained a history of the whole world, he therefore thought that he would himself supply this deficiency but had no leisure to effect his object till the year above mentioned when he finished his Abstract. He declares his intention if he lives long enough of enlarging his work, and hopes that some one else if he fails to do it, will undertake this useful labour 'because he has mentioned all the occurrences of the world, old and new and given a connected account of the Prophets, Khalífs, Sultáns, and celebrated men from the beginning to the present time'

He quotes the various authorities he used, and besides others of common note, he mentions a history of the Kings of India compiled by himself, and a compendious account of the kingdoms of Europe and America, translated by some English gentleman from his own tongue which in truth contains very many new matters. This is no doubt the work of Jonathan Scott. He says that his own history is an abstract of some thousands of

books, and therefore he has entitled it *Lubbu-s Siyar wa Jahánumá*, “The Essence of Biographies, and the World-Reflecting Mirror.”

The author was the son of Hájí Muhammad Khán, a Turk of Ázaibáiján, who was born and bred in Isfahán, and was the first of the family who came to Hindústán, where he was enrolled amongst the followers of Nawáb Sadar Jang, the *wasír*. The father is called by another name in the Preface of this work, and in the *Miftáhu-t Tawárikh* he is styled Muhammad Beg Khán

Mírzá Abú Tálib was born at Lucknow, and was employed in posts of high emolument under Nawábs Shujá'u-d daula and Ásafu-d daula. In the time of the latter he lost his office, and came to seek his subsistence from the English. By them he was hospitably entertained, and induced to visit Europe in 1799. He died and was buried at Lucknow in the year 1220 A H (1805 A D.), as we learn from two chronograms composed by Mr Beale at the request of Mírzá Yúsuf Bákir, the deceased's son, which are given at p 564 of the *Miftáhu-t Tawárikh*.

Besides the *Lubbu-s Siyar*, he wrote several other treatises, a Biography of the Poets, ancient and modern, and “himself indulged in versification, especially on the subject of the females of England, who aspire to equality with the Angels of Paradise, and he was always expatiating on the heart-ravishing strains of the women of that country, who used to sing at the public assemblies”¹

CONTENTS

Preface, p 1—Book I On the Prophets, p. 2—II On the events of the Khalífate, in seven chapters—Chap i. The first four Khalífs, p 9—ii The Imáms, p 11—iii. The Ummayyides, p 12—iv The 'Abbásides and then branches, p. 15—v The Isma'ílans and their branches, p 17—vi The Saiyids, p. 19—vii. The Sharífs, p. 20—III Biographies, in seven chapters—Chap 1 The Philosophers of Greece, Europe, India and Persia, and the moderns, p 20—ii The companions of the Prophet, p

¹ *Zubdatu-l Ghardib*, 5th volume, v Tálib

30—iii The disciples, p 31—iv The religious teachers, p 32—v The learned men of Islām, p 34—vi The celebrated Poets p 37—vii Other celebrated men of Islām, p 38—IV On the Sultāns, in a Preface and eight Chapters—Preface on the climates imaginary and real, and the old and new world, p 39—Chap. i The Sultāns of Irān including the Ghaznīvides, Saljuks Ghorians, etc., p 45—ii The Sultāns of Arabia p 68—iii The Sultāns of Rum p 73—iv The Rulers of Egypt and Syria, p 76—v The Kings of the West, p 82—vi The Sultāns of Turkistān p 87—vii The Kings of Europe, p 101—viii The Rulers of Hindustān including the Hindú Rājas the Kings of Delhi of the Dakhn, Kashmīr and other independent kingdoms p 109

This work is common in India. The best copy I have seen is in the possession of *Razā-d dīn Sadra Sudur* of Aligarh

Size—Folio 131 pages each comprising 23 lines closely written

CCXIII

AUSAF I ASAF

A historical sketch of the royal family of Oadh, written A.D. 1795. It is a useful work, containing also an account of contemporary princes.

Size—Large 8vo, 114 pages

CCXIV

TARIKH

or

JUGAL KISHWAR

This is a general history of India, by Jugal Kishwar from the time of Humāyun to Shāh Alam. It is of no value, at least in the passages which I have examined. [Sir H M Elliot's library does not contain a copy of this work]

CXXV.

GULISTÁN-I RAHMAT

or

NAWÁB MUSTAJÁB KHÁN.

THIS is a history of the Rohilla Afgháns, and a life of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, written by his son Nawáb Mustajáb Khán Bahádur. The work has been abridged and translated by Mr. Charles Ellhott. I have seen several histories of the Rohillas, but know none superior to this except the *Gul-i Rahmat* noticed in the next article.

The translator observes in his Introduction, "In the original many trivial occurrences are noticed which I have altogether omitted, and the repeated encomiums lavished by the Nawáb upon the generosity and intrepidity of his lamented parent, though honourable to his feelings as a son, would be deemed extravagant by the majority of readers, and indeed would scarcely admit of translation. A residence of many years in Rohilkhand, where the memory of Háfiz Rahmat Khán is held in the highest veneration, may perhaps have led me to attach a greater degree of importance to the work than it merits, but as Háfiz acted a distinguished part on the theatre of India for thirty years, and was personally engaged in every great action fought during that time, his life may furnish some materials to aid in the compilation of a history of that period, and with this view, I have taken considerable pains to correct some chronological errors in the original."

"It is necessary to add that Mr Hamilton's History of the Rohillas will in some parts be found at variance with this narrative. That gentleman appears to have derived his information from the friends of the Nawáb of Oudh, who would not be disposed to speak favourably of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, and as that work was published about the time of Mr Hastings' trial, it might have been intended to frame an excuse for his permitting a British army to join on the attack in 1774 A.H."

OXXVI

GUL-I RAHMAT

or

SA ADAT YÂR KHÂN

THE *Gul-i Rahmat* was written by Nawâb Sa âdat Yâr Khân grandson of Hâfiz Rahmat and nephew of Mustajâh Khân. It is more copious than the *Gulistân-i Rahmat* though it professes to follow that work as its guide. It is divided into four parts I On the Genealogy of Hâfiz Rahmat—II On Ali Muhammad Khân, and the arrival of Hâfiz Rahmat in India.—III Hâfiz Rahmat Khân's administration of Katehr, and of the events which occurred there till the time of his death.—IV Administration of Katehr under Shujâ'u-d dawlâ. Descendants of Hâfiz Rahmat. This work was lithographed at Agra in 1838, in 221 small 8vo pages of 17 lines each.

[The following Extracts have been selected and translated by the Editor. They will show how far this work differs from the *Gulistân-i Rahmat*, as translated by Mr Elliott.]

EXTRACTS.

[When Zâbita Khân received intelligence of the passage (of the Ganges) by the Mahrattas and of the deaths of Sa âdat Khân Sâdik Khân, and Karam Khân the officers whom he had stationed to guard the ford, he was overpowered with astonishment, and fled in great bewilderment from Sakartâl. He crossed the Ganges with a small escort, and proceeded to the camp of Faizullah Khân, carrying with him the intelligence of the Mahratta attack upon Najibâbâd. Faizullah Khân said "I came here for the purpose of giving you advice, but as you will not listen to my words I shall now go back to my own country." On hearing this declaration Zâbita Khân was still more downcast, and returned to his own forces. When he

reached the Ganges, the good fortune of the Emperor plunged him into a sea of hesitation, and notwithstanding the number of his forces, and his powerful armament, he made no attempt to cross the river, but returned to Faizu-llah Khán.

When he arrived, he found Faizu-llah Khán seated on an elephant, about to depart. He mounted the same elephant, and proceeded with Faizu-llah to Rámpúr. On the news of his flight to Katehr reaching Sakaitál, his soldiers were dispirited. They plundered each other, and then scattered in all directions. On receiving intelligence of these movements, the Mahrattas quickly advanced to Sakaitál, and fell to plundering. * * The garrison of the fort of Najibábád, who had held out in the hope of relief, were dismayed when they heard of the flight of Zábíta Khán, and surrendered the fort to the royal forces. On taking possession of the fort, the people and family of Zábíta Khán, including his son Ghulám Kádu, were placed in confinement. All the *matériel*, the treasure and the artillery collected by Najibu-d daula, fell into their hands.

On the news of the advance of the Mahrattas towards Rámpúr reaching the chiefs of Katehr, all the inhabitants of Anwala and Bisaulí assembled. Fearing to be attacked by the Mahrattas, they fled in dismay to Bareilly. Some of them went to Pílibhít, intending to proceed to the hills. Háfiz Rahmat Khán¹ was returning from Farrukhábád to Tilhar when he heard of the defeat of Zábíta Khán. He hastened to Bareilly, where he cheered and encouraged the chiefs and officers who were there assembled, and tried to dissuade them from removing to the hills. He said that the Mahrattas had no intention of attacking Katehr, and that if they really did advance, negotiations might be opened with them and with the Emperor. If terms were agreed upon, all would be well, if not, they would fight. His auditors replied that there was no fortress of strength in Bareilly or Pílibhít. It was therefore desirable to carry off their families and property to the hills, for after these were placed in security, they themselves would be

¹ [He is generally entitled "Háfizu-l Mulk" in this work.]

ready either for business or for war. Háfiz Rahmat reluctantly consented to their wishes. After Shalkh Kabír had entered Bareilly, Háfiz Rahmat took his departure, and leaving Ináyut Khán in Píshhít, he proceeded to Nánuk math, in the skirt of the hills. From thence he went with his followers and chiefs and soldiers to Gangápur five *kos* distant in the hills, and surrounded with dense jungle which secures it from the attacks of horsemen. There he remained. Thero also arrived Zubita Khán, in company with Faizu Hali Khán, who made their way through the jungle. Zábita Khán remained at Gangápur four days. He then found that Shujá u-d daula was encamped at Sháhábád, having advanced to the borders of his territories on hearing of the Mahratta attack upon Kotehr.

Zábita Khán went off in great distress from Gangápur to see Shujá u-d daula, and to solicit his assistance in obtaining the release of his family. After talking over the matter Shujá u-d daula postponed any action until after the arrival of Háfiz Rahmat. Zábita Khán wrote repeatedly to Háfiz Rahmat, begging him to come quickly. * * The chiefs of Kotehr suffered much from the inclemency of the climate of Gangápur and yielding to their solicitations Háfiz Rahmat proceeded quickly to Sháhábád at the beginning of the year 1180 A H (1772 A.D.) with three or four thousand men horse and foot. When he approached Shujá u-d daula and the General Sálub went forth to meet him and pay him due respect.

After they had sat down together they talked about the release of Zábita Khán's family and of the settlement of his affairs with the Mahrattas. After much debate, Shujá u-d daula and the General Sálub sent their *wakils* with some officers of Háfiz Rahmat to the Mahratta *sardárs*. A great deal was said at the interview but at length the Mahrattas sent a message to the effect that they had expended fifty *lacs* of rupees, and that they would not give up the family of Zábita Khán until this sum of money was paid, nor would they loosen their hold upon his territory or the country of Kotehr. The *wakils* had several

meetings, and the Mahrattas at length agreed to take forty *lacs*, but they demanded as security for payment a deed under the seal of Shujá'u-d daula. The Nawáb said that he had entered upon the matter entirely out of regard to Háfiz Rahmat, and that if Háfiz would give a bond for the payment of the money, he would send his own bond to the Mahratta *sardárs*. All the chiefs of Katchr who were present at the Council besought Háfiz Rahmat that he would without hesitation give his bond to Shujá'u-d daula, to secure peace for Zábíta Khán, and said that they would all assist in the payment of the money. So Háfiz Rahmat, to befriend Zábíta Khán, and to gratify the chiefs of Katchr, gave his bond for forty *lacs* of rupees to Shujá'u-d daula. The latter then executed his bond, and sent it to the Mahrattas. In this he undertook to pay them forty *lacs* of rupees, when they had retired over the Jumna and entered Sháh-Jahánábád, and when they had sent back the family of Zábíta Khán, and had withdrawn their hands from the country of Katchr.

On receipt of this document, the Mahrattas sent the family of Zábíta Khán to Shujá'u-d daula and Háfiz Rahmat, they then crossed the Ganges and proceeded towards Sháli-Jahánábád * *. When Háfiz Rahmat heard that Zábíta Khán's family had reached Bareilly, he took leave of Shujá'u-d daula and General Parker, and went to Pílibhít * *. After some days, Háfiz Rahmat called upon the chiefs of Katchr for the money he had become responsible for at their solicitation, and for which he had given his bond to Shujá'u-d daula. They all began to lament their destitute condition, and made all sorts of excuses and evasions. Unable to do what he wished, Háfiz Rahmat did what he could, and sent the sum of five *lacs* out of his own treasury to Shujá'u-d daula * *.

The *wakíls* of Mahájí Sindhia and Takú Holkar, chiefs of the Mahrattas, waited upon Háfiz Rahmat, and informed him that their chiefs were about to attack the territories of Shujá'u-d daula, and that if he would join them, he should receive half of whatever territory should be conquered. If he declined to join

ready either for business or for war. Háfiz Rahmat reluctantly consented to their wishes. After Shaikh Kurbán had entered Bareilly Háfiz Rahmat took his departure, and leaving 'Isáyat Khán in Pilibhit, he proceeded to Nának mnt, in the skirt of the hills. From thence he went with his followers and chiefs and soldiers to Gangápur five kos distant in the hills, and surrounded with dense junglo, which secures it from the attacks of horsemen. There he remained. There also arrived Zabita Khán, in company with Faizu llah Khán, who made their way through the jungle. Zabita Khán remained at Gangápur four days. He then found that Shujá u-d daula was encamped at Sháhábád having advanced to the borders of his territories on hearing of the Mahratta attack upon Katchr.

Zabita Khán went off in great distress from Gangápur to see Shujá u-d daula, and to solicit his assistance in obtaining the release of his family. After talking over the matter Shujá u-d daula postponed any action until after the arrival of Háfiz Rahmat. Zabita Khán wrote repeatedly to Háfiz Rahmat, begging him to come quickly. * * The chiefs of Katchr suffered much from the inclemency of the climate of Gangápur and yielding to their solicitations, Háfiz Rahmat proceeded quickly to Sháhábád at the beginning of the year 1186 A H (1772 A.D.) with three or four thousand men horse and foot. When he approached Shujá u-d daula and the General Sálub went forth to meet him and pay him due respect.

After they had sat down together they talked about the release of Zabita Khán's family and of the settlement of his affairs with the Mahrattas. After much debate, Shujá u-d daula and the General Sálub sent their *wakils* with some officers of Háfiz Rahmat to the Mahratta *sardárs*. A great deal was said at the interview but at length the Mahrattas sent a message to the effect that they had expended fifty lacs of rupees, and that they would not give up the family of Zabita Khán until this sum of money was paid, nor would they loosen their hold upon his territory or the country of Katchr. The *wakils* had several

meetings, and the Mahrattas at length agreed to take forty *lacs*, but they demanded as security for payment a deed under the seal of Shujá'u-d daula. The Nawáb said that he had entered upon the matter entirely out of regard to Háfiz Rahmat, and that if Háfiz would give a bond for the payment of the money, he would send his own bond to the Mahratta *sardars*. All the chiefs of Katchr who were present at the Council besought Háfiz Rahmat that he would without hesitation give his bond to Shujá'u-d daula, to secure peace for Zábíta Khán, and said that they would all assist in the payment of the money. So Háfiz Rahmat, to befriend Zábíta Khán, and to gratify the chiefs of Katchr, gave his bond for forty *lacs* of rupees to Shujá'u-d daula. The latter then executed his bond, and sent it to the Mahrattas. In this he undertook to pay them forty *lacs* of rupees, when they had retired over the Jumna and entered Sháh-Jahánábád, and when they had sent back the family of Zábíta Khán, and had withdrawn their hands from the country of Katchr.

On receipt of this document, the Mahrattas sent the family of Zábíta Khán to Shujá'u-d daula and Háfiz Rahmat, they then crossed the Ganges and proceeded towards Sháh-Jahánábád. * * When Háfiz Rahmat heard that Zábíta Khán's family had reached Bareilly, he took leave of Shujá'u-d daula and General Parke, and went to Pílibhít * * After some days, Háfiz Rahmat called upon the chiefs of Katchr for the money he had become responsible for at their solicitation, and for which he had given his bond to Shujá'u-d daula. They all began to lament their destitute condition, and made all sorts of excuses and evasions. Unable to do what he wished, Háfiz Rahmat did what he could, and sent the sum of five *lacs* out of his own treasury to Shujá'u-d daula * *

The *wahís* of Mahájí Sindhia and Takú Holkar, chiefs of the Mahrattas, waited upon Háfiz Rahmat, and informed him that their chiefs were about to attack the territories of Shujá'u-d daula, and that if he would join them, he should receive half of whatever territory should be conquered. If he declined to join

them, they would respect his country, and return to him Shujá u-d daula's bond for the forty *lacs* of rupees, no part of which had been paid and give up all claim on that account, provided he would allow them a passage, and would make no opposition to their crossing the Ganges. In reply to these proposals Háfiz Rahmat requested time for consideration. Keeping the Mahratta *wakils* with him he sent to inform Shujá u-d daula of what the Mahrattas proposed, adding that they undertook to forgo all claim upon himself for the forty *lacs* of rupees on condition of his remaining neutral. He added ' If you will send me back my sealed bond and will hasten to oppose the Mahrattas I will dismiss the Mahratta *wakils*, and will guard the fords of the Ganges. United, we will beat the Mahrattas, and drive them from this country. Upon receipt of this letter Shujá u-d daula immediately wrote a reply (*expressing his gratification*) adding that he sent Saiyid Sháh Madan as his representative, and that he would not deviate a hair's breadth from any agreement the Saiyid should make * * After his arrival the Saiyid promised Háfiz Rahmat that the bond should be returned to him after the repulse of the Mahrattas when he and Shujá u-d daula would soon meet. The Nawáb entreated Háfiz Rahmat to banish all suspicion, for there was no cause of dissension between them * *

Háfiz Rahmat sent back the *wakils* with a proper answer to Shujá u-d daula. On the same day he sent Ahmad Khán son of the *Bakshi* in all haste from Anwala to secure the ford of Rám-ghát. A few days afterwards, hearing of the approach of the Mahrattas he marched from Bareilly by way of Anwala to Bisauli. From that place he sent back the *wakils* of the Mahrattas rejecting their proposals. He then proceeded with his small force to Rám ghát. When the Mahratta *wakils* returned, they informed their chiefs of the little support given to Háfiz Rahmat, and of the smallness of his force. Háfiz Rahmat advanced to the distance of three *kos* from Asadpur where Ahmad Khán was encamped, and in consequence of the celerity

of his march his whole force had not come up. he had with him only four or five thousand men, horse and foot. The Mahrattas had received information through their spies of the limited number of his men, and resolved to attack him. They crossed the river during the night, and pressed onwards, but during the darkness they lost their way, and came upon Ahmad Khán's force, which they attacked. The pickets which Ahmad Khán had thrown out were watchful, and upon their reports the men were posted in the buildings and gardens of Asadpúr. The fight raged hotly all day from morn till eve, and notwithstanding the immense numbers of the Mahrattas, they were unable to prevail over the small body of Afgháns. After many men had been slain on both sides, Ahmad Khán, considering the immense force arrayed against him, sent a message to Taká Holkar and Sindhua, proposing an interview. They were only too glad to accede. Ahmad Khán went with a few followers to meet them. The Mahratta *sardars* kept him with them, and pitched their camp there.

The intelligence reached Háfiz Rahmat, while he was encamped near Asadpúr, that 60,000 Mahrattas had crossed the river, and had attacked Ahmad Khán. He instantly drew out his forces, and was about to march for the relief of Ahmad Khán, but just then the news came that the Khán had gone to see the Mahratta chiefs. Háfiz Rahmat's chiefs and officers now urged upon him that it was inexpedient with his small force to wage war against the Mahratta hosts. * * Muhibbu-llah Khán joined him with two or three thousand men, and Mustakín Khán also arrived with four or five thousand more, some others also came in, so that he now mustered ten or twelve thousand men. In the morning Háfiz Rahmat gave orders for the mustering of his forces to attack the Mahrattas, and all were in readiness, awaiting further orders when messengers arrived from Shujá'u-d daula, announcing that his army was close at hand. As soon as he heard this, Háfiz Rahmat marched to attack the Mahrattas. At the same time the advanced forces of Shujá'u-d daula, General Chámkín

(Champion) and Mahbúb 'Alí Khán oonuch, came up at the critical moment, and opened fire with their guns upon the Mah rattas.

The forces of the Mahrattas were in two divisions Msháji Sindhia opposed Shujá n-d daula, and Taku Holkar attacked Háfiz Rahmat. Both bodies of Mahrattas fought well and bravely, but the heavy fire of the English artillery and the flashing swords of the Afgháns made them recede, and they took to flight. Msháji Sindhia passed over the Ganges by a bridge of boats, and halted on the other side. Taku Holkar was too hard pressed by the Afgháns to be able to cross so he fled on the same side of the river towards Sambhal. General Chámkin (Champion) and Mahhub 'Alí Khán crossed the river in their boats and attacked Sindhia, when he precipitately abandoned his baggage and camp and took to flight, never stopping till he had covered five kos. The General seized upon his camp, took everything he found, and pitched his own camp upon the spot.

Háfiz Rahmat pursued Holkar for some distance but the Mahrattas were mounted on swift horses and traversed a long distance in the night. Háfiz Rahmat stopped near the battle-field to rest his men. Holkar went nearly to Sambhal, and he sent forward his advanced forces to plunder that place, and Murádáhád and Rámpúr * * Háfiz Rahmat followed with all his force and when Holkar heard of his near approach, he gave up his design upon Rámpur and fled in great disorder from Sambhal towards the ford of Phaphá. He reached the Ganges, and having crossed it with great exertion by swimming, he united his force with that of Sindhia. When Háfiz Rahmat heard of his having crossed and effected a junction with Sindhia, he proceeded towards Phaphá, and encamped upon the bank of the river. Afterwards he marched to join Shujá n-d daula, who was encamped twelve kos off in face of Sindhia, to consult with him about the release of Ahmad Khán. After much parley Sindhia agreed to release his prisoner for a ransom of two *lacs* of rupees and on payment of the money Ahmad Khán obtained his liberty.

Sindhia then marched off towards Dehli; Háfiz Rahmat and Shujá'u-d daula, by way of precaution, remained some days at the same place, and the two had frequent interviews

Háfiz Rahmat sent Muhammad Khán and 'Abdu-llah Khán * * to require from Shujá'u-d daula the return of the bond for forty *laes*, in accordance with the verbal promise made by Sháh Madan, his *wakil*. Shujá'u-d daula denied that he had ever made any promise to return it, and that Sháh Madan could never have made such an offer. Háfiz Rahmat's friends urged that Shujá'u-d daula had written a letter promising to faithfully adhere to the verbal arrangements made by Sháh Madan. They then required that Sháh Madan should be brought forward, that he might be questioned upon the point. Shujá'u-d daula sent for him, and after trying to bias him, asked what it was that he had said to Háfiz Rahmat about the bond. Sháh Madan was one of the honourable Sayids of Sháhábád, and deeming a lie to be derogatory to his honour, he spoke the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, saying, "In accordance with the directions of His Highness, I made a promise for the restoration of the bond." Shujá'u-d daula got into a rage, and said it was all a lie and a conspiracy, for he had never uttered a word of such a promise. Sháh Madan three or four times affirmed the truth of his statement, and then held his peace. Khán Muhammad, seeing no hope of obtaining the bond, uttered some sharp words, at which Shujá'u-d daula also waxed warm, and went into his private apartments in a rage * * Háfiz Rahmat did not deem it advisable to press further for the restoration of the bond at that time, and, concealing his annoyance, he said no more about it. Shujá'u-d daula was very much vexed with Háfiz Rahmat. He remained several days at the same place, and busied himself in winning over Háfiz Rahmat's officers and soldiers * *

At the end of the year 1187 A H (1773 A D.), Shujá'u-d daula busied himself in winning over to his side, by various inducements, the people of Katehr, both small and great. * * Having gained several chiefs and officers of that country, he felt

full confidence, and marched to effect first the conquest of Etáwa. The Mahratta detachments which had been left there when their armies returned to the Dakhín were too small in numbers to offer any resistance, and retreated before him. He soon made himself master of Etáwa and prepared to settle its administration. But Háfiz Rahmat wrote to him protesting against this, and saying that the country of Etáwa had been conferred upon him after the battle of Páuípat, by Ahmad Sháh Durrání as the Nawáb knew full well. That after the end of the war, he had obtained possession of a large portion of the country and although circumstances had made it necessary for him to allow the land to pass into the hands of the Mahrattas, he was about to take measures for recovering it. * * Shujá u-d daula wrote in answer that he had not taken the country from Háfiz Rahmat, but from the Mahrattas, so there was no cause of complaint. * * Háfiz Rahmat repeatedly urged the restoration of Etáwa but Shujá n-d daula, having secured the support of the chiefs of Kátehr was desirous of bringing the question to the test of war. So he wrote to Háfiz Rahmat demanding speedy payment of the thirty five *lacs* of rupees, which were due out of the forty thousand for which he (Shujá n-d daula) had given his bond to the Mahrattas. After this had been settled, the question of Etáwa might be gone into. After this, Shujá u-d daula called together his forces, and prepared to march into Kátehr.

Háfiz Rahmat, seeing that Shujá u d daula was intent upon war wrote in reply "The money which the Mahrattas received from you has already been repaid to demand more from me than the Mahrattas have either received or asked, and to make it the excuse for strife and warfare is unworthy of your high position. If, in spite of everything you are resolved upon war I am ready for you." On receipt of this letter the Nawáb drew together his forces, and prepared to pass the Ganges by way of Koriyá ganj. Háfiz Rahmat also ordered his camp to be pitched outside of the town on the Anwala side.

General Champion, who was with Shujá n d daula, wrote to

Háfiz Rahmat, promising that, if he would pay the money, or would promise to pay it in two or three months he (the General) would, by his own influence, effect a peace, and cause Shujá'u-d daula to return to his own country. Pahár Singh, *durán* of Katehr, [*urged Háfiz Rahmat to assent to the General's advice*] But death had deprived him of all his friends and supporters, such as * *. and especially of 'Ináyat Khán, his son, he had therefore withdrawn his heart from the world, and was desirous of martyrdom. He said that he had not got the money, or he would send it; and that to ask others for it, to seize it by force or to be under any obligation to Shujá'u-d daula for it, he considered so disgraceful, that he would leave the matter to the arbitrament of God, and would welcome martyrdom. * *. He sent an answer to the General to the above effect. Then he issued a general order in these words, "Let those who think fit accompany me, and let those who are unwilling depart. Each man may do as he likes. I have many enemies and few friends, but this I heed not."

On the 11th Muharram, 1188 A. H. (24th March, 1774 A. D.), Háfiz Rahmat marched out of Bareilly with a moderate force, and went towards Ánwala * *. The alarm of war having spread, numbers of Afgháns from Man and Farrukhábád, and the inhabitants of Katehr, both subjects and strangers, obeying the instinct of clanship, gathered round Háfiz Rahmat. *Zamindars* of the *Ráppút* tribe, who had lived in peace under his rule, came in troops to support him without summons, so that his army increased in numbers every day * *. Háfiz Rahmat marched from Tánda, and crossing the Rám-gangá at the ford of Kiyáia, he entered Farídpúr, seven *kos* to the east of Bareilly. Shujá'u-d daula advanced by successive marches to Sháh-Jahánpúr * *. From thence he went on to Tilhar, where he rested and prepared for action. Háfiz Rahmat then marched from Farídpúr, and crossing the river Bhagal, encamped in the groves around Karra. There was then a distance of not more than seven or eight *kos* between the two armies. * *

Two or three days after Shujá u-d danla, acting on the advice of General Champion, who was the most accomplished General of the time, made a march towards Pilibhit, and halted at the village of Musali, where there was a wide open plain. Reports of an intended attack on Pilibhit spread through both armies. Háfiz Rahmat thereupon left Karra, for the purpose of protecting Pilibhit, and encamped in face of the enemy in the open plain. * * General Champion cheered the drooping heart of Shujá u-d danla, and taking the command of the advanced force, he selected the positions for the guns, and made the necessary arrangements for the battle. * *

On the 11th Safar Shujá u-d danla advanced with an army numbering 115 000 horse and foot. * * Háfiz Rahmat went to the tent of Farzu llah Khán and said, "My end is near at hand. So long as I remain alive do not turn away from the field but when I fall, beware, do not press the battle, but leave the field directly and flee with my children and dependents to the hills. This is the best course for you to take, and if you act upon my advice, it will be the better for you." After giving these directions, he mounted his horse and marched against the enemy with ten thousand horse and foot. He had proceeded only a short distance, when the advanced force of the enemy came in sight, and fire was opened from cannons and muskets. * * Ahmad Khán son of the *Bakshi* who had made a secret agreement with Shujá u-d danla, now fell back, and set the example of flight, which many others followed. * * Háfiz Rahmat had only about fifty supporters left when he drew near to the Telungas and English. He was recognized by his umbrella, of which spies had given a description, and a cannon was levelled against him. He advanced in front of all his companions, using his utmost efforts. The cannon balls fell all around, and * * at length one struck him on the breast. He was lifted off his horse, and after taking a sip or two of water he drank the cup of martyrdom.

CXXVII.

SAHÍHU-L AKHBÁR

OF

SARÚP CHAND.

THIS is a general history of India, compiled in 1209 A H. (1794-5 A D), by Sarúp Chand Khatri. Although written by a Hindú, the work opens as if composed by a devout Musulmán, with praise to God, the Prophet Muhammad, and all his family and companions. The author gives the following explanation of his reasons for undertaking the task, from which it will be seen how history was made subservient to the controversies which raged among our officials at that time

“It is owing to the curiosity and perseverance of the English that the tree of knowledge is planted anew in this country, and it is also to the inquisitive spirit of that people, and particularly to the zeal and liberality of Sir John Shore, Governor-General of India, that I, an old servant of the State, am favoured with the honour of compiling a work on the History of the Hindús, together with an explanation of the names of days, months, years and eras, the reigns of the Kings of Dehlí, with an explanation of the words *rāja*, *samindár*, *chaudharí*, *ta'allúkdár*, *hawáldár*, and the mode of administration, both ancient and modern, together with the names of the *súbadárs* of Bengal and the revenue and political affairs of the province”

His definition of these revenue terms is fair and impartial, as will be seen from the extract given below. The author enters upon the question of the frauds practised upon our Government after the first acquisition of Bengal, and if his authority could have had any weight amongst Indian statesmen of his time, we should have been spared the introduction of the Permanent

Settlement into Bengal, the most precipitate and suicidal measure recorded in the annals of legislation

The author quotes several authorities for his historical narrative, and amongst them some which are not procurable in these days, as the history of Mahmud Sahuktigin by Unsuri the histories of Sultan Bahlol and Sher Shah both by Husain Khan Afghani, *Tārīkh : Firoz Shāhi* by Maulānā 'Izz d dīn Khālid khāni, *Tārīkh : F'ry*, by Khwāja Nizām d dīn Ahmad *Tārīkh : Akbar Shāhi* by Mirzā Atā Beg Kazwini, *Tuhfat : Akbar Shāhi*, by Shaikh Abbās bin Shaikh Ali Shirwāni the history of Sadr : Jahan Gujarāti; the history of Hājī Muhammad Kandahāri, and the history of Munawwar Khān. I think it not improbable that the author never saw one of these works here quoted and that he mentions most of them at second hand on the authority of the *Khulāsatu t Tawārīkh* which, as usual in such cases, is itself not mentioned. The *Sahih t Akhbār* carries the history down to the author's own period but I have kept no record of its divisions contenting myself with taking a few extracts while the manuscript was in my possession.

The only copy I have seen of this work was in the possession of Mr Conolly, a clerk in the Office of the Board of Revenue at Agra, and since his death, notwithstanding all my inquiries, I have not been able to procure it again.

EXTRACT

Persons appointed by a Rāja as *tahsil-dars*, or revenue collectors of two or three *parganas* were called *chaudharis*. The superior class of *byoparis*, or tradesmen were called *mahdjans* or *banydras*; and among the *sarrāfs*, or bankers those who were wealthier than the generality of their profession were entitled *adhs*, and those who were wealthiest were called *seths*. The heads of all classes of trades and professions were termed *chaudharis*.

From the time of the establishment of the Emperors power in India, those persons who paid revenue to the Government were called *samindars*. According to some writers those who were held responsible to Government for the revenue of several villages

or a *parwana* were called *zammadás*, which word afterwards was corrupted into *zamindar*. However, in the time of the Emperor Akbar, all old *malquzars* were put down in the Government records as *zamindars* or *ta'allukdars*.

The office of *chaulhari* was at the disposal of the governors, and any person on whom it was conferred by them was designated a *chaulhari*. No person had a hereditary right to this office.

The term *ta'allukdar* is peculiar to Bengal, and is not known elsewhere. In the time of the Emperors, any person who had been from of old a proprietor of several *parwanas* was designated a *zamindár*, and the proprietors of one or two villages were written down in the records as *ta'allukdars*. When a *parwana* first began to be brought under cultivation and inhabited, those, who by their own labour cut down the forest in a tract of land, and populated it, were distinguished by the title of *ta'allukdar jangal buri*; and formerly, amongst the higher class of *rayats*, those who paid to the Government a revenue of 500 rupees, or beyond it up to 1000 rupees, or those who, like *patwáris*, collected the revenue of one or two villages, or two or four small encuts, were considered by the Government as holding the office of a revenue collector and were termed *ta'allukdars*. During the reigns of the former Emperors nothing like a durable settlement of land revenue was made for a period of 370 years, because in those days their rule was not firmly established in the country.

In the time of Akbar, all the districts, large and small, were easily occupied and measured. The land was methodically divided, and the revenue of each portion paid. Each division, whether large or small, was called a *ta'alluka*, and its proprietor a *ta'allukdar*. If in one *parwana* the names of several persons were entered in the Government record as *ta'allukdars*, they were called *taksimi ta'allukdars*, or *mazhúri ta'allukdars*. From the time of Farrukh Siyar, affairs were mismanaged in all the provinces, and no control was maintained over the Government officials, or the *zamindars*. All classes of Government officers were addicted to extortion and corruption, and the whole former system of regularity and order was subverted.

CXXVIII

TĀRĪKH I MUZAFFARĪ

OF

MUHAMMAD ALI KHĀN

THIS is one of the most accurate General Histories of India which I know. It commences with the Muhammadan Emperors of India, but does not treat of them at any length till it reaches the reign of Akbar. The History of the later Empire is particularly full and would be worth translating had it not been anticipated by the *Siyar ul Muta akkhirin*. The author was Muhammad Ali Khān Ansārī son of Hidāyatn Nāh Khān, son of Shamsu d daula Lutfā Nāh Khān, who enjoyed high offices under Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shāh. The author was himself *ddrogha* of the *Faujdārī Adālat* of Tirhut and Hājipur. He appears to have held much communication with the European officers of his time. The work was composed about 1800 A.D. and the history is brought down to the death of Āsafu-d daula in 1797. [This work is the principal authority relied upon by Mr Keene in his recent work, *The Fall of the Moghul Empire* and he states that the name of the book is derived from the title "Muzaffar Jang," borne by Nawāh Muhammad Rizā Khān, so famous in the history of Bengal." Some of the authors descendants are still living at Pānīpat"]

[The following Extracts have been translated by the Editor from a poor copy apparently made expressly for Sir H. M. Elliot. Size 9 in by 6 containing 1005 pages of 15 lines each. The original copy from which it was taken is described as Folio, 246 pages of 24 lines each.]

EXTRACTS.

Revenues of Muhammad Sháh.

[(*The account tallies exactly with that given in p 164, Vol VII. excepting only the following item, and that the word pargana is substituted for mahál throughout*) Subá of Thatta, 4 *sarkárs*, 57 *parganas*, 74,976,900 *dams*

Murder of Nawáb Bahádur the Eunuch Jáwed.

The great advancement of the eunuch Jáwed, and the power he had acquired in the government of the State, gave great offence to Wazíru-l Mamálik Abú-l Mansúr Khán Safdar Jang, and led him to form a plot against the Nawáb. He first called to his side Súraj Mal Ját with his army, and then sent re-assuring and soothing messages to the Nawáb Bahádur. Having thus thrown him off his guard, Safdar Jang invited him to a banquet. Safdar Jang placed a number of his trusty men on the watch in the palace of Dárá Shukoh, and having posted two hundred men inside and outside the palace, he sat down in great state to await the arrival of his guest * * When the Nawáb arrived, Safdar Jang advanced to receive him with ceremony and (apparent) cordiality. After the meal was over, he gave his hand to his guest, and conducted him into a private room to talk over State affairs. They had not said much before Safdar Jang assumed a tone of asperity; but before he became heated, he moved to go into his private apartments. Thereupon, 'Alí Beg Khán and some other Mughal officers came out, despatched the Nawáb with their daggers and swords, and having cut off his head, threw it outside.¹ The Nawáb's attendants, on beholding this, took the alarm and fled, and the idlers and vagabonds of the city fell upon his equipage and plundered it.

Death of Gházíu-d dín A'saf Jáh Nízámí-l Mulk

In the month of Sha'bán, Amíru-l umará Gházíu-d dín Khán left his son, Shahábu-d dín Muhammad Khán, as his deputy in

¹ [See *supra*, p 133]

the office of *Mir Bakshih*, and proceeded towards the Dakhin taking with him Malhár Ráo on the promise of paying him money upon his arrival at home. He reached Aurangábád at the end of Zí l káda. When intelligence of his arrival reached Haidnrábád Salábat Jang third son of (the late) Asaf Jáhi, marched out with a great force to oppose his elder brother Malhár Ráo being informed of these designs, and seeing that war between the two brothers was imminent, took the opportunity of asking for Khándesh and Khánpur which were old dependencies of Aurangábád. He foresaw that the struggle with Salábat Jang would be severe and he deemed it prudent to refrain from taking any part in it because the officials of the Dakhin were in favour of the succession of Salábat Jang. No fighting had taken place between the rivals when *Amiru-l umará* (Gházíu d dín) died. His adherents among whom was Muhammad Ibráhím Khán, uncle of the author of this work, carried his coffin to Dohli. They also carried with them his money and valuables exceeding a *kror* of rupees in amount, and delivered them over to his son Shahábu d dín Muhammad Khán. This young man, whenever his late father was absent, had deemed it best for his interests to be constant in his attentions to Safdar Jang and by this conduct he had gained the favour of that minister who showed him great kindness. When the intelligence of his father's death arrived, he communicated the fact to Safdar Jang before it was generally known, and from that day the minister called him his adopted son. By the minister's influence, he was appointed *Mir Bakshih*, and received the title of *Amiru-l umará Gházíu-d dín Khán 'Imádu-l Mulk* * *

After the murder of Nawáb Bahádur the Emperor (Ahmad Sháh) felt great aversion for Safdar Jang and extended his favour to Intizámu-d danla,¹ who in consequence of the regulations established by Safdar Jang inside and outside of the palace, had ceased for some time to go to the *darbár*. One day the Emperor observed that Safdar Jang held the great offices of

¹ [Son of the late Kamru-d dín.]

dincân-i kull and *razar*, and that the post of superintendent of the *ghusl-khana*, and of the royal arsenal, with other less offices, might be left for others. From that day great apprehension filled the mind of Safdar Jang, and he set himself either to win over Intizâmu-d daula or to remove him out of the way.¹

Ya'kûb Khân, son of that Haidar Khân who assassinated the *Amir-i umara* Husam 'Alî Khân, went to the *darbar* one day, and after making his obeisance and sitting a short time, he rose quickly and asked leave to go home. Intizâmu-d daula was surprised, and said, "I am going to-day to pay a visit to the *razar*, but what reason is that for your asking to go away?" He replied, "There are some thousands of men armed with swords and daggers waiting there for your honour, and as soon as ever you sit down, you will be served in the same way as the Nawâb Bahâdur was. Beware, and do not go there until affairs of State are settled." The caution was not lost upon Intizâmu-d daula, and he sent an excuse to the *razar*. Communications about this went on for two or three days, * * and 'Inâdu-l Mulk was also sent to re-assure and conciliate Intizâmu-d daula * *

(In the course of these negotiations) Safdar Jang sent a eunuch to the royal fortress with a letter, * * and the commandant, who was a creature of Safdar Jang's, contrary to usage, admitted him without the royal permission * *. On this being reported to the Emperor, he was highly incensed, and ordered the commandant and the eunuch to be turned out * *. All the servants and dependents of Safdar Jang were turned out of the fortress, not one was left. * *. These things greatly troubled Safdar Jang, and for two or three days there was a talk of his attacking the house of Intizâmu-d daula. Large numbers of men were assembled before his gates from morning until night, and a great force of Mughals and others collected at the house of Intizâmu-d daula, while many nobles gathered together at the royal abode.

¹ [Something seems to be left out between this and what follows—there are only a few words in the MS. saying "armed men were present in readiness"]

Safdar Jang seeing that his fortune had changed, sent to ask for permission to retire to his province of Oudh. The Emperor instantly sent him a letter under his own signature granting him permission to retire some days for the benefit of his health, and to return when better. He had not expected this letter and was greatly annoyed, but next day he took his departure and marched away by the bank of the river. * * For two or three days after leaving the city he waited in expectation of a royal summons, and sometimes moved in one direction, sometimes in another. Inside the city Intizám-ud-daula and Gházín-ud-dín Khán busied themselves in strengthening the fortifications, and in throwing up intrenchments outside. They manned them with their own men and with the 'royal Ját,'¹ and exerted themselves to levy old soldiers and recruits. Safdar Jang saw that they were resolved to overthrow him and so he felt compelled to prepare for battle. In order to reinforce his army he called to his assistance Suraj Mal Ját, and also Indar Gosáin, *Faujdar* of Bádall, with a strong force of followers. * *

By advice of Suraj Mal Ját and Salábat Khán Zú'l-fikár Jang the *razar* Safdar Jang brought out a young prince and raised him to the royal throne. As soon as news of this reached the city the Emperor appointed Intizám-ud-daula to be *razar* and made Hisám Khán Samzáim-ud-daula commander of the artillery. From that day open hostilities commenced, and Safdar Jang invested Sháh Jahánábád. He took the old city and the houses outside the fortifications from the hands of the Ját, and plundered them. * * When the contest had gone on for six months, and numbers of men had been killed on both sides, Mahárája Mádhú Singh Kachhwáha left his country and approached the capital in the hope of making peace. * * It was settled that Safdar Jang should retain the provinces of Oudh and Alláhábád as before, and peace was made when he received the robe of investiture.

After the retirement of Safdar Jang to his provinces, the new

¹ [Ját who adhered to the Emperor.]

wasir, and Gházíu-d dín ('Imádu-l Mulk) the *Amíru-l umará*, endeavoured to establish some order in the State. But envy and animosity arose between them, and each one acted according to his own views and interests. Malhár Ráo and Jayapa Mahratta now arrived at the head of 60,000 horse, and (Gházíu-d dín) 'Imádu-l Mulk, who was expecting them, resolved to attack and punish Suraj Mal Ját for the part he had taken with Safdar Jang in plundering the environs of Sháh-Jahánábád. Intizámu-d daula, the *wasir*, desired to accept from Súraj Mal an offering of fifty *lacs* of rupees as the price of forgiveness, and to apply the money to the pay of the troops. 'Imádu-l Mulk, proud of his victory over Safdar Jang, and urged on by the Mahrattas, marched out, and besieging Súraj Mal in the fort of Kumbhei, he took possession of his territory. In the course of three months Khándí Ráo, son of Malhár Ráo, was killed, and it became clear that the fort could not be reduced without heavy guns. 'Imádu-l Mulk then sent Mahmúd Khán, who had been his *atákh* from childhood, * * to bring up the royal artillery. * *

Intizámu-d daula had conceived the design of bringing the Mahárája, the Ráná, the Ráthoi, and the Kachhwáha Rájas, whose territories and people had suffered greatly from the ravages of the Mahrattas, to form a league against these marauders. He also hoped to win Safdar Jang, who had made overtures of reconciliation, and with their united forces to drive the Mahrattas out of Hindústán. * * Accordingly he came to an agreement with Mahárája Mádhú Singh, Rám Singh, Safdar Jang, and Súraj Mal Ját, that as soon as the royal camp was pitched at Kol, Safdar Jang should first join him, and then the royal army should march on to Ágra. Being joined at that capital by the Rájas and the Játs, they were to commence their work of settling the country, and of driving out the Mahrattas. Accordingly the Emperor (Ahmad) and the *wasir* set out for Kol and Sikandra. * * On reaching the neighbourhood of Sikandra, numbers of the royal servants and of the adherents of the *amís* in attendance

joined the camp. Other men came in from all directions and suitable artillery was obtained.

When the Emperor marched from Delhi 'Akibat Mahmud Khan followed. * * He went to Intizám-u-d danla, and complained of the grievances he felt from want of appreciation by 'Imádu l Mulk. Intizám-u-d danla showed him great kindness, took him to the Emperor, and introduced him to the royal service. Having got leave to go out on pretence of bringing mud he went off to the town of Khoraja. Intelligence now reached the royal camp that Malhár Ráo had gone to Delhi with 50,000 horse, to bring one of the royal princes out of Salimgarh. The receipt of this news greatly alarmed the Emperor. * * Malhár Ráo approached the royal camp and after consulting with 'Akibat Mahmud Khan opened fire upon it with rockets and muskets. * * The Emperor without even consulting with his friends, resolved to go off to Delhi with Sálíba Zamání his mother. * * and reached the citadel with his party. * * In the morning Intizám-u-d danla found that he had not more than three or four hundred men left, * * and hastened off to Delhi with the Mahrattas in pursuit. All the artillery and camp equipage fell into their hands, and the Emperor's mother was taken, and her equipage plundered. * * Next day 'Imádu l Mulk came up to the deserted forces, in which there was neither spirit nor power left. He consoled them and by kindness won them to his own side. He waited on the Empress mother to pay his respects and make his excuses, * * and she proceeded on her way to Delhi. 'Imádu l Mulk and Malhár Ráo walked a few paces on foot in attendance upon her. They followed to Delhi. When Jayapa Mahratta saw that these two chiefs had gone off, and that he alone could not effect the reduction of Kumbher he raised the siege, and went in the direction of Nárnaul. Suraj Mal was thus relieved.

The Emperor entered the fort, and on the evening of the same day he was joined by Intizám-u-d danla, * * who advised that a force should be placed under him to throw up intrenchments round the fortress. * * The Emperor replied Ghází-u-d dín

Khán 'Imádu-l Mulk is an old adherent of our house, and will not think of doing me any harm. After receiving the expression of my wishes, he will not fail to effect the withdrawal of the Mahrattas. The best thing you can do is to go and keep quiet at home for a few days" * * He accordingly retired. 'Imádu-l Mulk sent a letter to the Emperor, demanding the office of *wazir*, and a new distribution of offices. * * Next day he came to the presence, and was installed as *wazir*. * * 'Akibat Mahmúd Khán recommended that Ahmad Sháh should be deposed, and another prince raised to the throne in his stead. 'Imádu-l Mulk and the Mahrattas were afraid of his power, and did not see how to act in opposition, so they acquiesced. After that the lawyers were collected, and were consulted as to the deposition of Ahmad Sháh. * * On their approval, Ahmad Sháh was removed from the throne on the 10th Sha'bán, and cast into prison * * After that they waited upon the royal princes who were in confinement, to select one to ascend the throne. But the princes were afraid, and no one consented. At length, after much trouble, Sultán 'Azízu-d dín, son of Jahándái Sháh, son of Bahádur Sháh, who during his seclusion had devoted himself to theological science, was prevailed upon to accept the crown, with the title of 'Azízu-d dín Muhammad 'Álamgír sání (II), on the 10th Sha'bán, 1167 A.H.¹ Gházíu-d dín Khán 'Imádu-l Mulk was made *wazir*.

Ten days after the accession of 'Álamgír, the *wazir* 'Imádu-l Mulk and 'Akibat Mahmúd Khán caused the deposed Emperor Ahmad and his mother to be blinded. The manner of their contriving this was, that a forged letter under the seal of Ahmad was addressed to the new Emperor, which excited his apprehension. On speaking of the matter to 'Imádu-l Mulk, he suggested that Ahmad should be deprived of sight, and the Emperor accordingly gave orders for the blinding both of him and his mother. Their emissaries entered the private apartments of the deposed monarch, treated him with indignities which it is unfit to

¹ [See *supra*, p. 140]

write, and bluded him in a cruel manner His mother who had endeavoured to obtain his release, was treated in the same way 'Akibat Mahmud Khán, in the service of 'Imádu l Mulk, soon afterwards misconducted himself, and his master gave a hint, which was immediately acted upon, and the offender was killed.¹

Accession of Siráju-d daula. Taking of Calcutta

Nawáb Hisámu-d daula Muhábat Jang (Ahwardi Khán) died of dropsy near Murshidábád in the eightieth year of his age on the 9th Rajab, 1169 A.H. (April 10 1756 A.D.) From his early youth he had abstained from intoxicating liquors, he had no love for music, and never cohabited with any women except his own wives * * (His daughter's son) Siráju d daula, son of Zainu-d dín Ahmad Khán Haibat Jang succeeded him in his government of Bengal Bihár and Orissa * *

Kishan Ballabh a *camindár* being in arrears with his revenue, Siráju-d daula gave orders for his imprisonment. But he fled from Dacca, and took refuge in Calcutta, under the protection of Mr Drake, the great gentleman" of that place When Siráju d daula was informed of this, he proceeded to Murshidábád, and prepared for war In the month of Ramazán he started for Calcutta, from a place called Mansur ganj which he had built, and on arriving at Calcutta, he pitched his tents outside. The English gentlemen had but a small number of men, and were in want of implements, so they were unable to face him in the field. They shut themselves up in the old fort, threw up intrenchments, and strengthened the defences. Siráju-d daula had with him plenty of guns and large numbers of men he gave orders for taking the houses, and in the twinkling of an eye he overpowered the English. Mr Drake seeing himself reduced to extremity went on board ship with several of his people and sailed away Those who were left behind had no leader but they advanced to the defence When the ammunition was exhausted, some died fighting with the utmost bravery others with their wives and

¹ [See *supra*, p. 142.]

children, were made prisoners¹ All their wealth and property, which exceeded computation, was taken from the officers of the Company and other chiefs, and became the booty of the vagabonds in Siráju-d daula's army. This happened on the 22nd Ramazán, 1169 A.H (June 20, 1756 A.D.), two months and twelve days after the accession of Siráju-d daula. The factories belonging to the Company at Kásim-bázár, near Muishidábád, were also pillaged by orders of Siráju-d daula, and Mr Wájh (Watts), the chief of the factory, and some others, were made prisoners.

Recovery of Calcutta Defeat of Siráju-d daula

Mr. Drake, the governor of Calcutta, after his defeat from Siráju-d daula, went on board ship with his party, and proceeded to Madras, a large factory belonging to the English Company. Other English officers, who were scattered over Bengal on various commissions, when they heard of the loss of Calcutta, escaped as best they could from the straits in which they were placed, and made their way to Madras. At Madras was Colonel Clive, an officer of the army, and a servant of the King of England, who had command over the factories in the Dakhín. In those days he had fought against the French, and had taken from them some of their possessions in the Dakhín, in recognition of which Muhammad Khán Salábat Jang, son of Ásaf Jáh, had given him the title of *Sábit Jang*, "Resolute in War". After consultation, Colonel Clive and the gentlemen from Calcutta embarked in ships, with nearly two regiments of Telingas and four companies of Europeans, and sailed to recover Calcutta.

As soon as they arrived at the port of Falta, they overpowered the men of Siráju-d daula by the fire of their ships, and making their way up to Calcutta, they anchored there near the factory. They sent proposals of peace to Siráju-d daula, asking pardon for Mr Drake, and offering to pay several *lacs* of rupees, on condition of being allowed to rebuild their factories in Calcutta. Siráju-d daula rejected the proposal, and did not even write an answer.

¹ [Nothing is here said about the Black Hole.]

Colonel Clive then resolved to fight and placed four guns in position. Nának Chaud (the commander of the place) made some show of fighting, but he soon fled. Colonel Clive and his followers then took possession of their old factories.

The receipt of this news awoke Siráj-ud-daula from his dream of security.¹ On the 12th Rabi' us-sani, 1170 A.H. (Jan. 4, 1757 A.D.), he marched from Murshidábád to fight the English with his army and a good complement of artillery. On reaching the place, he encamped in a suitable position, and a war of guns and muskets at once began. The English endeavoured to treat, and sent their *scalp* from time to time. They sent a brave and intelligent person to Siráj-ud-daula, ostensibly to treat with him but secretly to take notice of the ways and arrangements of the camp. He went there and after discharging the requirements of etiquette he made his observations and returned. In the course of a few days, the English prepared their forces, and one morning before daybreak fell upon the rear of Siráj-ud-daula's camp with volleys of musketry and poured upon it showers of balls. The Nawáb's men were helpless: many were killed and many were wounded. It is said that the object of the English in this night attack was to seize upon Siráj-ud-daula, and make him prisoner, but in consequence of a thick fog the way to his tent was missed and the files of musketeers passed another way. So the Nawáb escaped the danger of being killed or captured. The English returned to their ground in triumph and in joy.

Siráj-ud-daula was terrified by this attack, and was afraid that it would be followed by another. He felt the difficulty of maintaining his position, and having called a council of war he pointed out the utility of continuing the struggle, and the necessity of retreat. The foundations of a peace were soon laid. The English knew of his weakness and discouragement. They demanded compensation for the plunder of Calcutta, which amounted to a very large sum. After some parley the terms of peace were settled, and the Nawáb agreed to pay the sum demanded. They

¹ [The common expression: took the cotton out of his ears.]

required ready money, and Siráju-d daula gave them six *parganas* near Calcutta to hold until the money was paid. Mr Watts, the superintendent of the factory at Kásim-bázár, obtained his release on the defeat of Siráju-d daula. He now carried on the negotiations and correspondence between the two parties, and earned the thanks of both. Siráju-d daula took his departure for Murshidábád, and the English engaged in their commerce at Calcutta as heretofore * *

The flames of war now broke out in the Dakhín between the French and English, between whom there has been enmity for five or six hundred years. The English prevailed, and their warships, under the command of Admiral Walker *Jang Bahádúr*, were sent against Farás-dánga (Chandernagore), which is near to Húglí. The French had sunk ships in the river, leaving only room for the passage of their own ships one at a time. The English got their ships through that passage, beat the French, and took possession of Farás-dánga. They also took the factories near Kásim-bázár. Monsieur Lás,¹ the chief of the French, joined Snáju-d daula, and having collected his followers, he entered into his service with them, and a number of Telingas whom he had drilled.

The English, being informed of this, sent then *rahit* to Siráju-d daula, remonstrating that as peace had been made with him, the enemies of one must be looked upon as the enemies of the other, and friends regarded as mutual friends. They were faithful to the agreement they had made, and they required the Nawáb to dismiss M. Lás, and give him no support. His neglect to do this would be regarded as a breach of the treaty. Those who were opposed to M. Lás, and were well-wishers of the Nawáb, earnestly pressed him to comply, to dismiss M. Lás, and not to let such a bone of contention put an end to the peace with the English. Snáju-d daula talked and corresponded with M. Lás

¹ ["This Monsieur Lás is the same (as he) whom the French call Monsieur Lás, a son of the famous Scotchman John Law, comptroller of the finances in 1720 at Paris."—*Seir Mutazharin*, vol. ii. p. 78. Note of the French translator.]

on the subject, who represented that the Nawáb had a large force of his own, and that no harm could come to his authority from accepting the services of a French officer and his men. Siráj-u-d daula urged this upon the English *saib* but he still strongly insisted upon the removal of M. Lás. So Siráj-u-d daula of necessity sent him away but told him to proceed to Patna, and make no delay on the road.

After this the enemies of Siráj-u-d daula, that is to say Nawáb Mír Ja far Khán, Rájá Dúlábh Rám Jagat Seth, and some others, who were sorely tried by him passed their days and nights in fear and hope. They came to an understanding with each other and schemed for the destruction of his life and authority. His maternal aunt, Ghasífi Begam daughter of Alivardi Khán, who was incensed against him for his seizure of her cash and household goods joined his enemies secretly. Siráj-u-d daula summoned Mír Muhammad Ja far one of his old associates, to a private meeting, and gave him instructions for raising forces secretly upon which he proceeded to engage every unemployed soldier he could find. But afterwards he did his best to thwart Siráj-u-d daula, and to urge on the English.

Colonel Clive *Sáib jag* being informed of what was passing and of the evils meditated cast aside the treaty of peace and prepared for war. He marched from Calcutta, to the great dismay of Siráj-u-d daula, who sought to conciliate and encourage his own adherents. He sent Rájá Dúlábh Rám forward with a force to choose a suitable place for throwing up intrenchments and collecting guns. Rájá Dúlábh started on his commission. Openly he applied himself to carry out the orders of his master, but in his secret heart he lost no opportunity of scheming for his overthrow. He was careful to observe the conditions of the treaty with the English on his own part and on the part of Nawáb Mír Muhammad Ja far and he won over the officers of the army of Siráj-u-d daula by offers of money. Mír Muhammad Ja far occupied himself continually in the same way. So they gathered large numbers around them, and few were left to Siráj-u-d daula.

enemies in front, and his hostile servants around him and fled in haste towards Mirshidábád. On the 6th Shawwál he reached Mansur ganj and looked around for friends and help. But misfortune has no friend. Even Muhammad Íraj Khán father of his wife, made no effort to help him. To satisfy his soldiers, he opened his treasury and each man got what was his luck. His followers, seeing him helpless, carried off large sums under various pretences to their homes. After staying a short time at Mansur ganj on the 7th Shawwál he secured plenty of *ashrafis*, and taking with him his favourite Lutfu n nissa, his wife and his youngest daughter and several others he departed in carts and other vehicles towards Bhagwán-gola. When he was near Chankibath Mir Muhammad Kásim Khán son in law of Mir Ja far having heard of his flight hastened after him with several men and demanded money and jewels and he was obliged to give him a box of jewels belonging to Lutfu n nissa. Mir Kásim then turned back with his valuable prize. * * On reaching Bhagwán gola, Siráju-d daula embarked on a boat, and went on his way to Patna.

It is said that when Siráju-d daula heard that the English army had marched from Calcutta to make war upon him he wrote a letter to Monsieur Lás, according to promise and urgently called him to his aid. He directed Rájá Rám Naráin governor of Bihár to supply him with money. The Rájá saw that the Nawáb's star was on the decline, and purposely made a delay of some days in supplying the money. Meanwhile, Siráju d daula had been defeated at Plassy and arrived at Mansur ganj. M Lás and Muhammad Ali Khán, a distinguished cavalry officer set off in boats from Patna, and went as far as Ráj mahál. There they heard that Siráju-d daula had been made prisoner and they returned to Patna.

CXXIX

S H Á H - N Á M A

OR

MUNAWWARU-L KALÁM

OF

SHEO DÁS

[THIS compilation commences with the reign of Farrukh Siyáí, and ends with the fourth year of the reign of Muhammad Sháh, but it was not finished before the year 1217 A H (1802 A D). The author was Sheo Dás, of Lucknow. He was moved to write the work by the consideration that "he had been allowed to remain a long time in the society of learned, scientific, and highly talented men—and had spent his life in the service of the great. He had moreover applied himself to acquiring the art of writing with elegance, and so he determined to show the results of his society in his composition. He named his work *Shah-nama* or *Munawwaru-l Kalám*, because he had been on terms of intimacy with the great, and derived advantages from them." He follows the fashion of historians, and, although a Hindú, opens his work like a devout Musulmán

The whole of this work has been translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by "Lieut. Prichard, 15th Regt. N. I." The work contains a good deal of biography and anecdote, but the period it covers has been already provided for by Extracts from contemporary writers.]

CXX

IKHTISARU T TAWARIKH

or

SAWAN SINGH

THIS compendium was composed in the year 1217 A D (1802 A D) by Sawan Singh, son of Thán Singh a Káyath of the Máthur tribe. It is professedly a mere abridgment of the *Lubbu t Tawdrikh* of Bhárá Mal and the *Hadikatu t Akálim*.

CONTENTS.

Preface, p 1—Hindu Rájás p 3—Musulmán Kings of Delhi Muhammad Sáim to Bábar p 16—Bábar Afgháns, and Humáyun p 73—Akbar and Jahángír p 92—Sháh Jahán and Aurangzeb p 98—Sháh Álam I to Sháh Álam II, p 148

SIZE—8vo., 181 pages, each containing 15 lines

The *Ikhtisáru t Tawdrikh* contains nothing worth translation

The only copy I have seen of this work is in the possession of Maulavi Subhán All, of Amroha, in the district of Murádábád

CXXI

MIR AT I AFTAB NUMÁ

or

SHÁH NAWÁZ KHÁN

THIS "Sun reflecting Mirror" is a useful compilation written in 1803 A.D by Abdu r Rahmán better known as Sháh Nawáz Khán Háshimí, subsequently Prime Minister to the nominal Emperor Akbar II. The name appears to be derived from the poetical title of *Aftáb* which the author assumed by direction of Sháh Álam.

The *Mir-át-i Aftáb-numá* contains abundant matter, as the following Table of Contents will show and some of the notices respecting the countries and cities of Hindústán, as well as the Biographical articles, are well and correctly drawn up. The historical details of the first thirty years of the reign of Sháh 'Alam are treated in some detail; but the preceding reigns are given in a more compendious shape. Altogether, as an historical work it is of little value. The History of Muhammadan India commences with the Slavo Kings, but in the work the detailed history begins with the Mughal sovereigns. The work is divided into a Preface, two Parts, and a Conclusion. There are several chapters (*jayalli*, lusties) in each Part, and several sections (*dama*, brilliances) in each chapter.

Preface Regarding the origin and advantages of history, p 5 to 7 —Part I in six chapters i. The Creation of the World, containing sections on Meteorology, Mines, Stones, Products of the Earth, Animals, Man and his Limbs, and Ethics, pp. 7 to 123—ii. Different kinds of Prophets, containing sections on Adam, Idís, Paradise, pp. 123 to 214—iii History of Muhammad, containing sections on his Descendants, Wives, Chief Khalífs, and Friends, pp. 214 to 249—iv Account of the Súfís, Saints, Philosophers, Poets, Artists, Calligraphers and Hindú Sects in several sections, pp. 249 to 414—v. Kings of Arabia and Persia, the Ummayyide and 'Abbáside Khalífs, and other Asiatic dynasties; the Ghorián Kings of Dehlí, the Kings of the Dakhín, and the ancient Rájas of India, pp 414 to 494—vi The Gúrgání Kings, their nobles and ministers, and the celebrated songsters of their time, with notices of Indian music, pp 494 to 741. Part II. in eight chapters. The first seven are devoted to an account of the seven grand divisions of the world, pp 741 to 896. Chap viii describes the seven seas, pp 896 to 910. The Conclusion is occupied with a description of the wonders and curiosities of different countries, pp. 910 to 924.

SIZE—4to., 924 pages, of 18 lines each.

OXXII

INTIKHABU T TAWÁRIKH

OF

MIRZÁ MASÍTA

THE author of this little work is Mirzá Māsítá, descended, both on his father's and mother's side, from ancestors of some consideration in India. The first of his paternal ancestors who came to India was Aliwardí Khán Turkomán said to be descended from Sultán Sanjar the Saljúkí sovereign. He arrived in the time of Jahángír and by his bravery and good qualities (especially that of being a good sportsman and the inventor of a mode of hunting styled *Túrkalání*¹) obtained admission into the rank of the Nobles of that Emperor and amongst other offices conferred upon him by his successor Sháh Jahán he was appointed Governor of Málwá, in succession to Khán daurán Klián. There are laudatory articles respecting him in the *Tazkiratu l Umará* and *Ma ásuru l Umará*. One of his ancestors on the mother's side was the celebrated Islám Khán, the minister of Sháh Jahán, who was at one time invested with almost independent power in the government of three *subas* of the Dakhín so that the author had reason to be proud of his honourable descent.

The *Intikhabu t Tawdrikh* was composed by Mirzá Māsítá for the instruction of his son, Karímullah Khán, commonly called

¹ Sháh Nawás Khán Samánu-d daula says that this is also called Bawar; that it was invented in the twenty first year of Jahángír's reign and cost the inventor 2400 rupees. It consisted of a series of exceedingly strong nets, the weight of eighty camel-loads, ten thousand royal yards long and six broad. It was fixed like the walls of a tent to strong poles, and no wild animal, when once caught, could break through the meshes.

Mirzá Kallú. It is a mere abstract history, and it is not shown to what works the author is indebted for his limited information

The work is divided into an Introduction, two Books, and a Conclusion. The first Book is devoted to the Kings of Dehlí, Multán, Sind, Kashmír, Jaunpúr, Bengal, and Gujarát, the second to the Kings of the Dakhin, and is divided into *warak*, "leaves," and *satai*, "lines"

CONTENTS.

Account of the Hindú religion and castes, p. 2 ; History of the Hindú Rájas, p. 9 —Book I. The introduction of Islám, p. 13 ; The Sultáns of Dehlí, p. 15 , The Sultáns of Láhore and Ghazní, p. 52 , The Sultáns of Multán, p. 54 , The Sultáns of Sind and Thatta, p. 59 , The Sultáns of Kashmír, p. 66 , The Sultáns of Jaunpúr, p. 82 , The Sultáns of Bengal, p. 86 , The Sultáns of Gujarát, p. 93 —Book II Warak 1. The Sultáns of the Dakhin, subdivided into six Satais Satai 1. The Sultáns of Kulbarga and Ahmadábád, p. 104 , ii. Kings of Bájápúr, p. 115 , iii Kings of Ahmadnagar, p. 122 ; iv Kings of Tilang, p. 132 , v Kings of Bírár, p. 136 , vi Kings of Bídai, p. 138 Warak 2 Kings of Málwá and Mándú, p. 140 , 3. Fárúki Sultáns of Khándesh, p. 150 , 4. Rulers of Malabár, p. 159 — Conclusion—Distances and Revenues of each province of Hindústán, p. 163

SIZE—Large Folio, 166 pages with 27 lines to a page

The *Tarikh-i Mástá* is rare The only copy with which I am acquainted is in one of the Royal Libraries of Lucknow.

The work was written during the reign of Sháh 'Álam, but as the copy is deficient in some parts of that reign, the precise year with which the history concludes cannot be ascertained.

CCXXIII

SA ADAT I JAWED

or

HARNÁM SINGH

THE author of this work was Harnám Singh, a Sarsuti Brahmin. He was born at Bráhmanábád in the province of Láhore, and resided at Maláwanur near Lucknow. His father was Gardás Singh who having been in public employ under the Nawabs of Oudh, is the frequent subject of mention and eulogy in the latter part of this History.

In the opening of this work the author proceeds like a Musulmán to invoke thousands of blessings upon the most exalted Prophet, the bestower of mercy in the world, the last of all the prophets he who carried his steed to the field of the ninth heaven, the messenger of God the Creator Muhammad the chosen may the blessings of God be upon him, and peace upon all his descendants and friends!

The author states that from his earliest youth he was a lover of historical studies and used to devote his leisure hours to writing accounts of Kings, Rájás, and Nobles of the various provinces of Hindústán but as his circumstances were so embarrassed and perplexed as the loose notes he had taken, he was not able to collect them into a book, till he had been honoured by the patronage of Sa'ádat Ali, after whom he denominates his work *Sa'ádat : Jáved*— "Eternal Bliss."

His dedication is more than usually eulogistic, and we may guess the extent of his gratitude from his speaking of his patron in the following extravagant rhapsody — One under whose government the name of tyranny and oppression is erased from the page of the world, and before (the mention of) whose generosity the book of Hátim is put aside. The sun of whose

bounty shines from east to west, and the fame of whose general benevolence has reached throughout the whole world. From the drops of whose liberality the garden of the world is always green, and from the stream of whose munificence the orchards of the hopes of all nations are perpetually fresh. From the fear of whose spear the lion crouches near the deer, and the blow of whose sharp sword shortens the life of cruel savages. The clouds of whose generosity ram equally over the rich and the poor, and the ocean of whose bounty benefits the great and the small alike. One who is so liberal that the revenue of the seven regions of the earth does not suffice for one day of his expenditure, and so great that the height of Saturn and 'Ayyúk is not equal to that of his palace. One from whose birth the Muhammadan world became exalted, and from whose hospitality the fame of 'Alí is increased. One who in establishing Islám has shown himself a great warrior, and in promulgating the true faith is as firm and immovable as the Polar Star. One who resembles Aristotle in wisdom, and whose mind is devoted to the welfare of his subjects. One who is equal to Sikandar in prosperity, and who by his conquests has subjugated the whole world—the Rustam of the Age, the Hátim of the time, a Kisiá in justice, Bahráin in attack, destroyer of the foundation of infidelity and idolatry,¹ establisher of Islám and the Moslems, possessing a prudence like that of Plato the chief of all the great men of the world, the sun of all the renowned nobles, the theatre of the miracles of God, and the achiever of endless victories, the great *wazír* Nawáb Yamínu-d daula Nizámu-l Mulk Mubáriz Jang Sa'adat 'Alí Khán—may God ever increase his prosperity and wealth !

“ A minister who protected the world by his equity and justice,
 Master of the sword, and possessed of a noble disposition,
 The most fortunate, brave and just,
 One who like the sun gives gold to the world
 A brave man who can overcome a tiger, and catch a lion,
 In strength and courage has no one equal to himself,

¹ A Hindú is writing

When he gives he is a second Hâtim
 At the time of battle, he is another Rustam,
 Through his justice the heads of proud tyrants are bowed down,
 All his works are readily and expeditiously done.
 From the excess of his liberality, bounty, and generosity,
 He makes an impression upon the sun and moon, as a die on a
 diram

If I were to speak of his justice,
 The story of Naushîrwân would sink into oblivion
 The heavens before his greatness bow down their heads
 The foundation of violence is entirely rooted out.
 If he gird up his loins in the field of battle,
 Alarm will spread from India to Europe
 The whole country of Hindustân is obedient to him
 Nay, I am wrong, I mean the whole world, from one extremity to
 the other

The destiny of the heavens is conformable to his orders.
 Victory adorns his flag
 Who has seen his equal in justice and generosity?
 He is the greatest in all the world and superior to all men of courage,
 In strength like an elephant, and in bravery like a lion
 Bold in his heart, both in the cabinet and the field
 Head of all great men, and the crown of all the chiefs.
 In the time of his government, O world, be happy!
 If any person seeks protection from calamity,
 He finds rest nowhere but in this country
 Come, oh Nânu!¹ shut your lips from speech,
 Because his rank is too great.
 If a book be written in his praise
 It would still be too small in the estimation of a wise man
 How can a particle of dust speak of the sun
 And what account will be taken of it, if it open its lips?
 O God! keep this noble *sacîr* for ever,
 With all his ancient pomp wealth and dignity
 May his shadow be preserved to cover the world!
 May the heads of exalted nobles be his footstool!

¹ This is the author's *takallûs*, or poetical designation, and he seems proud of his talent for versification, as he intersperses several scraps of poetry amongst his prose.

After this fulsome nonsense, we cannot expect much truth when he speaks of his benefactor; but the work is, nevertheless, useful for the biographical details which it gives of the Nobles who were most conspicuous in the history of India from the reign of Muhammad Sháh to the author's own time.

The precise date of composition is not given, but as Lord Lake's siege of Bharatpúr is mentioned, and Sa'adat 'Alí was the reigning Nawáb of Oudh, the work must have been written between the years 1805 and 1814.

The *Sa'adat-i Jawed* is divided into four Books.

CONTENTS.

Preface, p 1.—Book I The Ante-Muhammadan History of India, chiefly from the *Mahábhárat* and *Subh-i Sádkh*, in two Chapters, p 7; II. The Ghaznívides and Emperors of Dehlí, in two Chapters, p 52, III. Biographical account of the Nobles of Hindústán, p 384, IV. Geographical description of the seven climates, marvels of the world, and miscellaneous matters, in four chapters, p. 436.

SIZE—Small 8vo, containing 504 pages of 14 lines each, but a few pages are missing at the end.

The first, second, and third Books are too short to be of any value, and they are for the most part mere abstracts of other common works. The fourth Book conveys information in a useful, and occasionally a novel form, and has, therefore, been copiously abstracted from in the following pages.

The *Sa'adat-i Jawed* is a rare work. I have never heard of any other copy but that in one of the Royal Libraries at Lucknow, which I should have supposed to be an autograph, but that my own copy, which is taken from it, is so very full of errors that I can hardly suppose the original to be free from them. [The following Extracts were translated by *munshis*, and revised by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

EXTRACTS

Nawáb Mumtáz ul Mulk Sarbuland Khán

He was an inhabitant of Lun, and his name was Mirzá Rafi. His father Muhammad Afzal Khán, was one of the nobles of the Emperor Muhammad Aurangzob. Mirzá Rafi, who was the *dirán* of Prince Azim u Shán, displayed great bravery in the battle with Azam Sháh and obtained the title of Mumtáz ul Mulk Sarbuland Khán. In the time of Mu'izzu-d dín Jahándár Sháh when Prince Azim u Shán was slain Sarbuland Khán disregarding his obligations forsook Farrukh Siyar, son of Azim u Shán, and joined Mu'izzu-d dín. He was deputed to Gujarát on the part of Asad Khán the minister and through the recommendations of Kutbu l Mulk Sa'iyd Abdu llah Khán, Farrukh Siyar after his accession, pardoned him for his past conduct, and conferred on him the Governorship of Ondh and Alláhábád.

After some time he became Governor of the province of Bihár. He then obtained the rank of seven thousand, as well as a *jagir* in the *súba* of Láhore and the office of *subadár* of Kábul. In the time of Muhammad Sháh Badsháh, he was again made Governor of Gujarát, and when he was removed from that office he fought a desperate battle with Rája Dhankal Singh Ráthor who had been appointed Governor in his place, and obtained victory over him. When he came to Ágra, the displeasure of the Emperor was evinced by prohibiting him from attending Court for one thousand days. When that period had elapsed he was admitted to an audience by Muhammad Sháh and was raised to the Governorship of Alláhábád. At the time of the invasion of Nádir Sháh he came to Court. Nádir Sháh entrusted him with the duty of collecting the amercement fixed upon the people of Dehli. He departed to the next world in 1153 A.H. He was a favourite of the Emperor and always victorious in battle. He was generous, polite, merciful and humane. He always drank the water of the Ganges, and during his governor

ship of Gujarát and Kábul, large sums were laid out in carrying it to those provinces. It was said by Mansúr Rám, his treasurer, that fifty-six *lacs* of rupees in cash, independent of personal allowance, had passed through his hands for the payment of the Nawáb's troops, and other necessary expenses of the different departments. His power may be readily conjectured from this single statement.

Nawab Burhanu-l Mulk's contest with Raja Bhagwant Khichar ¹

Raja Bhagwant² Khichar, *Zamindár* of Gházípur, in the district of Kora, was the chief of the insurgents of that time. He was a source of constant trouble to Ján-mísár Khán, who had married the sister of Kamru-dín Khán, the minister, and who had charge of the district of Kora. On one occasion, when Nawáb Sarbuland Khán, the Governor of Alláhábád, came to Kora, Ján-mísár Khán asked him for his aid in destroying Bhagwant. Sarbuland Khán said that it would take much time to subdue Bhagwant, and he had no money to pay the army; but that, if Ján-mísár Khán could provide him with this necessary, he would punish Bhagwant. Ján-mísár Khán refused, and Sarbuland Khán returned to Alláhábád. Bhagwant, who was watching the opportunity of rising against Ján-mísár Khán, allowed but a short time to elapse, before he suddenly fell upon him, and having put him to death, plundered his camp, and took the ladies of his household, and distributed them between himself and his relatives.³ Kamru-dín Khán, the minister, was furious at this intelligence, and, aided by all the nobles of Dehlí, he marched

¹ This story, which so fully exemplifies the decline of the monarchy, is told in detail in the *Hadikatu-l Akalim*, the *Siyaru-l Muta-ahhhin*, the *Muntakhabu-t Tawárikh* and the *Tárikh-i Muzaffarí*. Rustam 'Alí's account will be seen above at p. 52.

² He is called Ajázú, Azárú, and Udárú, in some of the accounts. We found his descendants in possession at the time of the Cession, who, after exhibiting the hereditary turbulence of the family, were pacified by a pension.

³ The *Muntakhabu-t Tawárikh* says Ráp Ráu, the son of Bhagwant, took the governor's daughter, who poisoned herself to save her honour.

against Bhagwant. The rebel secured himself within the fort of Ghazipur and though the minister exerted every effort against him they all proved ineffectual. In the end he left Nawáb Muhammad Khán Bangash, of Farrukhabád to prosecute the siege and himself returned to Delhi. Muhammad Khán adjusted the matter by receiving a contribution and then returned to Farrukhabád. At this Bhagwant being more emboldened than ever raised the head of arrogance to the heavens, and took possession of Kora.

When the charge of that district was conferred by His Majesty on Burhánul Mulk, he went there with a formidable army. Bhagwant with a body of three thousand horse sallied from the fort of Ghazipur and suddenly appeared before the army of the Nawáb on its arrival upon which occasion many of his followers were killed by the Nawáb's artillery. Bhagwant avoiding the fire of the guns, fell upon the advanced division of the army, which was headed by Abu Turáb Khán. This officer was slain and Bhagwant then attacked the Nawáb's body-guard. Mír Khadáyár Khán with 6000 horse advanced to oppose him and was defeated after a severe action. The Nawáb himself thought it necessary to move to his support, and a close conflict ensued. Shaikh Abdulláh of Ghazipur Shaikh Ruhu'l Amín Khán of Bilgrám, Durjan Singh¹ *chaudhari* of Kora, Diláwar Khán 'Azmat Khán and other Afgháns, attacked and surrounded Bhagwant, who affected to despise his enemy but was slain by the hands of Durjan Singh *chaudhari*. Nawáb Burhánul Mulk obtained the victory, and the head² of Bhagwant was sent to Delhi.

Be it known that heaps of paper would have to be written were I to give an account of the battles which the deceased Nawáb fought, or were I to attempt to describe the acts of his

¹ Some call him a relative of Bhagwant in the Nawáb's service. Others call him a Bráhmán.

² Other authorities state that his skin was stuffed with straw and sent as a present to the minister.

generosity, patronage, and liberality. The Almighty God, by virtue of the excellent character of that great noble, whose rank was as high as the heavens, and who possessed the qualities of Rizwán the doorkeeper of Paradise, has opened the gates of prosperity to his descendants even to this very time. May the holy God preserve the foundation of the wealth, dignity and authority of this house to eternity, and give victory to its well-wishers, and may the wicked enemies of his family, from which the whole of Hindústán is benefited, be confounded and punished. May the desolated world be filled by his noble descendants to the day of resurrection.

An account of the death of Nawáb Burhán-ul Mulk, which happened at the time of the invasion of Nádir Sháh, by a disease in his legs, has been given above. After his death it was found by his accounts that his army had received two *lacs* of rupees in advance. Nawáb Safdar Jang, his son-in-law and successor, expunged that enormous sum, and resigned all claim to it. An account of Nawáb Safdar Jang, and of his accession to the post of *Wazarat* in the time of Ahmad Sháh, son of Muhammad Sháh, will be given hereafter.

Maharaja Jai Singh Sarat, of the Kachhuahá tribe.

His ancestors have been from ancient times the Rájas of Amber. Amongst them was Rája Bhárá Mal, whose son was Rája Bhagwán Dás, and Rája Mán Singh was the eldest son of that Rája. These, in the time of the Emperor Akbar, were raised to the dignity of *Amír u-l umará* or generals of the army. With a view to strengthening the foundation of his government, Akbar connected himself by marriage with this family. They rendered valuable services and performed great exploits, which are narrated in the histories of Hindustán. Maharaja Jai Singh was very generous, kind, wise and brave. After his death, thirty *lacs* of rupees were reckoned to have been given by him in charity and rewards. He performed the sacrifice of a horse according to the well-known Hindú custom.

The city of Jainagar is a monument of his greatness. After his death Muhanimad Sháh granted a *khil'at* to his son Rája Isrí Singh confirming him in his hereditary dominions. This Prince in the battle fought against Ahmad Sháh Durrání fled from Sirhind and went to his country as has been before related.

The descendants of Rája Jal Singh Sawáf are still in possession of their hereditary dominions, and maintain great state. As the lamp of Delhi has been long since extinguished and the Dakhnis (Malirattas) have taken possession of most of the cities of Hindustán, and the Rájas of Joudhpur Udípur and other Chiefs of Marwár have become weak, and pass their days as if they were nights, so also the Rájas of Jainagar pay a fixed annual tribute to the Dakhnis and enjoy a state of peace.

Nawáb Zakariya Khán son of Nawáb Abdu-s Samad Khán

Zakariya Khán was for many years Governor of Láhore. He had married the daughter of Kamru d dín Khán. He was a just harmless and honourable nobelman and as he found the people of Láhore to be similarly disposed their company was very agreeable to him. In those days the bigoted Mallás of Láhore used to dispute with the Hindus on religious points, and persecuted them but the Khán always tried to adjust their quarrels amicably.

A Mughal was enamoured of the wife of a Khattrí and cast a longing look upon her, but the modest woman refused to receive his advances. The Mughal hit upon the expedient of making an accomplice of the wife of the washerman whom she employed, and gave her a large sum of money. The washerman's wife wrapped up a costly veil and trowsers, such as are generally worn by a Muhammadan bride in the other clothes belonging to the Khattrí's wife and took them to her in the evening. About the same time, the Mughal celebrated in his own house his nuptials with a slave-girl who lived with him in the presence of some Muhammadans of his neighbourhood and, as is done on

the occasion of marriages, sweetmeats, etc., were sent in large quantities to the neighbours and friends. The next day, with a number of wicked characters, he went to the house of the Khattrí, and declared, that during the night, the Khattrí's wife had come to his house of her own free will, and having embraced the Muhammadan faith, had been married to him. The relatives of the woman were much surprised at this, and asked her what the truth was. She said that she had never seen the Mughal, who asserted, by way of proof, that the marriage clothes which she had worn last night must be in the house, and when they searched, true enough, there was found a suit of such apparel as is worn, according to Muhammadan custom, at the time of marriage.

Great were the consternation and grief of her relatives, and the poor woman in her shame resolved to die. At last, the matter was brought before the Khán, and about a hundred Muhammadans of the neighbourhood of the Mughal, who had eaten the sweetmeats, declared that on the previous night the Mughal had in reality celebrated his nuptials. The Kází of Láhore decreed that a Hindú woman, who had espoused the Muhammadan faith, and had entered into marriage with a Muhammadan, could not be allowed to apostatize again. The Khán was much surprised, and deferred his decision to the next day.

In the night-time, he disguised himself in the habit of a *fakír*, and first went to the house of the woman. There he saw some other *fakírs* sitting in a corner, conversing with each other in this wise: "Friends, we have observed this woman for a long time, and have never found her conduct other than modest and continent. How could it be that she went to the Mughal and was married to him? God knows what deception has been practised." The Khán, having heard this, went to the quarter in which the Mughal was residing, and there heard some people saying, "This Mughal is a fornicator, liar, and impostor. We never saw the wife of the Khattrí coming to his house, how then was she married to him?" The Khán returned to his house, and the next morning, having called the washerman's wife, put her to

torture when she confessed that the Mughal had given her money to place that bridal apparel amongst the woman's clothes. The Khán put both the Mughal and the washerman's wife to death. Many stories like this of the justice of the said Khán were related in Láhore. May God forgive him for his sins!

Lála Lakhpat Rái and Jaspát Rái both Khattris of Láhore were secretaries and counsellors of Zakariya Khán and entrusted with the conduct of all his affairs. Although they both had received the title of Rája, yet they did not themselves assume that appellation. When Nádir Sháh after his plunder of Delhi returned to his native country he ordered that all the people of Láhore should be taken away prisoners. Lálú Lakhpat Rái made him a present of three *lacs* of rupees, which were accepted and having thus caused the freedom of about five hundred thousand people, male and female of the Hindu and Muhammadian persuasions, he left a good name behind him in this world.

Rája Majlis Rái.

Rája Majlis Rái a Sarsuti Bráhmín inhabitant of Láhore, was *diwan* of Kamru-d dín Khán, the minister. It is said that although he was the head of the minister's office, yet he could not write a letter. His clerks used to compose all his official records. One day Kamru-d dín Khán ordered the Rája to write in his presence, and having seen bad writing said, "Rája Majlis Rái how could you get the Wazárat of Hindustán with this elegant hand?" He replied, "My master, good luck does not require either knowledge or art, for it is said, Fortune equal to a barleycorn is better than a whole load of science." Rája Majlis Rái was very generous and a great friend of the needy. During the winter he gave quilts to the *fakirs* who wandered about the lanes and streets of Delhi and from his dispensary all kinds of medicines were given to the poor patients.

Nádir Sháh seized Majlis Rái, with a view to discover the treasures of Kamru d dín Khán, and in his own presence, asked

him where they were. He replied, "O King of Kings! the minister is very luxurious and a great drunkard, what he gets he consumes, and lays by nothing." Nádir Sháh, being angry, menaced him with punishment. Majlis Rái then presented him, from his own stores, with a *hor* of rupees in cash, jewels and other property, and said that it was all procured from the treasure of the minister. Nádir Sháh, at the instigation of some of the nobles of Hindústán, who acted according to the saying that people of the same profession hate each other, put Rája Majlis Rái to the torture, and cut off one of his ears. Although the whole treasure of the minister was in his possession, yet he did not discover it to any man. He took the Emperor's soldiers with him to his house, and having stabbed a dagger into his belly, departed this world. Nádir Sháh was very sorry on hearing of the intelligence, and remarked that he was a rare instance of a grateful Hindú. He then ordered the Rája's servants to be punished. In all the city of Dehlí exclamations arose in praise and admiration of the departed soul of Majlis Rái.

His eldest son, Rája Khushhál Rái, was superintendent of the bath and private chapel, an office which generally belongs to the prime minister.

Defeat of Hurmat Khán, son of Háfiz Rahmat Khán

In these days, Hurmat Khán Rohilla, son of Háfiz Rahmat Khán, having collected a force of about 20,000 vagabonds and Afgháns, crossed the Ganges at Anúpshahr. He laid siege to the fort of Pílibhít, which was in possession of the minister's adherents, and began to spread devastation throughout the country. He determined that when the army of the minister should come against him, he would fly to the forests at the foot of the Kumáún hills. Mahárája Súrat Singh sent the father of the writer of these pages, Rái Gurdás, against Hurmat Khán, who, on hearing that the army of the minister was approaching, abandoned the siege of Pílibhít, and pitched his camp on the borders of the jungle. Rái Gurdás Singh pursued and came up

to his encampment, upon which Hurmat Khán set his army in array, and, after a very severe engagement, was defeated and fled, leaving some of his men in ambush in a ravine. Ráj Gardás Singh being an experienced man obtained intelligence of the ambuscade and with a body of his gallant companions in arms went to the place. The scheme of the Afgháns being thus disconcerted they fled away. About two thousand of them were killed and wounded, and victory declared in favour of the Nawáb Wazír. Hurmat Khán took refuge in the Kumáun hills and Ráj Gardás Singh sacked the villages which were below the hills and within the territory of the Rája of Kumáun. He also determined to invade him in the hills but the Rája sent his ambassadors and sued for peace. Hurmat Khán fled beyond the Kumáun jurisdiction, and sought protection under some other hill chiefs. In the mean time a letter was received from Nawáb Ásaf-ud daula, of which the following is a copy.

"May the sincere and faithful Ráj Gardás Singh be protected from evil." It has been represented by the intelligencers, that having proceeded with the army placed under you against Hurmat Khán Rohilla you have given him a complete defeat. This is considered a most valuable service on your part. You should now take a written engagement from the Rája of Kumáun to the effect that he will never give protection to the enemies of this State within his dominions, and having done this, you should return from that country. You should consider these orders imperative and act according to them."

In short, the father of the writer of this book took a definite agreement from the Rája of Kumáun to this effect and returned. During these same days Mahárája Surat Singh was removed from the governorship of Bareilly which was bestowed upon other officials.

Bení Bahddur

A person named Bení who was first employed by Rája Mahá Naráin as the carrier of his water vessel, but latterly was

employed by him on certain occasions as a medium of communication with the Nawáb, actuated by his bad disposition, began to complain of the conduct of his master before the Nawáb. The Nawáb at first appointed him to the charge of certain districts, but by degrees the star of his fortune rose to the height of the fulfilment of his desire. He became deputy of the Nawáb, obtained the title of Rája Bení Bahádúr, and was exalted with the grant of the insignia of the Máhí-murátib, Naubat-khána, and Roshan-chaukí. This is the same Bení Bahádúr who, in the contests with the English, acted very treacherously, and combined with them. The Nawáb, after he was established in his kingdom, deprived him of sight. "I do not expect that you, who have sown barley, will reap wheat at harvest."

In short, from such conduct as has been before mentioned, the Nawáb was very angry with Rája Mahá Naráin, and kept him for some time under surveillance. He was at last set free through the intercession of the great and most respected mother of Nawáb Wazíru-l Mamálik Shujá'u-d daula. The most extraordinary part of it was this, that during all the time Rája Mahá Naráin suffered this severe treatment, the Nawáb never gave any annoyance to his father, Rája Rám Naráin, or his uncle, Rája Pantáp Naráin, who were both living.

When, in 1186 A H (1772 A D), the province of Kanauj, and the country up to the boundary of Anupshahr, was wrested from the possession of the Dakhinís by the Nawáb, Rája Mahá Naráin was appointed governor of it. At the same time, Rái Gurdás Singh, the author's father, according to the Nawáb's orders, having resigned his office as deputy in the district of Kora, under Mirzá Haidar Beg Khán, was employed in the settlement of the new acquisition. During the time that he was so employed, Mukhtá'u-d daula, being disgusted with Rája Mahá Naráin, obtained Nawáb Ásafu-d daula's orders to confiscate his *jági*.

Mahārāja Nuwul Rái

He was a Saksaina Káiyath by caste, and an inhabitant of the district of Etáwa. In the commencement of his career he served Nawáb Burhánu l Mulk as a writer but Nawáb Saifdar Jang gave him the title of Rája and appointed him his deputy and commander in-chief in which capacity he punished the insurgents of the province severely. Although the Nawáb Wazír resided at Dehli for several years, yet, through the good management of the Mahārāja, no disturbance ever arose in the country under his rule. At the time when Muhammad Sháh Bádsiáh went against 'Alí Muhammad Khán, and besieged the fort of Bangash, he could not take it, though it was made only of mud and he was accompanied by all the nobles of his Court. But when according to the orders of the Nawáb Wazír the Mahārāja reached the place, he demolished the wall of the fort in one day with the fire of his heavy artillery and having enhanced his reputation, was received with distinction by his master. It has been above mentioned that Mahārāja Nuwul Rái was slain after a bold resistance in the battle with Ahmad Khán Bangash.

Raja Khushhál Rái

Rája Khushhál Rái was the son of Mahārāja Nuwul Rái. Although he obtained no distinguished employment under Nawáb Wazír Shujá u-d daula, yet Nawáb Asafu-d daula, in consideration of the services of his ancestors, raised him to the office of Paymaster and gave him charge of Aláhábád. He lived till his death in a state of affluence and comfort.

Nawáb Asafu-d daula and the Rohillas.

Faizuláh Khán Rohilla, whom Nawáb Shujá u-d daula, at the conquest of Bareilly had placed in possession of the districts of Rámpúr and other *maháls* yielding a revenue of thirteen lacs of rupees, maintained as long as he lived great dignity and

pomp, and having taken great pains to improve his country, he realized double the amount of revenue from it.

Muhammad 'Alí Khán, his eldest son, sat upon the *masnad* with the sanction of Nawáb Ásafu-d daula. But Nadjú Khán, 'Umar Khán, and his son Sarbuland Khán, together with other Rohilla chiefs, attempted to remove Muhammad 'Alí Khán and instigated his younger brother, Ghulám Muhammad Khán, to usurp the *masnad*. Muhammad 'Alí Khán was an intimate friend of Nawáb Ásafu-d daula, and had received from him much kindness, so the Nawáb wrote to Ghulám Muhammad Khán to the effect that it was of no great consequence that he had usurped the *masnad*, but that, as he had taken Muhammad 'Alí Khán prisoner, he should send him to Lucknow, where some employment might be given to him, which would induce him to abstain from annoying the usurper. Ghulám Muhammad Khán, apprehensive that Muhammad 'Alí Khán's departure would occasion some disturbance, with the advice of Nadjú Khán and 'Umar Khán, put him to death in prison.

The Nawáb, thirsting for the blood of Ghulám Muhammad Khán, marched from Lucknow with a powerful army of his own, aided by his English allies. Ghulám Muhammad, having collected eighty thousand Rohillas and Afgháns, raised the standard of revolt, and advanced from Rámpúr with the intention of plundering the city of Bareilly, which belonged to the Nawáb. In those days Rái Gurdás Singh had charge of Bareilly in conjunction with Sambhu Náth. Depending upon the good fortune of the Nawáb, he prepared to defend the city, and the Afgháns were not able to plunder it. Before the arrival of the Nawáb, the army of the English had reached Bareilly, and Ghulám Muhammad, who had encamped at five kos from the city, made a vigorous attack on the English battalions, and fought most desperately. But the English, who in battle are very Rustams and Isfandiýárs, made a good stand, and having confounded the Afgháns with the shot of their guns, gave them a complete defeat. Nadjú Khán and Sarbuland Khán were slain, and Ghulám Mu-

hammad Khán fled towards the forests under the Kumaun hills. The compiler of this book was with his father in this battle.

The victorious army encamped for two months near the forest to chastise the Rohillas, and Ghulam Muhammad was obliged to surrender. With the advice of the English he was sent prisoner to Calcutta. It is said that he obtained leave to go to Mecca, but where he went to afterwards is not known. In short, Anwáb Asafu-d daula, proceeding through Rámpur entered the city of Bareilly in triumph. He gave some *mahals* of the district of Rámpur, the revenue of which amounted to about ten *lacs* of rupees as *jagirs* to the other sons and descendants of Faizu llah Khán, the rest of the territory he confiscated and then returned to Lucknow.

At the present time Bareilly and other places have been ceded to the English and although the *jagirs* of the descendants of Faizu llah Khán are still maintained yet the English keep their eyes upon this tribe of Afgháns, and in their wisdom deal with them with great circumspection and prudence, as is essential in politics.

Contests between the English and Ranjit Singh Ját

The impetuous army of the English had the greatest difficulty in taking the fort of Digrá belonging to Ranjit Singh, and then laid siege to that of Bhartpur. Jaswant Ráo Holkar ventured to plunder the country round the English army and sent an officer of his, by name Amír Khán with a body of twenty thousand horse towards Hardwár. Amír Khán crossed the Ganges, and pillaged the country up to Murárábád and Sambhal. The English officers at Bareilly, with the little force they had with them, prepared to repel him. Some of the Afghán officers who had accompanied Amír Khán made a conspiracy against him. As he could not stand his ground, he fled, and having joined the camp of Jaswant Ráo Holkar at Bhartpur a great part of his army dispersed.

War raged for seven months between the English on one

part and Rája Ranjít Singh and Jaswant Ráo Holkar on the other, and more than fifteen thousand men were killed on both sides. The daily conflicts before Bhañtpúr form a narrative which is worth hearing, and on both sides such courage was shown as threw the chivalric stories of the ancients into oblivion. "Such battles nobody had seen in the world, nor the wisest men of the whole earth had heard of"

At last the English, according to the orders of their Governor General at Calcutta, pardoned Ranjít Singh for his faults, and gave him back the fort of Díg. They spent the rainy season at Mathurá. Jaswant Singh Holkar fled to Láhore, and sought an asylum with Ranjít Singh, its ruler. •

In 1220 A.H (1805 A.D.), the brave General, Lord Lake, marched towards Láhore, and having forded the Sutlej, pitched his tents on this side of the Báyáh, twenty kos east of Láhore. Great alarm spread among the people of the Panjáb. Without delay the Sikh chiefs around Láhore, in order to save their lives and property, joined the English army, and were received with favour. Consequently, Ranjít Singh, the ruler of Láhore, sent a mission of experienced men to express his submission, and ascertain the pleasure of the British Government. Through great humility and flattery, which politicians are enjoined to observe, he retained possession of his dominions. Moreover, it was through his mediation that peace was concluded between the English and Jaswant Ráo Holkar.

The British Government granted some districts of the Dakhín, etc., part of Hindústán, to Jaswant Ráo, and relieved the world from ravage and oppression. They also allotted some districts of the Dakhín and Málwá, and a portion of Hindústán, together with the fort of Gwáhor, to Mahárája Daulat Ráo Sindhia, and for a long time secured the people from unjust demands. At present, the city of Akbarábád, together with some districts of the province of Dehlí, and the whole territory of Bundelkhand, is in their possession. The chiefs also of the Panjáb and of the country bordering on the hills acknowledge submission to this

powerful body The administration of the British Government differs in no respect from that of the great Nuwáb Wazír, who is endowed with the grandeur of the Pleiades

CCXXXIV

MA DANU-S SA ÁDAT

or

SAIYID SULTÁN ALÍ

[THE author gives in his Preface his name and paternity as Saiyid Sultán Alí ul Husainí ul Musawí us Safarí, and states that he was a native of Ardabíl, in Ázarbáiján, from whence he travelled eastward, and took up his ' abode under the auspicious asylum of Nawáb Shujá u-d daula " at Lucknow In the second year of the reign of Sa ádat Alí in 1213 A.H. (1798 A.D.) he determined to write the history of India from the times of Tímur to the death of the Emperor Muhammad Sháh. He enumerates the authorities he has consulted *Zafar-náma Wákí'dt* : *Bábari*, *Tárikh* : *Alfi*, *Firákta Álam-árdi Abbási*, *Akbar náma* of Abu l Fazl, *Mo'dan* : *Akhbár* : *Ahmadi Ikbál náma*, *Tárikh o Sair* : *Jahángíri Tabakdt* : *Albari* the work of Khwája Atábak Karwíní and others The latter part of the work is particularly occupied with the affairs of the Nawábs of Oudh, and comes down to the seventh year of the reign of Sa ádat Alí, 1805 A.D.

Sir H. M. Elliot did not obtain a copy of this work, but the above notice has been drawn from a translation of the Preface and Table of Contents which is among his papers.]

CXXXV.

MAJMA'U-L AKHIBAR

or

HARSUKH RAÍ.

THIS compilation is the work of Harsukh Raí, son of Jíwan Dás son of Raí Basant Rám, a Sahíkal Khatri.

Raí Basant Rám was Governor of Agra for many years, from the time that province was made over to Maharája Jai Singh Sawái by Muhammad Sháh, down to the decline of the Ját power. During this long interval of time, he is said, by his grandson, to have acquitted himself with great credit in the estimation of all men. The author's great-grandfather, Dyá Rám, was *darán* to Mubárizu-l Mulk Nawáb Saibuland Khán. While he praises his own studious disposition, he censures the idleness of his contemporaries. He observes that most people of his time, whether from their slothful nature, or on account of their numerous worldly avocations, are averse to reading long and elaborate works of the great writers and historians, who in a style of correctness, and even of eloquence, have very beautifully written with their golden pens, and, by the aid of their wit and ability, given accounts of monarchs of past ages, that as the science of history is the means of gathering knowledge for wise men, and affords examples to intelligent observers, that as every narration respecting those who have flourished before our time is a precept which improves the understanding of sensible men, and every fact of former time is a precedent which increases the knowledge of inquiring persons; and that as the study of this science is very beneficial to kings and rulers, and also opens

the eyes of the common people, by affording information in all respects useful to them, it had therefore been for a long time the ardent desire of this gleaner of crumbs from the table of liberal persons to compile a book in a very simple intelligible, and concise style, which might form a collection of historical subjects and a depository of facts, embracing an account of the great Rájás and powerful Kings of the extensive country of Hindustán, some short sketches of the Princes of Persia from the Káránian Sássánian and other dynasties who raised the standard of sovereignty on the surface of the earth before the promulgation of the Muhammadan religion an account of the creation of Adam a history of the Prophets, great Saints, the rising of the sun of the true religion memoirs of the great Prophet, the benefactor of mankind his holy companions sacred Imáms, philosophers, pious men and the Muhammadan Kings who ruled over the countries of Irán, Turán and Hindustán, and who having caused the *khutba* to be read and money coined in the name of Islám erected the standard of power and prosperity in the four quarters of the world, a detail of the several climates, the celebrated cities, their rarities and wonders the governors of the famous countries of the world, an account of the Europeans the New World which was conquered by these wise people a short detail of each tribe with its religion, commencing from the creation of the world. Such was the work he undertook to compile from abstracts taken from credible works and authentic narrations, with a view that the hearers and readers of it might, with a little attention obtain acquaintance with the history of the world. This object he was not able to accomplish until he met with a patron in the person of Rájá Srí Naráin his maternal uncle, on whom a ridiculous and fulsome eulogium follows, extending through two pages which it is needless to repeat.

The author tells us that his work was compiled in the 1214th year of the Hijra era, or forty second of Sháh Álam and the chronogram in the Preface which is formed by combining

Majma'u-l Akhbar with another word, gives also 1211 A.H. (1799 A.D.): but as he carries down the history to the 1220th year of the Hijra (1805 A.D.), or the forty-eighth of Sháh 'Álam, as appears from one of the translated Extracts which follow, it is probable that an incorrect date has been assumed, in order to make it accord with the title of the work. Though the work is a mere compilation, it is useful in many respects, and is well written. It is divided into eight books (*akhbar*), and several chapters (*fiher'a*), of which a full detail is given below.

The *Majma'u-l Akhbar* is not uncommon. I know five or six copies, of which the best is in the possession of Nawáb Míán Fajdar Khán, of Bhopál, through whose kindness I obtained the copy in my possession.

CONTENTS.

Book I. The institutes and notions of the ancient Hindús and their Rulers, in thirteen Chapters.—Chap. i. Creation of the world, and the appearance of Brahma, p. 16, ii. The Rulers and Rájás of Hindústán, from the time of Rája Man to the days of Rája Pánd, father of Rája Judhishthar, p. 26, iii. Reign of Rája Judhishthar and his Descendants, p. 50; iv. Rája Bisrawá and his Descendants, p. 121, v. Rája Sarwah and his Descendants, p. 122, vi. Rája Dhundar and his Descendants, p. 124, vii. Rája Bikramájít, p. 126, viii. Rája Samundarpál and his Descendants, p. 130, ix. Rája Malúk Chand and his Descendants, p. 131, x. Har Prem and his Descendants, p. 132; xi. Rája Dahí Sen and his Descendants, p. 133, xii. Díp Sen and his Descendants, p. 134, xiii. Rái Pithaurá, the last of the Rájás of Dehlí, p. 136.

Book II. History of the Persians, in six Chapters.—Chap. i. Their notions regarding the creation of the world and Mahábád, the first father of mankind, p. 142, ii. The followers of Mahábád, and their manners and customs, p. 147, iii. The Kings of Persia, from the time of Kaúumárs, who is said to be the first King, to the period of Dárá (Darius), son of Dáráh, who were called the Mulúks of 'Ajám—Some of their contemporary Prophets,

eminent Philosophers—Rise of Alexander the Great, p 155
 iv Alexander the Great—Kings of Rum who ruled after him—
 A description of Rum, p 252, v The Mmlukn t Tawáif down
 to the rise of Ardashír Bábagán who ruled after Alexander p
 296 vi. The Sássánians, from the time of Ardashír Bábagán to
 the period of Yazdajurd, the last of the line, p 299

BOOK III History of the Mlhammadans in ten Chapters —
 Chap 1 Creation of the World, p 356 ; ii. Creation of the Jinns,
 p 366 iii Creation of Adam p 368 ; iv The great Prophets p
 374, v Birth and rise of Muhammad chief of the Prophets,
 p 447, vi. The great Khalífás, p 461 vii The twelve Imáms
 p 471 viii The four Imáms, founders of the Sunní doctrines,
 and the ten persons who are said to have gone to Paradise, p
 481 ; ix The 'Umayyide Khalífás, p 484 x. The Abbáside
 Khalífás, p 493

BOOK IV Kings of Yemen Sultáns of Yrán Turán and
 other Countries, in eleven Chapters. — Chap 1. The Táhirian
 Kings or Mmluks of Khurásán, p 533, ii The Sultáns of
 Khaíl or Gáopára, p. 536 iii The Saffárians, p. 543 iv The
 Sámáníáns, p 545 v The Daulamite Kings of Tabaristán p
 551 vi. The Saijukians, p 556 vii. The Khwárizm-sháhís
 p 565, viii. The Atábaks, p. 569 ix. The Kará khitáís, p
 577 ; x. The Iemshians, p 578, xi Changíz Khán and his
 Descendants, p 587

BOOK V The Kings who reigned after Sultán Abu Saíd,
 in twelve Chapters.—Chap 1. The Ylkánians, p 631 ii. The
 Chanpánians, p 633 iii. Shaikh Abú Is hák King of Persia,
 p 634 iv The Mnzaffarians, p 635 v Kings of Kart, p
 638 ; vi. The Sarubdáríans, p 640 ; vii. The Sarwán-sháhís,
 p 645 viii. The Kará kúnlá rulers, p. 648 ix The Ák kúnlá
 Sultáns, p 650 ; x. The Saffaví Kings, p 652 xi Conquests
 of Nádir Sháh xii. Ahméd Sháh Abdálí, and his Descendants,
 p 692.

BOOK VI The Muhammadan Kings who ruled in Hindústán,
 in nine Chapters.—Chap 1 The Ghaznívide Kings, p 706 ii

The Ghorians, p 723, iii. The Khuljī Princes, p 745, iv. Tughlik Sháh and his Descendants, p 767; v. Khizr Khán, surnamed Ráyát-i A'lá, and his Descendants, p. 796; vi. The Lodí Afgháns, p 808, vii Amír Tímúr Gúrgán and his Descendants, p 822; viii Sher Sháh and other Súr Afgháns, p 879; ix History of Humáyún after his second conquest of Hindústán and his Descendants, to the time of Sháh 'Álam Bádsháh, p. 901

BOOK VII The Rulers of the different Provinces of Hindústán, in eleven Chapters—Chap i The Territory of the Dakhín, p 1188, ii Rulers of the Dakhín, in twelve Sections.—Sect 1 The Bahmaní Dynasty, p 1195; 2. The 'Ádil-sháhí Dynasty, p. 1223, 3. The Nizám sháhí Dynasty, p 1234, 4 The Kutb-sháhí Dynasty, p 1246, 5 The 'Imád-sháhí Dynasty, p 1247; 6 The Barid-sháhí Dynasty, p. 1249, 7. Rulers of Khándesh, p 1250; 8 Rulers of Málwá, p 1252, 9. Sultáns of Gujarát, p 1259, 10. The Malhattas, p. 1268; 11. Battle with Haidar Náik and his son Típú Sultán, p 1293; 12. Nizámu-l Mulk and his Descendants, p. 1299.—Chap iii. The Eastern Kings of Jaunpúr, p. 1307; iv Kings of Orissa and a description of the Province, p. 1310, v. Provinces of Bengal and Bihár and the Sultáns and Gouvernoirs who ruled over them, p 1312, vi Provinces of Alláhábád and Oudh—Nawáb Burhánu-l Mulk Sa'ádat Khán and his Descendants who governed them, p 1345, vii The Rohilla Afgháns who ruled in the territory of Katehr, p. 1389, viii The Bangash Afgháns of Farrukhábád, p 1398; ix. The Ját Chiefs, p 1401; x Najaf Khán, p. 1412; xi The Panjáb and the followers of Nának Sháh called Sikhs, p. 1415.

BOOK VIII Division of Countries according to the English—Discovery of the New World—Their mode of Government, in five Chapters.—Chap i The Seven Climates, as described by the English; and account of the Countries of the New World, which were conquered by them, p 1423; ii An account of the Planets and the Stars, p. 1425; iii The Earth—Rivers—the four divisions of the whole World, p 1429; iv. The Countries of

Europe—the Conquest of the New World—the Countries of the four Continents, and the Constitution of the European States p 1430; v The possessions of the English in Europe and Hindustán, and the rules of their Government, in five Sections.—Sect 1 The Kingdom of England which is the original country of these people, p 1461, 2 A description of the City of London the seat of their Government, p 1463 3 The rules of their Government, p 1465; 4 Kings of England, p 1471 5 Account of the East India Company p 1481

[The following Extracts were apparently translated by *munshis* and received revision from Sir H. M. Elliot.]

EXTRACTS

The Jâts of Bharpur

1 Among the former chiefs of the tribe of Jâts Bayá Jât was pre-eminent. He was a *zamlindr* of *man-a* Sansani, a village situated between Díg and Kumbher. He had in attendance on him a body of nearly one hundred horse, consisting of his relations. The strong fort of Thun was the place of his residence. He led a predatory life and displayed great courage in every excursion. 2 He died, leaving behind him three sons, named Churáman, Badan Singh, and Rája Rám.

3 The first-named son succeeded him in the chieftship of the tribe and as his good fortune proved like waters richly fertilizing the field of his successful career in life he, on the occurrence of the tumult which followed closely on the death of Aurangzeb revolted, and thus laid the foundation of his fortune. Muhammad Farrukh Siyar on ascending the throne despatched Rája Jai Singh Sawái with an overpowering force to chastise Churáman, and as the Rája, after a siege of one year's duration, succeeded in reducing Churáman to the last extremity the latter had sagacity enough to sow the seeds of prudence in the field of good fortune. By entering into a league with Saiyid Husain Ali Khán Bárha, who was in charge of the entire administration of the affairs of

the State, and jealous of the power of Rájá Jai Singh, he rescued the store of his treasure and greatness from the shock of misfortune, which was likely to prove as severe as that of lightning. Rájá Jai Singh was obliged to raise the siege of the fort of Thún, and return with malicious feeling engendered in him by the defeat of his object¹. This circumstance made Chúrámán so arrogant, that the plant of his independent spirit grew up and touched the very heavens. At the time when Husain 'Alí Khán fought with the army of Muhammad Sháh, Chúrámán was so presumptuous that he repeatedly fell on the camp of the Emperor, and engaged in plunder. He thus continued to incur public odium, till the fourth year of the reign of Muhammad Sháh, when Rájá Jai Singh and other *amírs* of note were despatched with an effective force to reduce the fort of Thún, and exterminate him. They employed their utmost exertions to effect the purpose, and as the earthly career of Chúrámán was at an end, his brother, Badan Singh, leagued with Rájá Jai Singh, gave him all the information that might tend to the ruin of Chúrámán, and thereby enabled the Rájá to open the gate of the strong fort. Chúrámán, on seeing his affairs desperate, burnt himself in the magazine of the fort. Rájá Jai Singh levelled the fort to the ground, and caused it to be ploughed up by a yoke of asses.

Rájá Badan Singh, through the interest of Rájá Jai Singh, became the successor of Chúrámán, whose son, Muhkam Singh, forfeited the succession in consequence of his father's offence. Badan Singh, on obtaining the chiefship, built the forts of Bhartpúr and Waira. The fort of Bhartpúr was made very strong, if not impregnable. The ditch round it is so deep that even the imagination cannot pass one half of its depth. Its rampart is so wide that it can admit of the passage of several carriages at a time. Besides this, it is surrounded by forests.

It is said that Badan Singh was in the habit of swallowing every day quicksilver of the weight of a *piece*. He had hundreds

¹ [See *supra*, Vol VII pp 514, 532]

of concubines and twenty sons. On feeling his sight defective in his latter days and finding amongst his sons Suroj Mal to be the most sagacious and wise, he placed the reins of government in his hands, and retired from the cares of State to pass the remainder of his life in seclusion and peace, which he enjoyed up to the year 1174 A.H. (1760-1 A.D.), when he died. It is said of him that, in consequence of his numerous descendants, he used to inquire always, when any one of them came into his presence, as to who the person was.

Suraj Mal who, during the lifetime of his father was entrusted with the entire administration of the affairs of the State strongly fortified the posts of Kumbher and Dîg and on his father's death when he attained absolute power, he employed his exertions for the extension of his territory. The declining state of the Empire of Delhi afforded him the means of making encroachments on the royal territories. In the reign of Ahmad Shâh he was on friendly terms with Wazîr ul Mamâlik Safdar Jang and thereby placed his affairs on a firm basis. He afforded every aid and countenance to the schemes of Safdar Jung. In the year 1164 A.H. (1750-1 A.D.) when Safdar Jang directed a second time his army against Ahmad Khân Bangash Suraj Mal acted in co-operation with him at the head of an effective force. The war terminating in favour of Safdar Jang Suraj Mal obtained possession of the province of Agra, and became the master of the whole territories of Mewât, and a tract of land as far as the neighbourhood of Delhi yielding more than two *krora* of rupees. This extension of his territories exalted his dignity to the very heavens and contributed to augment the strength of his force to nearly one hundred thousand horse and foot. His subjects were in the enjoyment of all the blessings of a good government. In the year 1170 A.H. (1756-7 A.D.) when Ahmad Shâh Abdâlî was on his march to Hindûstân, most of the inhabitants of Delhi, both high and low took shelter in the territories of Suraj Mal who extended his protection towards them, and treated them all with the respect due to their respective ranks.

Jahán Khán, the Commander-in-Chief of the army of the Abdúli, moved at the head of an overwhelming force to capture the fort of Kumbhler, and Súraj Mal proceeded in an undaunted spirit to resist him. In the year 1173 A.H. (1759-60 A.D.) Gházín-d dín Khán Wazír, being dismayed by the approach of Ahmad Sháh Abdúli to Hindústán against the Mahattas with whom he had entered into a league, took refuge with Súraj Mal, who received him courteously, and protected him for a time in his adversity. In this year, also, Súraj Mal took possession of the fort of Akbarábád from the Emperor of Delhi.

When the legitimate son of 'Álamgír the Second ascended the throne of his father in the East, under the title of Sháh 'Álam, and Najíbu-d daula Rohilla assumed the management of the affairs of State, and appointed Jawán Bakht, the eldest son of Sháh 'Álam, as the heir apparent, Súraj Mal felt an ardent desire for the possession of Delhi, and with this object he marched early in the year 1178 A.H. (1764 A.D.) with a considerable force against that place in the spirit of predominant pride. Najíbu-d daula, dreading the prowess and strength of Súraj Mal, entreated him in abject terms to make peace, but Súraj Mal refused, and prepared himself for action. After both armies were drawn up in battle array, Súraj Mal, with a small force, unfortunately advanced too far beyond his army to examine one of his batteries, and while standing between it and that of his enemy, a party which, after having been plundered by Súraj Mal's army, were returning to their camp, on recognizing him, made an attack on him and put him to death. This event brought on, in the twinkling of an eye, the discomfiture and dispersion of the immense force of Súraj Mal without a fight. A circumstance so unexpected can be ascribed to nothing else but to the decree of Providence, and victory, which is in its gift, fell to the lot of Najíbu-d daula.

Súraj Mal, however, had several sons, among whom Jawáhu Singh, the most sagacious, succeeded him. To avenge the death of his father, Jawáhu Singh marched with a considerable force against

Najīb-n-d daula, accompanied by Mallhār Rāo Mahratta and a body of the Panjāb Sikhs. Najīb-n-d daula, taking shelter in the fort of Dehlī, applied himself to strengthen the bastions and gates of the fort and city. Jawāhīr Singh encamped round the tank of Kishan Dās, ten miles distant from Dehlī and laid siege to the city. Cannonading and musketry continued for four months, when the report of the arrival of the Abdālī troops disposed Najīb-n-d daula to purchase peace and he offered concessions to the Mahrattas. The peace was concluded through the interposition of Mallhār Rāo, and both parties remained in their independent positions.

Late in the year 1170 A.H. (1766 A.D.) Raghu Mahratta came from the Dakhin, besieged Gohad and demanded tribute from Jawāhīr Singh, which obliged the latter to depute to him for the purpose of negotiating peace, Gosain Himmat Bahādūr and his brother Amrāo Gīr, who had formerly on the defeat of Nawāb Shujā n-d daula by the English, left the Nawāb's service, and entered that of Jawāhīr Singh. They now, from avaricious motives, excited by the bribes offered them by the Mahrattas, deviated from rectitude and promised Raghu to betray Jawāhīr Singh into his hands. Jawāhīr Singh on learning of this treachery despatched a portion of his army in which he could place confidence with instructions to fall on them unawares, with a view to bring them to their senses. The two brothers, seeing the arrival of the troops in a hostile spirit against them gave up all for lost, and took to flight with some of their immediate attendants. Their equipage and baggage were all carried off as plunder.

In short, Rāja Jawāhīr Singh became master of most of the neighbouring territories. But in consequence of his having attained such glory and power his pride was heightened into vanity, and his mind exalted with the imagination of extending his conquests far and wide.¹ In the year 1182 A.H. (1768 A.D.) he called on Rāja Madhū Singh, son of Rāja Jai Singh Sawāī to surrender the *parganas* in the neighbourhood of Bhartpūr.¹ But

¹ [See *supra* p. 225.]

as Rájá Mádhú Singh did not attend to his call, Jawáhir Singh quarrelled with him, and fitted out a large expedition. Under pretence of performing ablution in the lake near Ajmín, he marched in that direction. Mádhú Singh, however, being aware of his hostile intentions, placed a select body of his troops under the command of Harsahái Khatái, a confidential dependent, with instructions to oppose Jawáhir, who was prepared to take the field without any provocation. This Rájpút force met Jawáhir Singh in the neighbourhood of Jamagar while on his way back from the lake. An obstinate battle took place, and the gallant charges made by both parties occasioned numbers of slain.

In consequence of the bold and vigorous attacks of the valiant Rájpúts, Rájá Jawáhir Singh's troops could not stand their ground. Rájá Harsahái, Gunsahái (his brother-in-law), and most of the brave Rájpúts displayed their valour, but fell at last on the field of battle. Confidence and courage failed Jawáhir Singh. With a dejected heart he retreated towards Bhartpúr, and became, in consequence of his ineffectual encroachment and disgraceful return, the subject of public ridicule. He at last glutted his vengeance by wresting the territory of Kámún from Rájá Mádhú Singh. He then proceeded from Bhartpúr to Ágra, where a villain, whose name is not known, put him to death while engaged in viewing an elephant-fight.

Jawáhir Singh's brother, Ratan Singh (another son of Sámrí Mal), succeeded him. This Prince remained constantly in a state of intoxication, and wasted his precious moments in idleness and indolence. A few days after his accession he was disposed to gain a knowledge of alchemy, and was accordingly made over a large quantity of gold to a person of the name of Rúpánand, who had given out that he was a powerful alchemist. This individual, however, appropriated the gold to his own use, amusing Ratan Singh with a few trifling tricks. When subterfuges on his part exceeded their reasonable bounds, Ratan Singh threatened him with punishment; and the impostor, apprehensive of the loss of his property, if not his life,

ducted him unattended by any servants to his own place, under pretence of showing him the alchemical discoveries made by him. On his arrival there he put Ratan Singh to death by stabbing him with a knife. This event coming to the knowledge of the adherents of Ratan Singh they immediately killed the *darkesh*. Ratan Singh ruled only nine months.

On his death, Kheri Singh, his son only five years of age, was installed by the ministers of the State, and Nawul Singh son of Suraj Mal, was appointed regent, but one month afterwards, when Kheri Singh died Nawul Singh became independent, and placed himself on the *gaddi*.

This Prince being desirous of extending his territories wrested, in the year 1196 A H (1774 A D) the fort of Balamgarh from Ajit Singh, son of Bagu Jat. He also overcame the Imperial force which had been ordered to give support to Ajit Singh and he became master of Sikandra and several other places belonging to the crown. These conquests made him assume an air of haughtiness, until Najaf Khán¹ by command of His Majesty Sháh Alam hoisted the banner of bravery for his expulsion, and succeeded in wresting from him the possession of Faridábád. He waged war with Nawul Singh in the neighbourhood of Hadal and Barsáná. He was so fortunate that notwithstanding a forest being situated to his disadvantage, he gained a complete victory over Nawul Singh who being thus doomed to sustain a defeat, fortified himself in the fort of Díg. Najaf Khán, in a short time and with little opposition, effected the restoration of all the usurped territories which were in possession of Nawul Singh, even to the very walls of Akbarábád, and afterwards marched to besiege the fort of Díg. When the fort had been in a state of siege for two years, Nawul Singh died.

Ranjit Singh, son of Suraj Mal, who was then at Bhartpúr on hearing of his brother's death, hastened to Díg applied himself to strengthening the gates and bastions of the fort, and animated the courage of the besieged. He killed Mullá Ahmad Khán

¹ [See *supra* p. 227.]

Rohilla, who had been employed by Nuwul Singh to protect the fort, but on Nuwul Singh's death aspired to the possession of it himself. It is through the exertions of Ranjít Singh, that the besieged held out for eleven months more, when, on the failure of supplies, Ranjít Singh, seeing the desperate state of his affairs, surrendered. A few days afterwards, Najaf Khán captured the fort of Kumbher; but the forts of Bhairpúr and Waira, with some other places, remained in the possession of Ranjít Singh.

After the death of Najaf Khán, when the Mahrattas obtained a footing in his territories, Ranjít Singh professed subjection to Sindhia Patel, the commander-in-chief of the Mahratta force. Sindhia, being pleased with him, committed to his charge, on the occasion of the march of his army in the direction of Jainagar, the forts of Díg and Kumbher, which Najaf Khán had annexed to his own territories.

When, in the year 1218 A H (1803 A D), the British overcame the Mahrattas, and took possession of their territories, Ranjít Singh was prudent enough to acknowledge ostensibly the supremacy of the British; but in the following year, on the occasion of the march of the united force of the Mahratta chiefs, Daulat Ráo Sindhia and Jaswant Ráo Holkar, against the British, he joined the Mahrattas, in gratitude for their former good will and regard for him. When, in the latter part of the year, the British, after reducing, through the wisdom of their policy and sagacity, the strong forts of Díg and Kishanganh, gallantly determined to take the fort of Bhairpúr, he with a valiant body of Játs marched boldly to resist them.

It is said that these Játs, in spite of the superior strength of the British, fell upon them regardless of life as moths of fire, committed great slaughter, and thus displayed their valour to the admiration of all who witnessed or heard of the fact. But when the rulers of Bengal and Bihár, the potentates of the Dakhin such as Haidar and Típú Sultán, the Mahrattas and others equal to Rustam and Isfandiýái, have been worsted by the British army, what could be expected from that poor and

helpless body? Their fight with the English is just as that of a mosquito with an elephant, or of a moth with fire a parrot with a hawk, or a goat with a lion! Indeed, these Englishmen emulate the great heroes who figure in ancient history.

The Mahratta chiefs were presumptuous enough to continue opposing and harassing the English until such time as the most exalted General Lake, by his prudent strokes of policy, and every sort of kindness and regard gained over Ranjit Singh to espouse the interests of the British. He restored to Ranjit Singh the forts of Dig and Kishangarh and then made preparations for the expulsion of the Mahrattas. Ranjit Singh enjoyed a high name in every direction of the world by his attachment to the English. He died in the latter part of the year 1220 A.H. (1806 A.D.), leaving his name immortal in the pages of history.

The English Company

The Company or the English merchants, sent their agents in ships laden with the productions of Europe for sale, and also with money in cash to purchase goods in Hindustán. They commenced their business in this country in the time of the Emperor Nur-ud-dín Jahángír and obtained from him several houses for the residence of their agents in the port of Surat. Afterwards by the Emperor's orders, they took several places from the Portuguese. Gradually they established their factories in Bombay, Madras, and other maritime places in Hindustán.

In the reign of Muhammad Aurangzeb Alamgír they obtained permission to build a factory in Bengal and thus they laid the foundation of the city of Calcutta. As long as the rulers of India did not molest them the agents of the Company paid taxes into the royal treasury like other merchants but when they were oppressed by Chandá Sáhib, governor of Arcot, and Siráj-ud-daula, grandson of Mahábat Jang Allwardí Khán ruler of Bengal, they submitted their complaints to their King and being reinforced by a royal army, they took possession of

Arcot and Calcutta By degrees they established their dominion in Bengal and Bihár. By the assistance of Almighty God, and their good fortune, and through the aid of their armies, they achieved, as has been before mentioned in this brief narrative, repeated victories over Shujá'u-d daula, and with great magnanimity and generosity restored the country to him which they had conquered. But as a measure of precaution, they placed a division of the English army on the frontier of his possessions, the pay of which was to be paid by him, and an intelligent and wise English officer was also appointed to remain with him.

After his death, the English received the districts of Benares, Jaumpúr, Gházípur, and Chunár, from Ásafu-d danla, in consideration of his being confirmed in the *masnad*, and these places were annexed to the Company's possessions. When Ásafu-d daula expired, after the quelling of the disturbances raised by Wazir 'Alí Khán, and the accession of Nawáb Sa'adat 'Alí Khán to the *masnad*, one-half of the Oudh territory was ceded to the Company.

In the end of the year 1217 A H (1802 A D), Mádhú Ráo left this perishable world, and Bájí Ráo, son of Raghunáth Ráo, succeeded him. Having been defeated by Jaswant Ráo Holkar, in consequence of his minister's defection, he requested assistance from the Lord Marquis, the Governor-General, who sent his brother, General Wellesley, at the head of a formidable army for his succour. Having thus recovered the government of Púna, he was again established firmly upon the *masnad*. Daulat Ráo Sindhua, Jaswant Ráo Holkar, and Raghújí Ghoslá,¹ the Mahratta chiefs, having combined together, prepared to fight with the English army. The Governor-General, seeing them hostilely disposed, ordered General Wellesley and other officers at different stations, in 1803 A D, corresponding with 1218 A H, to extinguish the fire of their opposition, and wrest from them the forts and the cities which they had conquered. He also sent large supplies of treasure in all directions, and, as has been men-

¹ [Usually "Bhosla" or "Bhonsla," but see *supra*, Vol VII p 255.]

tioned in this work in the history of the Mahrattas, the English forces were everywhere victorious, and all the territory and forts of these rebels fell into the hands of the British warriors Daulat Ráo, Raghuji Ghoslá, and other chiefs sued for peace, which they obtained, and enjoyed tranquillity and ease. According to the Governor General's orders some of the conquered cities and forts were restored to them. Jaswant Ráo Holkar, however continued still to be refractory and having left the Dakhín he now kindled the fire of rebellion in Hindustán.

In those days also Ranjit Singh Ját revolted and began to betray insubordination and insolence. Many English were slain in fighting with him and on all sides round their camp the forces of Jaswant Ráo commenced plundering. General Lake with great valour and prudence did not move his foot from the field of firmness and perseverance, and with great kindness and favour having restored the forts of Díg Kishangarh, etc., to Ranjit Singh, and made an alliance with him, directed his whole efforts to the expulsion of Jaswant Ráo who in his extreme prudence, always took care to keep himself at a distance from the English artillery and fought after the Mahratta fashion. He proceeded to the territory of the Panjáb, where the brave General also boldly pursued him to the environs of Láhore.

In the mean time, the Governor General, the Lord Marquis, having been removed from his office, returned home, and the honourable, the great and noble Lord Cornwallis the new Governor General the praise of whose excellent character and good conduct is beyond the extent of imagination, and in whose time and by whose sagacity and wisdom the conquest over Tipú Sultán was achieved, came from the east towards the western part of the country with the intention of quelling the disturbances and tumults which the Mahrattas had raised. But on the 5th of the month of Rajah, 1220 A.H. corresponding with the 10th of October 1805 A.D., he died of some disease in the vicinity of Gházípur and all the English officers, as well as other people of all ranks, were much overwhelmed by sorrow at his death.

General Lake, according to the orders of the Government, purchased peace from Jaswant Ráo Holkar, at the expense of some treasure and the restoration of the conquered territory to him, which belonged to the Rájputána states, after this, the General returned from the territory of the Panjáb to Dehlí

In these days, the end of the year 1220 A H, and the close of the forty-eighth year of Sháh 'Álam Bádsháh's reign (may his dominion and sovereignty be prolonged to eternity !) Mahárája Holkar came from the Panjáb to Rájputána, and there having raised the standard of triumph and success, established his rule, and is now engaged in exacting contributions from the Rájas and Ráis of that territory. The English retained the districts of Dehlí and Ágra in their own possession. General Lake triumphantly proceeded from the capital to the eastern part of the country, and Mr. Barlow having been appointed to officiate in place of the Governor-General, took the management of the Government affairs into his hands.

In short, all the chiefs and proud rulers of Hindústán, whose heads touched the heavens, and who from their dignity and pomp claimed equality with Saturn, now having considered their safety to lie in repentance and obedience, could not raise their heads from their knees out of respect to this powerful people, and all the rebellious and turbulent characters who always scratched the head of pride and vanity with the nails of tumult and quarrel, put the cap of their obstinacy upon the ground of submission, and did not place their foot beyond the bounds of respect to this body of wise men, who, from their great humanity and liberality, have subdued every one of their enemies. Whoever sought their protection was much honoured, respected, and treated with great kindness, and they fixed an allowance for his maintenance. Notwithstanding that the English are few in number, yet, by their prudent measures and superior wisdom and understanding, they have introduced such management into the countries conquered by them as never was known in the days of any

ancient rulers, although they possessed much greater power and more numerous armies

For the comfort of their subjects and tranquillity of all the people they have established courts in all their cities and towns so that, in fact, in apprehension of their equity and justice the wolf and the lion live in the same den with the goat and the deer and the wagtail and sparrow sit in the same nest with the falcon and hawk. The powerful fly before the weak and robbers and highwaymen show the way to bonighted travellers. All enjoy rest under their protection and all are comforted by their justice. If a brief account of the rules and regulations which are made by these great people for the administration of justice were given it would much lengthen this work. The judges, at the time of hearing complaints, look on all poor and rich respectable and mean with an impartial eye, and punish them according to the law in proportion to the atrocity of their deeds, so that others may take warning from them and avoid to commit crime. May Almighty God preserve the shadow of their favour and kindness over the heads of all people as long as the world exists!

CXXXVI

KASHIFUL AKHBAR

OF

INAYAT HUSAIN

THIS "Revealer of News" was composed by Inayat Husain of Malirard for the instruction of his son, Imdad Husain, and the edification of some of his friends and occupied him nine years. There is nothing whatever in it to warrant so much waste of time for the historical portion is a mere transcript from his predecessors

without a word of novelty. The geographical chapter is most useful, though even in that there is little not to be found in the *Hudikatul Akálm*. 'Ináyat Husain does not himself mention his authorities, but the transcriber of the copy I have used adds in a postscript the monstrous assertion that the author has consulted no less than four hundred and eighty-four works in the course of his compilation. This information he professes to have derived from the author himself.

The exact year of completion is not mentioned, but as notice is taken of the death of Sháh 'Álam, and the accession of Akbar II, the work must have been completed subsequent to 1220 A.H. (1805 A.D.). The *Kashifu-l Akhbár* is not divided into books and chapters, but the most prominent divisions and subjects are the following. Some miscellaneous matters, such as a "history of inventions," are necessarily omitted in this abstract of contents.

CONTENTS.

Preface, p. 1, Creation, Jinn, Prophets, Muhammad, Grecian Philosophers, Eastern Poets, p. 2, Versification, Composition, Astronomy, and Physical Geography, p. 101, The four Persian Dynasties and early Arabs, p. 119, 'Umayyides, 'Abbásides, and the Dynasties which arose in their time, p. 141, Changíz Khán, and the Mughal Dynasties, Saffavis, p. 172, Kings of Hindústán, Hindús, Ghaznívídes, Ghorians, Khuljís, etc., to Akbar II, p. 201; Sikhs, Mahrattas and English, p. 314. Kings of the Dakhn, Gujarát, Málwá, Bengal, Jaunpúr, Multán, Sind, and Kashmir, p. 322, Descriptive account of the Súbas of Hindústán, p. 381; Conclusion, p. 423.

SIZE—Folio, 425 pages, each containing 25 lines

There is nothing in the volume worth translation in this place

I know of only one copy of the *Kashifu-l Akhbár*, which was transcribed in 1263 A.H. (1847 A.D.) for Nawáb Daula Sa'iyid Muhammad 'Alí Khán Bahádui, by Muhammad 'Arfán 'Alí of Bareilly. It is clean and correct

CXXVII

ZUBDATUL AKBAR

or

UMRAO SINGH

THIS work is an abridgment of the *Khulāsatu t Tawārīkh*, by Umrāo Singh, of Benares, continued down to the accession of Muḥammad Akbar II, or rather to the appointment of Sir E. Colebrooke as one of the Commissioners of the ‘Ceded and Conquered Provinces,’ an era of importance to the author as he seems to have been employed by the British Government in the Revenue Department. The work opens in a manner which would lead us to suppose it the production of a Musalmān rather than a Hindu.

The *Zubdatul Akbār* is divided into seven Books; of which the first five are abstracted from the *Khulāsatu-t Tawārīkh* a portion of his labour which the author tells us occupied him fifteen days. He also informs us that he was fond of studying history and reading Arabic and Persian works and was seldom engaged except in these agreeable occupations. One day after reading the *Khulāsatu t Tawārīkh* it came into his head that he would abridge that work, because he found it tedious to peruse so long a history which was comprised in 656 pages, each numbering 20 lines and he wishes to save others the trouble he had experienced in turning over so many leaves.

CONTENTS.

Preface, p 1 — Book I Description of Hindustān and the *subas* and *sarkars* dependent on Dehlī, with a statement of the revenues collected from each, p 4, II The Kauravas and Pāndavas, p 29, III The Hindū Rājās from the time of Parichit, including an account of Bikramājī, p. 45, IV The Muhammadan Sovereigns of Ghazni Lahore, and Dehlī, including the Ghaznivides, Ghorians, Slave Kings Khiljis, Sayyids

and Lodís, p. 77, V. The Tímúrian Dynasty from Bábar down to the close of Aurangzeb's reign, including an account of the Súr Afghán Dynasty, p. 123, VI. From the reign of Bahádur Sháh to the death of Sháh 'Álam, including an account of Nádir Sháh, the Abdálís, Rohillas, Malirattas, and English, p. 233, VII Accession of Muhammad Akbar II, the capture of the forts of 'Aligarh, Kanona, etc., and the duration of reigns from Judhishthar to Sháh 'Álam, p. 556.

This work contains nothing in matter or manner worthy of translation.

The only copy which I know of the *Zubdatu-l Akhbár* is in the possession of the *Sadr Baháshí* of 'Aligarh. It contains 612 pages, with 16 lines to the page

. CXXXVIII.

MUNTAKHAB-I KHULÁSATU-T TAWÁRIKH

OF

RÁM PARSHÁD.

THIS is not an abridgment of the *Khulásatu-t Tawárikh*, as the name might lead us to suppose, but a brief abstract History of India, made without any reference to that work.

The *Muntakhab* has no Preface, and begins without any preliminary praises; but at the end, the copyist says that it was composed by a person named Rám Parshád. It is of no use except to the merest beginner. It is chiefly devoted to the Tímúrian Sovereigns—one page only being given to the period which preceded them. The work ends with the accession of Akbar II, and contains 40 pages of 15 lines each; but some tables are added from the *Jám-i Jam* of Sa'yíd Ahmad Khán, by which the volume is expanded to 84 pages.

The only copy I know of belongs to Nawáb 'Alí Muhammad Khán of Jhajar.

CCXXIX

AKHBAR I MUHABBAT

or

NAWAB MUHABBAT KHAN

A GENERAL History of India from the time of the Ghaznívides to the accession of Muhammad Akbar II, at the close of the year 1806

The author Nawáb Muhabbat Khán is not to be confounded with his contemporary and namesake, the second son of Háfiz Rahmat, favourably known as the author of *Mánu i Muhabbat*, a grammar and dictionary of the Pushtu language, written in Persian. A manuscript of his work in the East India Library has been much quoted by Dr Bernhard Dorn in his *Annotations to the History of the Afgháns*. The same writer is author also of the poem called *Ardár i Muhabbat* having called his two chief works, like the author to whom this article is devoted, after his own name—*Muhabbat*. M. Garcin de Tassy devotes an article to him in his *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoue et Hindoustani*.¹

The style of the author of the *Akhbár i Muhabbat* is slovenly and inaccurate, as is often observable in works written in India by foreigners from Afghánistán. He dwells with peculiar pleasure upon the deeds of his ancestors, and is very proud of a lineage which he traces through Diler Khán Daryá Khán Saul Abraham and Noah, up to Adam.

The work is in too abridged a form to be of much use except towards the end where the author expands the narrative giving an unusually minute account of the Durrání invasions, and some of

¹ Vol. I. p. 355.

the transactions of Sháh 'Álam's reign, to which he assigns only thirteen years, contrary to the usual mode of reckoning. Certain portions also of the reigns of Jahángír and his successors are enlarged upon, when he has the opportunity of recounting the exploits of Daryá Khán, Khán Jahán Lodí, Bahádur Khán, Diler Khán, and other heroes of the author's race and family.

In his Preface he quotes several authorities, as *Akbar-náma* by Abú-l Fazl, an anonymous history of Shaháb-ud dín Ghorí, an anonymous history of 'Alán-ud dín Khiljí, the *Tárikh-i Afaghana* by Husain Khán, the *Zafar-nama* by Sharaf-ud dín, the *Timúrnáma* of Hátifi, Bábar's Memoirs, the *Tárikh-i Akbari* by 'Atá Beg Kazwíní, the *Kitab-i Akbar-Shahi* by Shaikh Illahdád Faizí, the *Tabakat-i Akbari* by Nizámu-ud dín Ahmad, the *Iktá-náma* of Mu'tamad Khán, the Autobiography of Jahángír, the *Tárikh-i Sháh-Jaháni* by Wáris Khán, the *Tárikh-i 'Álamgiri* by Muhammad Kázim, two works under the name of *Tárikh-i Bahádur-Shahi*, the *Tárikh-i Muhammad-Shahi*, *Ahmad-Shahi*, *Shah 'Álam-Shahi*, the *Tárikh-i Kashmíri* by Mauláná Sháhábádí, the *Mahábhárat*, *Ramayana*, *Vishnu Purána*, the *Bhágavata*, *Jog-bashisht*, *Singhásan Battisi*, *Padmávat*, the *Rájavalí* of Bháo Rám, and *Rája Taranginí*.

Most of these are of ordinary currency, and are often quoted in Prefaces without being read. The perusal, and even the existence of the anonymous works, may be doubted. He mentions also the history of Násiru-ud dín and Mahmúd by 'Unsurí, and the *Tárikh-i Fíroz-Shahi* by 'Izzu-ud dín, though why either should be quoted it is impossible to say, inasmuch as only two lines are devoted to Fíroz Sháh's reign, and only thirty pages to the entire Khiljí and Tughluk dynasties. In the Ghaznávide dynasty he follows the words and the defective arrangement of the *Khulásat-ut Tawárikh*, which he does not quote, ascribing, like that work, only seven reigns to the whole dynasty. This is another instance of the shameless fraud of which we have shown the author of the *Khulásat* himself to have been guilty.

He informs us that in the latter part of his history he benefited by the verbal information derived from his father uncle brothers and other trustworthy persons. He quotes also two new works, the *Darya i Dileri* and the *Risala i Dileri*, which most probably relate to the achievements of his ancestors

[There can be no doubt that he either used the *Tārīkh-i Mandala-i Futuh*, the *Tārīkh i Ibrāhīm Khān*, and the *Nigār-nāma i Hind*, or if he did not, that he and the authors of these works all copied from the same original authority]

CONTENTS

The Preface, an account of the arrival of the author's ancestors in Hindustān the Patriarchs Ali Abdūl Kādir Jīlānī Sālār Mas ud tho twelve Imāms the conquest of Bengal Bikramājī, and other miscellaneous matters, p. 1, The Ghaznawides, p. 100; The Ghorides, Khuljis, etc., p. 121 Bābar p. 150, Humāyun p. 160; Akbar, p. 197; Jehāngīr p. 208, Shāh Jahan p. 240 Aurangzoh p. 351 Bahādur Shāh and an account of the *subas*, p. 420 Jahāndār Shāh, Farrukh Siyar etc., p. 430 Muhammed Shāh with accounts of the English Jāts Nawābs of Oudh, Nādir Shāh etc., p. 487, Ahmad Shāh p. 630 Alamgir II., p. 699, Shāh Alam p. 726 Muhammad Akbar p. 768.

Size—8vo containing 782 pages of 17 lines each.

I have seen but one copy of this work and that is in the possession of one of the descendants of the author

[The Extracts, translated by a *munshi*, were revised by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

EXTRACTS.

*Foundation of the city of Calcutta by Mr Chānuak (Job Charnock)
chief of the English tribe*

Calcutta formerly was only a village, the revenue of which was assigned for the expenses of the temple of Kālī Devī which stands there. As in the Bengālī language the words *Karta* and *Kat* mean the proprietor of that Kālī in course of time by the

elision of the *z*, it began to be called Calcutta¹ I now proceed to an account of the foundation of the city, and how the Honourable Company's factory was maintained at Gholghát² and Mughalpúra, near Húghlí Suddenly, at about sunset, when the English officers were at their dinner, a violent bore arose in the river, and fell with such force upon the shore that the factory was in danger of falling down. The officers ran out in great consternation and saved their lives. All the goods and property were destroyed by the water, and a few men and several animals lost their lives. Mr Chának, their chief, having purchased the Benárasí Bágh, which belonged to the Company's agent at Gholghát, near the city, cut down the trees, and founded a factory, the buildings of which were raised two and three stories high. When the compound was made, and the rooms were ready to be roofed in, the nobles and chief men among the Sayids and Mughals, who were great merchants, went to Míi Násir, *Faydár* of Húghlí, and declared that if the strangers were allowed to ascend their lofty houses, they, the Mughals, would be greatly dishonoured, seeing that the persons of their females would be exposed to view. The *faydár* sent a report of the matter to Nawáb Ja'far Khán, and directed the Mughals and other principal inhabitants of the place to accompany it. They all complained before the Nawáb, who issued orders to the *faydár*, to the effect that not another brick or timber should be allowed to be raised. The *faydár*, immediately on receipt of the order, prohibited all the masons and carpenters from carrying on the work, and ordered that no one should go to the factory. Thus the work remained unfinished. Mr. Chának, with great indignation, prepared to fight, but as he had a very small force, and only one vessel was present at the time, while the Mughals, who were joined by the powerful *faydár*,³ had assembled in great number, he saw no advantage in taking any hostile measure against them, and was

¹ This is not very logical or comprehensible

² Called Golgot by Orme — *Fragments*, p. 281

³ His name was Abdu-l Ghaní. — See Orme's *Fragments*, p. 281

obliged to weigh anchor. He had a burning glass in his ship, with which, by concentrating the sun's rays, he burnt the river face of the city as far as Ohndornagore. With a view to revenge this injury, the *saugdár* wrote to the police station at Makhúá, with orders to stop the vessel. The *thánadár* accordingly in order to prevent the passage of the vessel prepared an iron chain each link of which was ten *seers* in weight and having made it in length equal to the breadth of the river kept it ready and made it firm to the wall of the fort. The chain being extended across the river the vessel was thus intercepted, but Mr Chának cut through the chain with a European sword, and went on his way¹. He took his vessel out to sea, and proceeded towards the Dakhn.

In those days the Emperor Aurangzeb was in that part of the kingdom straitened by his enemy for provisions, and his camp was reduced to starvation. Upon this the chief of the factory in the Carnatic sent vessels laden with grain, showing great consideration for the throne and proved of great service. The Emperor was much pleased with the English people, and desired to know the Honourable Company's wishes. The English chief requested him to grant a *sanad* and *farmán* giving permission to establish factories in all parts of the kingdom and particularly in Bengal. The request was granted, and the royal orders exempting the Honourable Company's ships from custom duties, fixing a sum of three thousand rupees as a *peakhásh* to be presented to the *bakhsht* of the port and giving permission for the establishment of factories, were issued. Mr Chának returned with the royal *farmáns* from the Dakhn to Bengal. He sent his agents with the *peakhásh* and some presents to Jafar Khán and obtained permission to erect a factory in Calcutta. Mr Chának accordingly erected a new factory at the place where he anchored after returning from the Dakhn, which is known by the name of Chának. He founded the city and populated it,

¹ In the account of Job Charnock in Orme's *Fragments* p. 282, the forcing of the iron chain at Tillanpúra is mentioned.

and gave a stimulus to the trade of Bengal. That factory is well known to this day by the name of the Old Fort.

Calcutta is a large city, situated on the banks of the Bháginatí. It is a large port, and the great mart of the trade of the Honourable Company and their dependents. Small vessels called *salap* (sloops?) every year trade with this port from China, Europe, and other countries, and almost at all times some are at anchor there. In these days this city is the residence of the chief English officers, and the city and its dependences are considered their property. The buildings are built entirely of masonry, plastered with lime or mud. The land, on account of its vicinity to the sea, is very blackish and damp, and hence the houses are raised two or three stories high. The lower apartments are not fit to be inhabited. The buildings are like those of Europe, airy, spacious, and commodious. The city is very large, and all constructed of brick. Besides the English, the Bengalis, Armenians, and other inhabitants, are also opulent merchants. The water of the wells, on account of its blackish quality, is not drinkable. If any person drinks it, he is sure to suffer. In the hot and rainy seasons it becomes peculiarly bitter and saline, and consequently drinking water is procured from tanks. The sea is forty *kos* distant from the city, and the ebb and flow of the tide occur every day and every night. At full moon the bore rushes in for three days with unusual violence. It presents a curious and wonderful scene; it throws some boats on the shore, and breaks others to pieces, those which are not near the shore receive no injury from it, and therefore no boat, large or small, is left there unanchored. In the same manner, towards the end of the lunar month, the water rolls in with great violence for three days and nights. These high floods are called *homán* in the Bengali language, and that which takes place daily is termed *jowán-bháta*.

A mud fort towards the south, outside the city, constructed after the English model, is very marvellous. Its praise is beyond all expression, it is well worth seeing. The wall which

encircles it appears in every direction low from the outside just like the embankment of a tank, but looking at it from the inside it appears high. Very large and lofty buildings are erected within it, and much skill is shown in the entire construction of this fort. There are many other wonderful and excellent works in this city. As regards the beauty of the buildings and various novelties there is no city like this in the whole of Hindústán, except Sháh-Jahánábád which is incomparable. Its only defects are that the air is very insalubrious the water brackish and the soil damp to such a degree that the floors of the houses, although made of bricks and lime, are still from the excess of moisture, always damp and the walls also are wet to the height of two or three cubits. For four months in the winter the climate is not so unhealthy but for eight months during the summer and rainy seasons it is very injurious.

Calcutta is a wonderful city in the country of Bang
 It is a specimen of both China and Farang
 Its buildings are heart-attracting and delightful.
 Their heads are exalted to the height of the sky
 The decorations executed in them by skilful persons
 Exhibit a variety of good colours and beautiful drawings.
 From the beauty of the works of the European artists
 The senses of the spectator are overpowered.
 The hat wearing Englishmen who dwell in them
 All speak the truth and have good dispositions.
 As are the dwellings, so are their occupants.
 How can I sufficiently indite their praises?
 The roads made of pounded brick are so level,
 That the morning breezes sweep away all the dirt from them.
 In all the lanes persons whose faces are like the moon take their walks,
 So that you would say the earth was bathed in moonlight.
 One is like the moon, the other like the planet Jupiter,
 The third shows a beauty like that of Venus.
 As a multitude of persons like the planets roam in every direction,
 The streets take the resemblance of the Milky Way

You will see, if you go to the *basár*, all the excellent things of the world.

All things which are produced in any part of the inhabited world
Are found in its *basár* without difficulty

If I attempt to write in praise of the marvels of the city,
The pen will refuse its office

But it is well known to all of every degree

That it combines the beauties of China and Farang

The ground is as level as the face of the sky,

And the roads in it are as straight as the line of the equator

People go out to walk on them,

And there they meet together like the planets

Such a city as this in the country of the Bengalís

Nobody has seen or heard of in the world

Account of Farásdángá

Chandernagore, *alias* Farásdángá, is twelve *kos* from Calcutta, and there is a factory in it belonging to the French Christians. It is a small town on the banks of the Bhágíratí. An officer on the part of the King of France remains there to govern the town and manage the commercial affairs of the place. The English have no concern with it. In the same manner, Chochrá (Chinsura) is in possession of the tribe of Walandíz (Hollanders). This place is a little to the south of the port of Húghlí, and is one *kos* to the north of Farásdángá. In like manner, Seorámpúr (Serampore), which is also situated on the same stream, and opposite to Chának, has a factory of the tribe of Danámár (Denmark), by which name the station itself is sometimes called. In these places no other rule prevails than that of the nation which owns the factories.

I again resume my original subject. Nawáb Ja'far Khán, towards the close of his life, built on his own property, which lay to the east of the city of Murshídábád, a *ganj*, a *latiá*, a mosque, a minaret, a reservoir, and a large well. He also raised his tomb at the foot of the stairs of the mosque, with the view that by that means it might not soon get injured, and that by

the fortunate contiguity of the mosque prayers might constantly be made in his name. As his end approached, having no son he appointed as his representative and successor Sarfaráz Khán his daughter's son, whom he had brought up from infancy, and consigned to his care all public treasure the buried wealth furniture, and all the privileges appertaining to the Nizám and the Emperor.

The Sixth Year of the Reign of Ahmad Shah

1 In this year, Imádu l Mulk (Ghazfu d dín) having secured the concurrence of Malhár Mahratta, attacked Suraj Mal Ját who was one of the dependents of Safdar Jang. Suraj Mal, having taken refuge in one of his forts² wrote to Ahmad Sháh and Intizámu-d daula, representing that if Imádu l Mulk joined by the Mahrattas should acquire power he would assuredly ruin the Empire as well as the Wazárat. Intizámu d daula saw the evil, and persuaded the Emperor to proceed, on pretence of hunting towards Sikandrú, where Holkar Mahratta suddenly made an attack upon the royal army. Ahmad Sháh with his mother Intizámu-d daula, and some other followers fled. All the royal camp equipage and the insignia of royalty were plundered by the Rajputs. Malika Zamánya the daughter of Farrukh Siyar with other ladies of the royal household were captured by the Mahratta and received into his *sera* and the honour of the family of Tímur received a deadly wound.¹

2 Imádu l Mulk on receipt of this intelligence, abandoned the siege of the Ját's forts and in company with Malhár Ráo Holkar and Samsámu d daula, the commandant of artillery returned to Dehli. There, in concert with the chief officers of the throne, he first killed Intizámu d daula, his maternal uncle, and then assumed the rank of *kazir* for himself under the title of *Ghazfu-d*

¹ Grant Duff (*History of the Mahrattas*, vol. II. p. 78) says merely that the baggage was plundered. Scott says that after the outcry and plunder, the ladies were released and furnished with an escort to Dehli — Scott, *History of the Decan*, vol. II. p. 229

din Khán He took Ahmad Sháh and his mother prisoners, and treated them with every indignity. The pen now turns to other matters, and, if God please, the present subject shall be hereafter resumed

The Muhammadans and Christians in Malibár and the Dakhn

Let it not be hidden from the sun-resembling minds of those who understand the value of the gems of intelligence, that, previous to the rise of Muhammadanism, the Jews and the Christians had intercourse, as merchants, with most of the ports of the Dakhn, such as Palniár¹ and others. Having become familiar with the people of that country, they established their residence in some of the cities, and built houses and gardens.

In this manner they sojourned for many years. When the great star of Muhammadanism appeared, and the rays of that world-enlightening sun shone from the east to the west, gradually the countries of Hindústán and the Dakhn were also benefited by the light of the Muhammadan law, and intercourse of the Musulmáns with that country began. Many of the kings and rulers of that country espoused the Muhammadan faith. The Rájás of the ports of Goa, Dábal, and Chand, etc., allowed all the Musulmáns who came there from the different parts of Arabia to settle on the sea-shore, and treated them with great honour and respect. For this cause the Jews and Christians burned with the fire of envy and malice. But when the countries of the Dakhn and Gujarát came into the possession of the Kings of Dehlí, and Islám was established in them, the Europeans put the seal of silence on their lips, and never uttered a word of animosity or opposition, till at length, about the year 900 A.H. (1495 A.D.), when weakness and disorder found their way into the government of the Sultáns of the Dakhn, the Portuguese Christians received orders from their King to build their forts on the shore of the

¹ Perhaps Palniád, the name of the district in which Calicut is situated

Indian Ocean In the year 904 A H (1499 A D) four ships of the same people arrived at the ports of Kandarî¹ and Kâlikot (Calicut) and having made themselves acquainted with the circumstances of the place they returned to their own country Next year six vessels came and anchored at Kâlikot The Portuguese petitioned the chief of the place who was called Sâmuri (Zamorin) to prohibit the Muhammadans from intercourse with Arabia, remarking that they would benefit him much more than the Muhammadans could The Samuri however gave no heed to their prayers but the Christians began to deal harshly with the Muhammadans in all their transactions At last the Sâmuri being provoked, gave orders that the Christians should be slain and plundered Seventy persons of rank were destroyed among the Christians and those who remained embarked on the vessels, and thus saved themselves They landed near the city of Kojî (Cochin) the chief of which was at hostility with the Sâmuri They obtained his permission to build a fort, which they completed hurriedly in a very short time They demolished a mosque on the sea shore and made a Christian church of it This was the first fort which the Christians built in India.

With the same expedition they built a fort at Kanur (Cananore) and to their entire satisfaction engaged in the trade of pepper and dry ginger preventing others from engaging in the same traffic On this account the Sâmuri raised an army and having killed the son of the chief of Cochin, plundered the country and returned The heirs of those who were slain again collected their forces, raised the standard of sovereignty and restored the population of the country to its former state By the advice of the Firingis they built ships of war and the chief of Cananore followed their example This excited the anger of the Sâmuri who lavished immense treasure upon an army raised for the

¹ The passage of *Firiakia*, from which this account seems to be taken, and which is abstracted from the *TuAfat-ul MuxdAwia* (Bingge vol iv p. 534) has "Koilad"; but the lithographed original, which, as usual, differs very much from the translation, has "Kandarîa."

with the *zamindār* of that place, they erected a fortress for their protection about half a *farsakh* from the city

In the same year they took the fort of Goa, belonging to Yusuf 'Adil Shah, who retook it by stratagem but after a short time, the Firingis, having bribed the governor of the place with large sums of gold again became its masters and they made the fort, which was exceedingly strong the seat of their Government This made sorrow and grief prey upon the health of the Sāmūrī who expired in 921 A.H. (1515 A.D.) His brother who succeeded him rolled up the carpet of destruction and pursued the path of friendship with the Firingis. He gave them ground for a fort near the city of Kālikot, and took an agreement from them that he should be allowed to send four ships laden with pepper and dry ginger to the ports of Arabia. For some time the Firingis observed these terms but when the fort was completed they prohibited his trading in those articles and began again to practise all kinds of tyranny and persecution upon the followers of Islām

In like manner the Jews of Kranghīr (Cranganore), observing the weakness of the Sāmūrī advanced their foot beyond the proper limit, and made a great many Muhammadans drink the cup of martyrdom. The Sāmūrī repenting of his concessions marched towards Cranganore and so entirely extirpated the Jews that not a trace of them was found in that land. After this joined by all the Musulmans of Palnād, he proceeded to Kālikot and laid siege to the fort of the Firingis, which he reduced with great difficulty. This increased the power and pride of the Palnādīs, who, according to the terms of the original agreement with the Firingis, began to send their ships full of pepper dry ginger etc. to the ports of Arabia

In the year 938 A.H. (1531 A.D.) the Firingis founded a fort at Jāhāt, six *kos* from Kālikot, and prevented the sailing of the Palnādī vessels. About the same time, during the reign of Burhān Nizām Shāh the Christians built a fort at Rīvadanda, near the port of Olan and took up their residence there. In

Muslimans with great severity and contempt. They burnt down the port of Adilábád Faráín, which belonged to 'Adil Sháh, and entirely destroyed it. In the guise of merchants, they also came to Dábal, and wished, by cunning and deceitful means, to obtain possession of it. But its chief, Khwája Alla l Malik, a merchant of Shíráz, being aware of their views, killed one hundred and fifty of their men of rank, and devoted himself to extinguish the fire of rancour.

Establishment of the English Power in India

Be it known to men of curiosity that from the date that the ships of the Emperor Jalálu-d dín Muhammad Akbar were seized by the Christians the sending of vessels to the ports of Arabia and Persia was entirely closed, not only in the Dakhn and Bengal but in other provinces of Hindustán, because it was considered beneath the royal dignity to enter into treaties with the Feringis and to send them without entering into any understanding was to throw lives and property into danger. The Emperor's nobles, however such as Nawáb Abda r Rahím Khán Khán Khánán and others, having entered into an agreement with them, used to send their own ships, and affairs continued in this course for some time. When the Emperor Nuru-d dín Muhammad Jahángír ascended the throne of Dehli, there existed great discord and animosity between the Christians of Portugal, France, etc. Thirsting after the blood of each other they read together the same evil book of hatred and malice. Contrary to the manner in which they had been treated, the Emperor granted the English a spot in Surat for the erection of a factory. This was the first settlement which the English made on the coasts of India. Before this, they also occasionally brought their cargoes to the ports of Hindustán and having sold them there, returned to their native country. Afterwards, they also began to establish their factories at different places in the Dakhn and Bengal. In the time of Aurangzeb Alamgir they founded the city of Calcutta, an account of which has been given above, and requires no repetition.

French to Haidarábád, and passing through Arkát, entered the territory of the former tribe

By the revolution of time a difference arose between Mazaffar Jang and the Afgháns, which turned to open hostility. On the 17th Rabi'ul awal of the said year, both parties prepared for battle. On one side stood Mazaffar Jang and the French and on the other the Afgháns. Hummat Khán and the other Afghán chiefs suffered the consequences of ingratitude and were slain. Mazaffar Jang also, having received a wound in his eye-ball hastened to his grave. After this the French entered the service of Amirul Mamalik Salabat Jang, the third son of Asaf Jah and having obtained possession of Shikákal (Oblacolo) Rájbandar etc. they acquired great strength. Their sway extended to different parts of the Dakhín. For a long time they had kept up an intercourse with this province but nobody took them into service. Mazaffar Jang was the first who employed them, and brought them into land belonging to Muhammadans.

When the French had reached this degree of power the English who are ever on thirst for their blood also ventured to encroach upon the territories belonging to the Emperor. Having taken possession of some parts of the Dakhín they made themselves master of the fort of Snrot, and erected strong factories in Bengal. They obtained orders from the Court of Alamgir for the exemption from tax of their goods, and they firmly settled in Bengal. As the French had put Nawáb Anwaru dín Khán, of Gopáman, Governor of Arkát, to death and having nominally chosen a person as chief, had gained ground in the Dakhín, Nawáb Muhammad Ali Khán, his son, made friendship with the English officers, who in all respects gave him their assistance, and used their best efforts to extirpate the French. In 1174 A.H. (1760 A.D.) they laid siege to the fort of Phuljarí, and having wrested it from the hands of the French, levelled all the buildings in it with the ground. Shikákal Rájbandar and other possessions of the French, the conquest of which was beyond all

expectation, fell of themselves into their hands. Nawáb Muhammad 'Alí Khán Mansúr Jang, by the favour of the English, became governor of Arkát, under the title of Wálájáh Amín-ul Hind Muhammad 'Alí Khán Baháduh Mansúr Jang. He gave himself up to the guidance of the English officers, and spent his whole life in the enjoyment of pleasure and delight. At present the territory of Arkát, like Bengal, is under the sway of the English, as will be shown hereafter.

CXL.

TÁRIKH-I SHÁH 'ÁLAM

or

MANÚ LÁL.

[The author of this little work was Manú Lál or Múná Lál, son of Baháduh Singh Munshí. Sir H. M. Elliot's MS extends to the twenty-fourth year of the reign, and at the end Sir Henry has written, "Imperfect as usual." It is the most common life of this Emperor, and was used by Colonel Franklin for his Life of Sháh 'Álam.]

CXLI

SHÁH 'ÁLAM-NAMA

or

GHULÁM 'ALÍ KHÁN

THIS life of Sháh 'Álam was written by a Mughal named Ghulám 'Alí Khán, who was formerly in the service of Prince Mirzá Jawán Bakht Baháduh Sháh. It gives at the end the date of the death of Sháh 'Álam, but the history in reality stops far short of that event, just previous to the blinding of the Emperor by Ghulám Kádir in 1788 A.D. This work also was used by Colonel Franklin.

SIZE—8 by 5 inches, 252 pages of 13 lines each

CXLII

IMADU S SA ADAT

or

MIR GHULAM 'ALÍ

THIS work was composed in 1223 A H (1808 A D.) by Ghulam Ali Razwí [or according to Mr Merley¹ Mír Ghulam All Nakawí bin Sa'yid Muhammad Akmal Khán] at the request of Col Baillie Resident at Lucknow. It contains an account of the Nawábs of Oudh, from Sa ádat Khán to Sa ádat Alí and gives some particulars regarding the transactions in Rohilkhand which make it worthy of perusal. It also gives many interesting details relative to the affairs of Hindustán, the Mahrattas, the Durrání Afgháns, the Nizáms, the Sikhs, etc. The work concludes with the arrival of Lord Minto as Governor General in 1807 A.D. I have heard that there is another work of the same author, called either *Imamu s Sa'ádat* or *Ma'dan i Sa ádat* which goes over the same ground, but in much greater detail.

The author gives the following account of himself. When he was eight years old, he was summoned by his father from Rai Bareilly to Sháh-Jahánábád, where, though he was placed under tutors, his idleness prevented him acquiring any knowledge. In consequence of Ghulam Kádir's proceedings, his father left Delhi on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and our author repaired to Lucknow where, instead of devoting himself to his studies he became a great opponent of the learned men of the city and vainly tried to argue with them upon false and insufficient premises; nevertheless, he thus, by questionable and illicit means, managed to

¹ [Catalogue, p. 93.]

acquire a little true knowledge. Meanwhile the news arrived of his father's death in the Dakhin, after having performed his pilgrimage. He was thus forced to visit and remain in that country for the period of seven years, after which he returned to his native land. He says he mentions all these circumstances in order to excuse his sad deficiency of learned acquirements."

Size of MS Svo , 646 pages of 15 lines each. [This work has been printed at Lucknow]

EXTRACT.

Death of Shujá'u-d daula.

[There are many stories current about the disease with which the Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula was affected; some of them opposed to all reason, and others so unworthy of credence that they are not worthy of being recorded. What was constantly affirmed is, that he had a bubo (*lhyárah*) which suppurated. Ointment was applied to it, but so far from healing, the wound grew worse from day to day. He lived for a month and thirteen days at Faizábád, during which time, that form which had been noted for its stalwart proportions grew thin and slender as a thread; and his arms looked like reed pens in his sleeves. He died on the night of the 14th Zí-l ka'da, 1188 A H. (1775 A D.)]¹

¹ [There is no confirmation in this work or in the *Tárikh-i Muzaffarí* of the story told in the *Siyar-i Muta-akhhirín* about Háfiz Rahmat Khán's daughter. The *Gul-i Rahmat* is specific, and says that he died of a swelling called in Hindí *bad* (bubo)]

CYLIII

NIGAR NAMA I HIND

or

SAIYID GHULÁM 'ALÍ

[THIS work was written by Saiyid Ghulám 'Alí, the author of the preceding work. He states in his Preface that he wrote the *Imádu-s Sa'ádat* containing memoirs of the ancestors of Yumnu-d daula, Názam ul Mulk Nawáb Sa'ádat, Alí Khán Bahádur Mubáriz Jang ut Colonel John Baillie's¹ suggestion by whom it was highly approved of on perusal. At his patron's recommendation, he then went away in expectation of employment and after spending a short interval at Cawnpore and Gorakhpúr came to Faizábád, where he, for certain reasons, remained a considerable time. During his stay, he longed for an opportunity of sending his patron some present, by which he hoped to be recalled to his presence when he had the good fortune to hear from a person of known veracity who had been present at all the engagements, and had seen with his own eyes a whole world turned topsy turvy and whose name he says shall be disclosed on fitting occasions, an account of the battle between the chief of the Dakhíns Sadásheo Ráo Bháo and the Sháh Ahmad Sháh Abdálí. Although these events had been chronicled in the *Imádu-s Sa'ádat*, yet they were not equally well authenticated nor so fully detailed, being merely recorded briefly and in conformity with conflicting statements. They were introduced among the exploits of Nawáb Shujá u-d daula

¹ [Major Fuller's translation calls him "Mr John Bayley"]

Bahádur, but as the main object of the work was something else, many important facts were omitted, consequently he had determined to compose a separate little book regarding this wondrous incident. Partly from the bent of his own inclinations, and partly for the sake of pleasing Colonel Baillie, of whose taste for historical researches he was well aware, he wrote these few pages, and styled them the *Nigár-náma-i Hind*. He concludes with a hope that that gentleman will have the kindness to peruse his work, and that the public will charitably excuse all its faults and failings, etc.

In a subsequent page the author informs us that his authority was a *brahman* of the Dakhin, named Ráo Káshi Ráo,¹ who was in the service of Nawáb Shujá'u-d daula of Oudh, and was present at the interview which the Mahiatta envoy Bhawání Shankar had with him.² "He related just whatever happened before his eyes, and the writer of these lines clothed the facts detailed to him without increase or decrease in the garb of phraseology."

This work travels over some of the ground already covered by the *Tárikh-i Ibráhim Khán*, and there are strong indications that our author had access to that work when he wrote this. The *Tárikh-i Ibráhim Khán* was finished in 1786 A D. The *Nigár-náma* bears no date, but it was written after the *'Imádu-s Sa'adat*, which was not finished till 1808 A H. So the oral information which the author received must have been reminiscences of more than twenty years' standing. This work is written in much greater detail than the *Tárikh-i Ibráhim Khán*, and the language is more laboured and high flown.

The whole work was translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by the late Major Fuller, and from that translation the following Extracts have been taken.

SIZE—6 inches by 4, 280 pages of 9 lines each]

¹ [See *infra*]

² [*Suprà*, p. 277]

EXTRACTS

Ahmad Sháh's Review of his Army

The over-triumphant army of the Sháh, consisting of twenty four corps, each of which consisted of 1200 horsemen were drawn up, armed and accoutred at the foot of the mound under the command of the under mentioned chiefs Barkhurdár Khán Ashrafu l Wazrá Sháh Wali Khán Sardar í Sardáran Sardár Jahán Khán, Sháh Pasand Khán Nasír Khán Bulúeli, Barkhurdár Khán Sakmnaah, Zamralah Khán Kulwarághásí and Murad Khán an Irání Mughal. Out of the whole 24 000 horsemen 6000 were *ghuláms*,¹ who were encamped all round the royal pavilion at the distance of half a *kos* and the rest of the army was ranged under the above-named leaders. Two thousand camels for the transport of *sháhíns*, each camel carrying one *sháhín* (a swivel gun) and two *sháhínchís* (men to serve it), as well as 40 pieces of ordnance and several camels laden with rockets, were counted among the royal troops. Along with Nawáb Shujá u-d daula Bahádur were 2000 cavalry, 2000 infantry and 20 guns of different calibre and with Najibu d daula 6000 cavalry and 8000 Rohilla infantry * * Along with Davindí Khán and Háfizu l Malk Háfiz Rahmat Khán were counted 18,000 Rohilla infantry 3000 or 4000 cavalry and some guns while with Ahmad Khán Bangash Farrukhabádí there were only 2000 horse and foot altogether besides camp followers and attendants and a few guns.

The total force on this side was reckoned at 40 000 cavalry and several thousand infantry out of which number 40 000 cavalry and 10 000 infantry². The men of the royal army were of several

¹ This appears to be a mistake for. Out of the 24 corps of cavalry 6000 horsemen were *ghuláms*. [Ahmad Sháh's army consisted of 24 *dastas*.—*Alkhátru-l-Mukhabbat*. This authority entirely agrees as to the number of men and guns, and either derived its information direct from the *Vigrah-náma* or from the same source.]

² [Major Fuller was in doubt about this passage, and wrote his translation in pencil. * There seems to be some omission in the text. The corresponding passage in the *Alkhátru-l-Mukhabbat* says. The whole army amounted to 40 000 horse and

different denominations. First, Durránís of the same tribe as the Sháh, every one of whom might be well called iron-hearted, and a smasher of the hardest rock, second, Kazalbáshís, all of whom were equal in strength and martial prowess to Rustam and Narímán, third, Kábulís, who used the *sher-bachahs*, all youths with frames sturdy as elephants, and mounted on steeds of foreign breed, looking like mountains and accustomed to traverse the desert, fourth, the valiant and devoted *ghuláms* and 4000 *sháhínchís*, well-drilled and expert shots, two of whom rode one camel. These made up 24,000 cavalry, and there were also 4000 *sháhínchís*, who were reckoned the most warlike force, and used to receive subsistence money from the presence. Their names were inscribed on a roll in the *Bakhshi's* office, they were all picked and experienced soldiers of proved courage and loyalty, and strong, valiant and impetuous warriors. Besides, there was a force not taken into account, which was styled the corps of *yatíms*, for in company with each Durrání were four *yatím* horsemen. The corps was intended solely for harassing and pillaging the enemy, and hence, after the Durránís made a charge in the heat of a battle, the *yatíms* followed in rear of them, and prosecuted their attacks. These same Abdálí *yatíms* used to be employed for the purpose of cutting off supplies, and making predatory forays, and whatever spoil fell into their hands, they were allowed to retain, but no subsistence was granted them by government.

Review of the Bháo's Troops

Sadásheo Ráo Bháo, having heard the news that the Sháh had been holding a review of his troops, and that the royal army resembling the waves of the sea was preparing to move, came several marches this side of Kunjpúra, and had an inspection of

40,000 foot-soldiers, out of which thirty thousand mounted and ten thousand dismounted men, having *sher-bachas* (pistols) of Kábul, and two thousand small guns, carried by camels, belonged to the King. These numbers were ascertained from the officers in charge of the royal records"]

his own soldiery. In effect the muster of the army (terrible from its numbers as the day of judgment) belonging to the Ráo in question was according to the under mentioned detail. Ibráhím Khán, besides the body of horsemen mentioned below, of whom only 2000 accompanied him, had 9000 Gárdí carbineers, with four pieces of ordnance to every 1000 men. His full complement was 6000 cavalry.¹ Múhár Ráo Holkar 5000 cavalry, Jhankují Sindhu, 10,000, Appájí Gukawár, 3000. Jiswant Ráo Panwár 2000. Shamshor Bahádnr 3000. Píluj, Jádun's son 3000; Bithal Shoo Deo 3000; Balwant Ráo a half brother of Bháo who on all trying occasions, dashed forward in advance of the latter 7000, Biswás Ráo's private *risalah*, 5000, and Appájí Mángesah, 2000. In a word there mustered 51,000 warlike cavalry suitably armed and mounted, and 11,000 infantry together with the Gárdí carbineers, 200 pieces of artillery, and camels carrying rockets and several others *aniburaks*. The arms horses and equipments of this force were in such excellent order that no one of the royal or Hindustání armies had ever reached so high a state of discipline. Out of all the irregular troops accompanying Biswás Ráo and the body of Chorghorí Dhol horsemen, there were nearly 20,000 cavalry as well as 2000 Rájput horse along with the *scakils* of the Rájás of Kachhwáhn and Ráthor and other people belonging to the forces of different chiefs of Hindu extraction, who had mostly through fear of the ravages of the Dakhnís, put the ring of obedience in their ears, and deeming submission to these chiefs the means of escape from disaster hastened zealously to comply with their instructions. As for Nárad² Shankar who had been left behind with 6000 cavalry and a small quantity of military stores, with a view to protect the city of Dehli his detachment was in addition to this. It is a well known fact that the whole Dakhn came along with Bháo and I therefore assert, that however large the equip-

¹ [Ibráhím Khán Gárdí had 2000 horse and 9000 Gárdí foot-soldiers, with guns and four large cannons. The Mahratta chiefs own cavalry numbered 6000 men.]—*Aláhdru-i Mubakbat.*

² [Tárá. —*Aláhdar*.]

ment and army which has been enumerated may appear, it is but a trifle after all.

Entrenched Camps.

HAVING at last reached Pánípat, the Bháo encompassed that city, and having regularly encamped his army around it, gave directions for the excavation of a ditch all round his own camp. Immediately after the promulgation of the order, the men applied themselves vigorously to the work, and having in a very short space of time dug a ditch twenty yards broad, and deeper than the height of an elephant, made it then safeguard against the enemy's fire, and having thus gained confidence, held their ground with firmness and intrepidity. Bháo having fixed upon this place in his own mind as the scene of strife and tumult, took up his quarters there, and planting his artillery at intervals connected by chains all along the ditch, closed the path of access against the enemy. The Sháh having likewise arrived at the head of his army, terrible as the day of judgment, within a distance of four *kos*, directed the excavation of an ordinary ditch, such as was usually dug every day. The pioneers, agreeably to orders, dug a ditch according to custom, and placed along the brink of it an abattis of *dhak* trees, or whatever else they could find, but as a longer stay was expected here than at other places, the excavation of a larger ditch than usual was undertaken.

The Bhao makes Overtures for Peace

Bháó, notwithstanding his vast pomp, mighty valour, and numerous associates, lost heart, and beholding the form of adversity in the mirror of his understanding, let slip the cord of firmness from his hand, and knocked at the door of humble solicitation with the utmost importunity. Káshí Ráj, who is the narrator of these incidents, has thus related the story. "An individual by name Ganesh Pandit, who occupied the post of newswriter on behalf of the above-mentioned Ráo at the

Court of Nawáb Shujá-u-d-daula Bahádur, and enjoyed the honour of being admitted to his presence, began, after the occurrence of these events to make overtures for peace at the instance of the aforesaid Rán. Most of the Iludí notes in the Mahratta dialect he wrote to me with his own hand and the pith of their contents was this 'Do you solicit His Highness, and urgently persuade him to this course viz., in combination with Ashrafu l Wuzrá (Sháh Wali Khán) to throw open the door of peace to me and if a peace be concluded immense favours shall be shown him in return for it. Accordingly on one occasion he sent His Highness the impression of his hand in saffron together with a sworn agreement, and a white Dakhiní turban, with a *sarpech* studded with diamonds by way of an interchange of turbans and I presented it for the auspicious inspection. From this side likewise the customary present was made in return and by degrees I brought His Highness's mind to this that he entered into a consultation with Ashrafu l Wuzrá on the subject, and whatever appeared in writing between them was always addressed to Ashrafu l Wuzrá through the medium of your humble servant. [*Long consultations upon the proposal*] After all, the communications led to nothing."

CXLIV

MUNTAKHABU-T TAWÁRIKH

OF

SADÁSUKH

AUTHOR Munshí Sadásukh Dehlawí, whose poetical title was Niyáz.

This is a history of India from the time of the Ghaznívides to the closing scenes of the Mughal Empire, and the accession of Akbar II. It is written with much personal knowledge of the later transactions, into which the English begin at last to be introduced. It includes at the end of the first Book an account of the revenues of the later Mughal Empire, with a few geographical particulars more intelligibly recorded than is usual with Hindústání authors, and an account of the Rájás of the northern hills, Rájpútána and the Dakhín, and their respective dominions, at the end of the second Book. Though it is not mentioned in the Preface, we learn from several parts of the work that it was composed in the year 1234 A H (1818-19 A D)

Sadásukh opens his history with a critical account of Firishta's ante-Muhammadan period, which he condemns as in every respect untrustworthy, but after that he follows him implicitly to the time of Akbar. The history of the minor monarchies is entirely abstracted from that author, and he divides his work in the same manner. When he reaches the earlier Mughal monarchs, he avails himself of the other ordinary sources of information, and intersperses his accounts with anecdotes, in which the principal actors are represented as Jahángír, Sháh Jahán and other noted Indian characters; but in reality the stories are familiar in the East as

showing the justice, ingenuity, clemency or vigour of older and more celebrated potentates, such as Sulaimán and Naushirwán. These misrepresentations probably arise more from ignorance than design.

The real value of the work commences only from the reign of Sháh 'Álam and indeed the author states that it was chiefly his object to write a fair and connected history of the period commencing with Bahádar Sháh to his own time in which he has been, it must be confessed entirely successful but that in order to render the work complete as a General History of India, he freely extracted a brief account of the several countries and kings of India from every historical composition procurable in his time and especially from Firishta, from whom he confesses he has copied verbatim even where he suspected error. Where he quotes original works as the *Tárikh-i-Gurida* and *Tabakát-i-Aásiri* it is evident that he obtains them second hand from Firishta.

The author was born at Delhi, and died at an advanced age at Allahabád subsequent to the introduction of our rule. It is understood that he was employed at the close of last century under the British Government in some official capacity at Chanar. He wrote several other works and treatises besides this history, among which the *Tamálhu l-Jáhilín* which contains an account of the Hindu Shástras, customs and tribes, is exceedingly useful, and exhibits great powers of observation. Much is of an anecdotal character but is not less valuable on that account.

The same title which this history bears is usually given to the *Tárikh-i-Baddaúní*. Another contains a history of Tímur and Sháh Rukh Mírzá, with letters written by the latter to the Emperor of China, in which he endeavours to effect his conversion to the Muhammadan faith. It also contains the Mughal correspondence with Sayyid Khizr Khán Emperor of Delhi and has an appendix giving an account of Transoxiana. Another is the *Muntakhab-i-Babád*.

The author tells us that when released from his official duties,

he went, at the age of sixty-five, to reside at Alláhábád For the period of ten years from that time he engaged himself in literary occupations, and wrote, like another Lucilius, no less than 125,000 lines of verse in Persian, Urdú and Bhákhá, besides nearly 5000 pages of prose

It was after these labours that he commenced his History, in which he professes not to have followed the plan of other historians, "who, being in the service of powerful kings, have obtained reward and promotion by their flatteries—have made mountains out of mole-hills, and suns out of atoms. He, on the contrary, who had one foot in the grave, and wished for no other recompense than the praise of honest men, who coveted no bread but that which the Almighty might be pleased to give him, who had no object in glozing his narrative with lies and misrepresentations, and whose only remaining ambition was to leave a good name behind him, was determined to write without fear or favour "

Under this declaration, it is gratifying to find him taking every opportunity to praise the English, expressing his gratitude for the evils from which they had saved his country, and contrasting their administration with that of the Muhammadans With a spirit unusual with his countrymen, which his secure residence at Alláhábád enabled him to express without reserve, he thus records his opinions at the end of the first introductory chapter "At this time there is neither Rái nor Rája, nor Musulmán, but only Mahrattas, Firingís and Sikhs God forbid that the Firingís should imitate the Musulmán's in carrying on a holy war against infidels ' else to poor people it would be a sore day of judgment God be praised that those wretches are now the sufferers ' From the day that the rule of the English has been established, even the wing of a gnat has not been injured by the blast Although it must be acknowledged that employment in their service is as rare as a phœnix, yet there is extreme security under them I have myself seen the depredations of the Afgháns round Dehlí and Mattra. God defend us from them ' It makes the very

hair of the body stand on end to think of them Two hundred thousand men were destroyed in these massacres, and the hordes of the enemy were without number Such atrocities, forsooth, were perpetrated in compliance with their religion and law! What cared they for the religion the law, the honour and reputation of the innocent sufferers? It was enough for such bigots that splendour accrued by their deeds to the faith of Muhammad and Ali!"

[A large portion of this work has been translated for Sir H M Elliot by a *munshi* including the histories of the Nizám Sháhí and Kutb-Sháhí dynasties the history of Malabar taken from the *Tuhfatul Mujáhidín* some particulars relating to the rulers of Nipál etc for which there is no room in this Volume]

The author divides his history according to the fanciful language of Eastern authors into two palaces (*kasr*) The first is subdivided into two mansions (*mahall*) the second into ten mansions and six chambers (*auca* which in the second Book are called by some oversight *hujra*)

CONTENTS

Preface p I Introduction p 6—Book I., in two Chapters Chap 1 The Gharnávides p 44, ii The Kings of Delhi, p. 80—Book II in ten Chapters Chap 1 in six Sections Sec. I The Balmaní Sovereigns p 880 2 The Adil Sháhís p. 986 3 The Nizám Sháhís p 1008 4 The Kutb-Sháhís p 1038 5 The Imád-Sháhís p 1070 6 The Baríd Sháhís, p 1074, Chap ii The Kings of Gujarát, p 1096 iii The Kings of Málwá, p 1108 iv The Rulers of Khandesh p 1156, v The Kings of Bengal p 1186, vi The Kings of Jannpur p. 1200, vii The Kings of Thattá, p 1214 viii. The Kings of Multán p 1236, ix. The Kings of Kashmir p 1248 x. The Rulers of Málabár p 1314

Size—8vo 1357 pages, with 16 lines to a page

I know of only one copy of Sadásukh's history a very illegible autograph of the author in the possession of his family at Alláh

ábád. From this my own was taken, and from the work being altogether unknown elsewhere, it may be presumed there is no other

EXTRACTS

Shujá'u-d daula.

Shujá'u-d daula (after his defeat by Sháh 'Álam and the English) went to consult with Ahmad Khán Bangash. In reply to Shujá'u-d daula, Ahmad Khán Bangash said, "I recommend you to go to the English attended by only one or two hundred unarmed men, and entertain no fear, because they are very wise and liberal, and it is not to be expected that they will treat you otherwise than in a becoming manner." Shujá'u-d daula, after deliberation, saw that the old man was right, and agreed with him that what he had said was best. "I have got with me," he said, "some very valuable presents to give them. The fact is, two boys of noble extraction, ten or twelve years of age, who belong, perhaps, to the family of the King of England, have fallen into my hands, and I have regarded them with much greater care and affection than my own sons. They are much pleased with me, and they have promised that, if I take them to their own people, they will do me much good. Although no dependence can be placed upon the words of boys, yet I see no other chance of success. I will go to the English according to your suggestions. Let the event be what it may, I will launch my boat on the water." The Nawáb, having left Ahmad Khán, proceeded in that direction with about one thousand of his servants, including his own family. It happened that at this time Lord Clive, who was a very experienced officer, had just arrived from England, and had proceeded from Calcutta to Alláhábád, on the part of the Honourable Company to settle pending disputes, and to obtain the liberty of the two boys who had been taken by Shujá'u-d daula. When the Nawáb arrived at Nawáb-ganj, which is six *kos* from Alláhábád, Lord Clive, Mr. Stacy, and some other officers in the King's service,

came to receive him. The English gentlemen took off their hats, and showed all marks of respect, according to the custom of their country, and behaved with great affability. They stood before him closing their hands together. After that, they conducted him with great honour into the fort of Alláhábád. At this Sháh Alam changed colour. What passed in his mind he know alone. There is no room to say more about it. All this honour and respect which the English showed to the Nawáb were very disgusting to Sháh Alam.

Bení Bahádúr who had gone towards the district of Bísawára and Lucknow also came with all speed, and sought the protection of the English fearing lest, by being separated from Shujá u-d daula some mischief might befall him. After showing every hospitality and respect the English intimated to the Nawáb that they would not take the country which formerly belonged to him. Shujá u-d daula surrendered both the boys whom he had kept with such care to Lord Clive. The Governor General sent them to England and after this it was proposed to the Nawáb that at all times the English army would be ready to assist him and so it would be kept at his disposal wherever he chose to place it, he should therefore make a provision for their pay from the revenue of his territory. Thus it was agreed that the Nawáb should take ten *anas* in the rupee and should give up six *anas* on account of the army.

Thus being done, the English recommended Sháh Alam to him saying that he had separated himself from the Nawáb, and had taken their side only with a view to his own interest, and that the Nawáb ought to assist him by making some provision for his maintenance. The districts of Alláhábád Kora, and Karra, might be made over to him. At this time Shujá u-d daula was a mere cipher. Whatever he received he considered as the gift of God, and was satisfied. Such honours and distinguished treatment were beyond his expectation, and he knew not as somebody says, "Whether all this was reality or a dream." He esteemed it a favour of Providence to see himself in such a

fortunate state after his distress What could he do, had he not accepted? He agreed to the proposals of the English with all his heart He said that he was a slave of that noble house, and he should be very happy to render it any assistance in his power

After this the English were going to submit another question. But the Nawáb, interrupting them, said, if they wished to recommend him to forgive that ungrateful wretch, he would not accept all the favours they were bestowing on him. He would go to Calcutta or England and remain there, but they should say nothing in behalf of Bení Bahádur He would proceed against him in the manner he thought best The English also thought that Bení Bahádur was a mean and low person, who had been raised to such rank only through the favour of Shujá'u-d daula, that he had ruled instead of the Nawáb himself, and yet had behaved towards him with ingratitude He was a servant of the Nawáb, who might do with him what he liked, they had no concern with that wretch But they requested that the Nawáb would grant them one favour, which was not to take his life Shujá'u-d daula agreed, and having deprived him of sight, fixed a daily allowance of ten rupees for his subsistence

The Nawáb, very happy and cheerful, marched thence and came to Faizábád He paid no attention to the old army and the Mughals, so that they dispersed in all directions The truth is that within the last three hundred years, Humáyún and Shujá'u-d daula are the only two potentates who have recovered their lost kingdoms after most marvellous vicissitudes. The latter even exceeded the former in this respect, for Humáyún, after obtaining his kingdom, did not enjoy the pleasures of it, because he soon died But Shujá'u-d daula, after emerging from a state of the utmost embarrassment, added, by the power of his arms, the districts of Etáwa and Rohilkhand to his former dominions, and ruled in great prosperity and happiness for ten or twelve years after it. His descendants also enjoy their power to this day, * * and at present, among the Muhammadans, there are no princes so fortunate The Nawáb, after dismissing the old army,

organized a new force in imitation of the English. He taught the soldiers the use of muskets or matchlocks. He made several divisions, each counting one thousand men, and gave them the appellation of Bark Battalion, Bakht Battalion and Báis. Instead of Kaimidans and Captains he called the officers by the name of Sálár. In short, he introduced everything into the army entirely contrary to and at variance with what prevailed before.

Shah Alam

Sháh Alam angrily demanded from Najaf Khán an account of the revenues of Alláhábád and the districts under his charge and also the payment into his treasury of all the money he had appropriated to himself from the income of the *khálsa maháls*. He dismissed Najaf Khán from the Governorship of the province of Alláhábád, and appointed Shukru llah Khán in his stead. Najaf Khán prepared to dispute the matter by force. He replied that in rendering assistance to Shajá u d daula, ten *lacs* of rupees had been spent when he was fighting alone for thirteen days, and that money ought to be repaid to him. A great misunderstanding arose between him and the King and at last the English became mediators and caused three *lacs* of rupees to be given to Najaf Khán by the King. Twenty six *lacs* of rupees from the revenues of Bengal out of which two *lacs* were to be annually paid to Najaf Khán, thirty *lacs* from the *chakla* and the province of Alláhábád about five or six *lacs* from Shajá u d daula's territory and an equal amount from those of Najiba-d daula and Háfiz Rahmat Khan viz altogether about seventy *lacs* of rupees, were fixed to be paid to the King. All this may be considered to have been done through the kindness of the English who thus enabled the King to live very comfortably. Ahmad Sháh and Álamgir had not even dreamt of such wealth as Sháh Alam enjoyed through the favour of God and the liberality of the English. After some time, Zu l fikáru-d daula was appointed on the part of Sháh Alam collector of Kora, and Shákiru d daula governor of Alláhábád. The English returned to Bengal.

CONTENTS

BOOK I contains an epitome of the Shíu (Siva) Purán, and an account of the ten Avatáras p 10 II Translation of the Rámáyana, p 226 ; III Translation of the Bhágavat Purána, p 1014 IV Holy men of the Hindus, p 1462 V An epitome of the Mahábháratá—an account of the Hindu ante-Muhammadan Rájás—the Muhammadan Kings of Ghazni and Delhi from Mahmud to Akbar II, and the Establishment of British supremacy p 1008 VI The Revenues of the different Provinces of Hindustán and Persia, p 2968 VII An account of the seven climates noted cities, and wonders of the world, p 3022

The work closes with an account of the Brahmins and Khatris and an eulogium on Rája Chandu Lál.

Size—Elephant Folio, consisting of 3128 pages, each containing 19 lines

There are only two copies of this work both of which belong to the family of the author One is plentifully illustrated in the portion devoted to Hindu Mythology and History

The work is written, in the parts which are not copied or translated from others, in a very flowery style, which though correct in its structure, is proposterous in its extravagance For instance, a high strained panegyric is applied to that royal puppet, Akbar II a mere pensioner of the British Government, entirely divested of all civil, military and political power except within the narrow precincts of his own palace Such fulsome and hyperbolical panegyric, even if bestowed upon Akbar the Great, would be offensive enough but when the subject of it is Akbar the Little, it becomes absolutely nauseous

. CXLVI

JINĀNU-L FIRDAUS

OF

MIRZĀ MUHAMMAD YŪSUFĪ.

“The Gardens of Paradise ” so called, we are informed, for the very substantial reason that the work consists of eight chapters, and the Muhammadan Paradise contains as many gardens. The author may perhaps have derived his idea from the famous *Firdausu-t Tawārīkh* of Ibn Mu‘īn, composed in A.H. 808.

This work consists of historical tables, showing the Princes of the several Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia, Africa, and Spain, with the dates of the birth, accession, and death of each sovereign, and the period of his reign and life. The tables are generally prefaced by a brief Introduction. The *Jinānu-l Firdaus* shows the successions of the different Khalifs, the rulers of Syria, Arabia, Persia, Egypt, Shirwān, Lār, Khwārisim, and Hindústān; the Isma‘īlians, Saljūkīs, Atábaks Sāmānians, Sharīfs of Mecca, Ghaznīvides, Ghomans, and Mughals, and several other dynasties of minor importance.

The work was composed in A.H. 1126 (A.D. 1714), by Mirzā Muhammad Yūsufī, but completed by Tajammul Husam in A.H. 1244 (A.D. 1828-9), who finding in the library of his patron, Mr. Montague Turnbull, of the Civil Service, an incomplete copy of the *Jinānu-l Firdaus*, added a seventh and eighth chapter to supply the deficiency. The sixth chapter of the original work contains an account of the Kings of Delhi to the close of the Afghān Sur Dynasty, as well as an account of the Bahmanī, Nizām-Shāhī, ‘Adil-Shāhī, Kutb-Shāhī, and Ibrāhīmī Dynasties, and the Kings of Gujarāt, Mālwa, Jampūr, Bengal, Kashmir, Multān, and Sind. There are no doubt, perfect copies of the original, complete in eight chapters, as the name implies. In the seventh chapter, added by Tajammul Husam, the account of the

of the Mughal Dynasty of India, and in the eighth chapter an account of the Wazirs of Oudh, and the Nizams of Bengal and Bihar

The tables have been compiled from the best sources of information including among others, *Jaldlu-d dinu-s Sayuti*, *Ibn Khallikdn Ni-dmu t Tawdrikh*, *Matla u s Sa'dain*, *Habibu-s Siyar Rauzatu-s Safa Tabakat s Akbari*, *Firashita*, *Jahan ard Tdrikh s Alfi*, and *Tdrikh s Badauni*; and it would therefore be worth printing if correctly edited, for the use of the Persian students of our colleges

The only copy which I know of the *Jindan i Firdaus* is in the possession of Major General T P Smith of the Bengal Army

SIZE—4to 162 pages, of 19 lines each.

CXLVII

TÁRÍKH I HENRY

or

SAIYID MUHAMMAD BAKIR ALÍ KHÁN

THIS is a compilation by Saiyid Muhammad Bákir 'Alí Khán, son of Hazrat Sháh Káfi-mu llah Bokhárf, dedicated to Mr Pidecock of the Civil Service and entitled *Tdrikh s Henry* in compliment to that gentleman's Christian name

CONTENTS.

The Preface, showing the cause of his writing history with copies of verses in praise of the Magistrate and Collector and Judge, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, p 1 —The Introduction contains an account of Adam the Prophets, Muhammad, Saints, and Philosophers, p 11 —Book I comprises an account of the Káfanians, 'Umayyides and Abbáides, and Changiz Khán, p 85, II Tímur and his Descendants in India, down to the battle

CXLVIII

BALWANT NAMA

or

FAKIR KHAIRU D DİN MUHAMMAD

THIS is a history of the Rájás of Benares and of the occurrences in that province during the middle of the last century when it was the scene of so many events important in the history of India. It was composed at the instigation of some English gentleman by Fakir Khairu-d dīn Muhammad of Alláhábád, the author of the *Ibrat nama* (No. CXLV.) and of the History of Jaunpur translated by Major Pogson. The narrative is sometimes broken by the intervention of irrelevant matter, such as for instance, a long controversy between a Musulmán and a Hindu on subjects connected with their respective creeds but barring this defect, the volume is very useful.

[The work is divided into five Chapters. Chap. I gives an account of the rise of the Rájás of Benares and the other four chapters are devoted respectively to the Rájás Balwant Singh Chat Singh Mahipat Náráin and Udit Náráin Singh.]

[There is a copy of the work among Sir H. M. Elliot's MSS.]

Size—Small 8vo., 510 pages, of 13 lines each

CXLIX.

YADGÁR-I BAHÁDURÍ

OF

BAHÁDUR SINGH.

THE author of this voluminous work is Bahádur Singh, son of Hazárí Mal, a Bhatnágár Káyath of the Gondíwál sub-division, and a resident of Sháh-Jahánábád, who finished his work in the year 1249 A.H. (1833-4 A.D.).

He tells us very little about himself, and there is no part of the work that enables us to fill up the outline. He says merely that circumstances induced him to leave his native country, and that he was in great distress when he arrived at Lucknow in the year 1232 A.H. (1817 A.D.), in the time of Gházíu-d dín Haider. It was there that he read several Hindí and Persian works, containing accounts of kings, nobles, ministers, divines and philosophers, and that he was induced to write a connected history of them, in order that the great men of the present day might benefit by their examples. This work he called after his own name, *Yádgár-i Bahádurí*, "The Memorial of Bahádur"

This is all we learn from the Preface, which is usually full of personal details, but at page 2040 we are told the work was finished in the year above mentioned on the 1st of the "blessed month" Ramazán, after having occupied a long time in its compilation. The work, we are told, is a mere copy from others, and the author has not added a word, and that after reading several histories, some of which are laudatory and some inculpatory, and few without a leaning one way or the other, he has come

to the conclusion that there are more lies than truths in history. One would have hoped for something philosophical after such a declaration but he evidently adheres to his determination of giving nothing original and it is only at the close of the work, when he gives an account of the Nawábs of Oudh, their families and ministers, that we are favoured with anything historical which we cannot obtain elsewhere.

There are, however, several features in the work, besides its historical ones which render it of value. The History of the Hindu sects and devotees, the biographies of the Poets, the Chapters on the useful arts and the Geography are especially to be commended. The latter appears to be chiefly taken, without acknowledgment from the *Hadikatu l Akdlm* (No. OVII., *supra* p. 180) but it contains some notices not to be found in that work.

The author entertained great rancour against the Kashmirians and in his history of that country he speaks of their depravity as arising from their illegitimacy and ends by saying that rich and poor should abhor this people and even destroy them when possible, and that "he who is their friend cannot be quite free from contamination in his own descent. It is probable that he may have been thwarted in obtaining some employment by the superior adroitness and intrigue of one of this race, and takes this opportunity of venting his spleen upon the whole nation. It must be confessed, however, that they bear a bad character in Hindustán and certain popular verses show the low estimation in which they are held. The constant oppression they have undergone for the last thousand years and which they are still subject to is enough to degrade the *morale* of any nation with whatever excellences it may have been originally endowed by its Maker.

CONTENTS.

Book I. History of the Patriarchs, p. 2 — Book II., in seven Chapters. Chap. i. The first Khalifas p. 41 ii. The Imáms p. 50 iii. The Ummayyides p. 65, iv. The Abbásides p. 69, v. The Ismaélites p. 93 vi. The Saiyid Dynasties p. 112,

vii The Sharifs of Mecca and Medina, p 115.—Book III. contains seven Chapters Chap. i Philosophers of Greece and Europe, including Columbus and Copernicus (whose system is explained), India and Persia (including Zoroaster), and some of the Moderns, p 135; ii. Companions of the Prophet, p 192, iii His chief Dependents, p 195; iv. Mashaihs, Súfis, and Hindú Saints, in four Sections Section 1 Sunnis, p 198; 2 Shi'as, p. 289, 3 Súfis of Irán (chiefly from the *Nafhatu-l* *Ins*), p 296; 4. Hindú Theosophists, Devotees and their Sects, p. 314 Chap v. Muhammadan Doctors, p. 508, vi. The celebrated Poets, etc, and miscellaneous matters, in twenty Sections Section 1 Poets of Arabia, p. 526, 2. Poets of Persia, p 528, 3 Various kinds of handwriting, p. 590, 4 Poets of India, p 595, 5 Rules of versification, p 614; 6 Physiognomy, p 632, 7 Interpretation of dreams, p 644, 8. Science of respiration as peculiarly taught in Hindústán, p 661; 9 Astrology, and professors of it, p 666, 10. Music, p 696, 11 Agriculture, the best of all the arts, p 720, 12. Masonry, p 728, 13. Ironmongery, p 732, 14 Carpentry, p 733, 15 Commerce, p 736, 16. Painting, p 737, 17 Talismans, p 739, 18 Magic, p 751, 19 Handicrafts of various descriptions, including cookery, p 757, 20 Sayings of wise and witty persons, p 767 Chap vii. Celebrated persons of Islám, p. (?) —Book IV. embraces an Introduction and eight Chapters Introduction The new and the old worlds, their cities, p. 806, Chap i Kings of Irán, p 1072, ii Sultáns of Arabia, p 1299, iii Sultáns of Rúm, p 1330, iv Rulers of Egypt and Shám, p. 1352, v. Sovereigns of the West, p 1363, vi Sultáns of Turkistán, p. 1378, vii Kings of Europe, including the institution of the British in India, their army, administration of justice, revenue, learning, etc, p. 1457; viii. Rulers of Hindústán its different Provinces and inhabitants, p 1502.

The last chapter, though not subdivided in the Table of Contents, contains several different chapters on the Brahmans, Hindú Ceremonies, Avatárs, Early Hindú Rájas, Kings of Dehlí,

from Kutbu d dín to Akbar Shah II, Málwá, the Dakhín, Kashmir, Bengal, Jaunpur, Sind, Ondh, the Mahrattas etc.

SIZE.—Large 8vo., containing 2082 pages, with 17 closely written lines in each page

I believe there is only one copy of the *Yádgár : Bahádurí* in existence, the autograph of the author in my possession. I procured it from a bookseller at Lucknow¹

[A considerable portion of this work, including the History of Kashmir, was translated for Sir H. M. Elliot, and the translation is among his papers.]

EXTRACTS

Kanauj

Kanauj is a large city and it is known to be very ancient. Some say that it was built after the reign of the incarnate Rám Chánd, the lord of Ayodhya (Ondh). However that may be this city was from ancient times the seat of the throne of the Rájás of Hindustán. It appears from Hindí books that the city of Kanauj was several times populated, and several times deserted. The city which at present exists was founded by Rájá Fur Kanaují and in his time it is said to have been so densely inhabited that there were one hundred and forty thousand shops² for the sale of betel leaves only from which we may derive an idea of its size.

The city stands on the banks of the Ganges, which now runs two kos from it, but during the rains it reaches it. It is said that Fur Kanaují had a son who being offended with his father went to Alláhábád, and made it his residence. When his father died, he succeeded him in the government, and made Alláhábád the seat of his throne. He assumed the name and title of his father. In his time, Alexander of Rám came to Hindustán. Kaid Rájá the chief³

The climate of Kanauj is good and temperate. It now lies in ruins, and is inhabited here and there like a village. It is

¹ [It is not now among Sir Henry's MSS.]

² Thirty thousand is the usual extravagant allowance in other accounts.

³ [A page of the translation is here wanting.]

famous for its chintz, *chirah* (a kind of turban), and fruits of different kinds. At present, it is chiefly occupied by the Saiyids, (of Bokhárá). Saiyid Muhammad of Kananj, the tutor of the Emperor Aurangzeb, is celebrated in the whole of Hindústán. There were five very strong forts which belonged to this city, of which scarcely a vestige now remains.¹ * *

Nawábs of Oudh

Be it not concealed that in the country of Hindústán there is a set of babblers and fools, who sit in the shops of hemp-sellers, and whatever comes into their minds they say with regard to the nobles, ministers, and the King himself. Though their words have no connexion with truth, yet ignorant and foolish people, conceiving them to be true, spread them in all places. For instance, the following story was originated by these absurd talkers. That one day Nádir Sháh said to Burhán-u-l Mulk and Nizámu-l Mulk Ásaf Jáh, "You wrote me when I was in Kandahár, that if my royal servants should come in this direction, you would pay fifty *lacs* of rupees into the treasury. Where are now those rupees? Go, and bring them within three days, otherwise I will put you to death with great torture." Those nobles, having taken their leave, determined with each other to kill themselves, and thus save their honour. Nizámu-l Mulk took only a cup of water mixed with sugar, while Burhán-u-l Mulk, on hearing of it, actually poisoned himself, and delivered his life to his Maker. This is a direct falsehood. The truth is, that Nawáb Burhán-u-l Mulk had been troubled for some months with a boil. Notwithstanding his sickness, he took part in the battle which was fought with Nádir Sháh, and with the severity of the pain his holy soul departed to the heavens. Ásaf Jáh had no animosity against Burhán-u-l Mulk.²

¹ The *Hadikatu-l Ahdlm* says these were the five forts mentioned by the *Rauzat-u-s Safá* as having been destroyed by Mahmúd in one day, but the *Rauzat-u-s Safa* mentions seven which were so treated

² [See *suprà*, pp 64, 174]

Nawáb Burhánn l Mulk left four daughters and one son by the daughter of Sáhib Míhhammad Khán Asaf Jáh besides the mother of Shujá u-d daula. His son, after some time, died of smallpox * *

It was at this time that the Nawáb (Shujá u-d daula) marched towards Ágra, and having pitched his tents at Kurny ganj sent word to Háfiz Rahmat Khán that he should now pay him the sum of forty *lacs* of rupees which had been paid on his account to the Mahrattas.¹ Although Háfiz Rahmat Khán endeavoured to persuade the Afghán chiefs to pay the money due to the Nawáb yet the Rohillas, who in their excessive pride thought that no one could stand before them prepared to fight, and a great engagement ensued between the parties. Just as the Rohillas had nearly completed the battle with the Nawáb Wazír the English army came up to oppose them and threw them into confusion by the heavy fire of its artillery. In the midst of the fight Háfiz Rahmat Khán with great intrepidity attacked the English army and having killed a great number of men drank the cup of martyrdom in the field. The Rohillas took to flight, and Sultán Khán brother of Murtazá Khán Baráichí, cut off the head of Háfiz Rahmat Khán and presented it to the Nawáb Wazír who ordered his joy to be expressed by the beat of drums. Zú l fikár Khán and Muhabbat Khán sons of Háfiz Rahmat Khán who were taken prisoners, were honoured with the grant of *khilats* Bahá u-d daula. Abdu llah Khán of Kashmír and Khán Míhhammad Khán, the son of the sister of Háfiz Rahmat Khán were the originators of this quarrel. Khán Muhammád Khán was given over to Muhabbat Khán, but Abdu llah Khán was sent to prison. His face was blackened, and he was placed on an ass, and paraded round the whole camp.

After this, the Nawáb Wazír marched towards Bundelkhand and placed the Rohilla territory under the charge of Sídí Bashir Khán. He left Mirzá Sa'ádat Alí in Bareilly and ordered Murtazá Khán Baráichí, Mahbúb Alí Khán, and Latáfat Alí

¹ [See *supra*, p. 310.]

Khán to remain with his son, and never to step beyond the sphere of obedience. After some time, the Nawáb Wazír fell sick, and although very different accounts are given of his disease, yet the most correct one is that a boil broke out in his thigh, which, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the physicians, was never cured. It gave him more and more pain every day. In short, he suffered from it for a month and thirteen days, and expired on the night of the 24th Zí-l ka'da, 1188 A H (28 Jan 1775).¹ The next morning he was buried in Guláb Bári, which was designed for the burial-place of his venerated mother. Though the servants of the Nawáb struck their heads against stones in their grief, yet the subjects of Faizábád were very glad at the event.

Before this, Mukhtáru-d daula had disbanded the battalions which were under the command of Mír Afzal 'Alí. He was also seeking to injure both the Gusáins, Umráo Gír, and Hummat Bahádur. He disbanded many divisions of the cavalry, and it was his intention to discharge the whole army, and enlist a new one of his own choice. He was also waiting to find an opportunity of deposing Ásafu-d daula, and making himself master. As Nawáb Ásafu-d daula was as much addicted as a child to sports and trivial pursuits, and had no acquaintance with the business of the State, Mukhtáru-d daula, who had the power of employing and dismissing all the establishments, did what he liked. The Nawáb Wazír was at last sorry that he had obtained so much influence, and endeavoured to remove him.

In these days, Mír Afzal 'Alí wrote a letter to Rája Jháú Lál, who submitted it to the Nawáb Wazír. The Nawáb, after perusing it, kept silence, and tore the paper in pieces. In short, all the officers of the court of the Nawáb Wazír were united together to ruin Mukhtáru-d daula. But he was not aware of it, and passed day and night drinking in the company of women. Basant 'Alí Khán, the eunuch, was introduced to Mukhtáru-d daula, and was adopted by him as his son. He wore the ring of

¹ [See *supra*, p. 395.]

obedience in his ear and was day and night present before him Mirzá Sa ádat All Khán joined Basant, and it was agreed that Basant should kill Makhtaru-d daula, and that he should kill Asafu d daula, and sent himself upon the *masnad* Basant All Khán did not tell this secret to his other friends Had he made them his confidants the design might have been fulfilled, but by his concealment, the opportunity was lost. Mir Muhammad Amin son of Mirzá Yusuf the blind having become acquainted with the design associated with Mirzá Sa ádat All Khán

One day Basant All Khán invited Makhtaru d daula to dine in his house and to see the cold bath which he had made Makhtaru d daula, ignorant of the treacherous destinations of the heavens accepted this last entertainment, and rode to the bath the place of his murder which fate had prepared for him After the dinner was over dancing and drinking began. When Makhtaru-d daula had become drunk, Basant All Khán left the place on some pretence after which five ruffians, who had been appointed for the purpose, entered the room and one of them whose name was Mir Tálib All put an end to Makhtaru d daula's existence with a dagger

When the news of this tragedy spread in the camp Tafazzal Hasan Khán reported it to Mirzá Sa ádat All Khán who arming himself proceeded on horseback towards the tent of Asafu d daula but Basant All Khán had arrived at the Nawáb's before him sword in hand, and exclaimed that he had killed Makhtaru d daula. The Nawáb cried "What! have you come here with a drawn sword to slay me also?" He said this, and made a signal to Rája Nawáz Singh, who with one blow of his sword put Basant to death In the mean time came the uncle of Basant, whose name was Khwája Ghalám Muhammad Khán, and he aimed a blow at Rája Nawáz Singh One Ghulám All Khán rose to attack Ghalám Muhammad Khán but Nawáb Asafu-d daula prevented him and sent Ghalám Muhammad away with great honour It was immediately after this that Mirzá Sa ádat All Khán reached the

tent of A'safu-d daula; but having heard what had passed, returned to his own, and thence, accompanied by Tafazzul Husain Khán, hastened to the tent of Gusáin Umráo Gí, who placed him in a boat which belonged to himself, and having given him a mare and some money, sent him off to a place of safety, where some friends afterwards joined him. These events took place in the month of Safar, 1190 A H. (March-April, 1776 A D)

CL.

JÁMI'U-T TAWARÍKH

or

F A K Í R M U H A M M A D

THE author of this work is Fakír Muhammad, son of Kází Muhammad Rízá, inhabitant of Rájapúr, *paragana* of Sántapúr in Bengal

The author says that he was from his youth devoted to historical studies, and he gives a list of all the works which he had collected and read, but none of them are of any novelty or peculiar interest. His compendium, however, is useful to the student of Asiatic history. It was printed at Calcutta in 1836 A D, at the press of Munshí Irádatu-llah, and the press was corrected by Maulaví Khádim Husain, a teacher in the Calcutta College

The work is divided into fourteen Sections

CONTENTS.

The first eleven Sections contain, after the universal Eastern model, accounts of the Angels, Jinns, Prophets, Philosophers, Kings of Persia, Muhammad, his wives and battles, the Khalífs, Imáms, the 'Ummayyides, the 'Abbásides, and their contemporary

Kings, and the Kháns of the East and Turkistán, p 1 Section twelfth relates to the successors of Timur the Mahrattas the Rulers of Oudh and Bengal, and the commencement of the British dominion in India p 334 Section thirteenth gives a description of the inhabited portion of the world, and its seven grand divisions, p 376 Section fourteenth relates to the Hindus the invasion of the Muhammadans and the Royal families of India and closes with a brief account of America, p 391

SIZE—Ito, containing 410 pages of 27 lines each

EXTRACT

Establishment of British Supremacy the Death of Nairúb Siráj-u-d daula¹

The capricious and puerile conduct pursued by Siráj-u-d daula from time to time such as planting guns against the palace of Mir Muhammad Ja far Khán placing Ráya Dulabh Rám under the command of Mohan Lál, and threatening Jagat Seth that he would have him circumcised actuated the latter and several other influential persons to enter into a confederacy against the Nawáb With the view therefore of overthrowing his power Jagat Seth sent a message to the English, to the effect that, could they but agree to second the efforts of his party in attacking and overcoming Siráj-u-d daula, thousands of people would be rescued from his oppression and tyranny Jagat Seth at the same time promised to present the English with the sum of three *krors* of rupees in the event of the successful issue of their operations On the receipt of this message, the gallant English on the plea of the delay on the part of the Nawáb to pay the amount of compensation due by him, prepared to take the field against him with a body of two or three thousand troops. Siráj-u-d daula saw no alternative but to march from Murhídábád with his disaffected chiefs The adverse parties met at Plassy where the flames of war blazed on Thursday the 5th of Shawwál, 1170 A.H. (23rd June, 1757 A.D.)

¹ [See *signd*, p. 211.]

Mír Madan and Mohan Lál, advancing foremost, opened a galling fire from their guns. Just at this time a cannon-ball accidentally striking Mír Madan, he was left dead in the field of battle. This sad event altogether dispirited Siráju-d daula, who now entreated Mír Muhammad Ja'far Khán and Muhammad Sádik Khán (*alias* Míran), in the most humiliating and abject terms, to do their utmost to preserve his life and honour, in consideration of the ties of relationship which subsisted between them, and on account of the many favours which he and his family had formerly bestowed on them. The Mír, thinking this a fair opportunity of deceiving him, and thus depriving him of his power, advised him to recall the troops in advance, especially as the day had come to a close, and to recommence hostilities on the following day.

Siráju-d daula, the victim of deceit, issued orders to Mohan Lál, who was then engaged, to desist from fighting any longer that day. Mohan Lál remonstrated, remarking that if he were to withdraw the troops from the field, it would not be possible to concentrate them again. But the unfortunate Nawáb persisting in his determination, Mohan Lál was obliged to cease fighting. Scarcely had he, however, left the field, when his troops fled, while the chiefs who were disaffected to the Nawáb looked on with indifference. Siráju-d daula, seeing that all was lost, in great agitation of mind repaired to Mansúr-ganj. Here he placed Latífu-n Nissa, and several other females, on cars or litters, with such portions of precious stones and gold *muhars* as he thought could be safely conveyed in them. With these, and elephants laden with baggage, he quitted the place after midnight, and on arriving at Bhagwan-gola, he with his family embarked in boats, and went towards Patna.

After the retreat of Siráju-d daula, Mír Muhammad Ja'far Khán remained one day at Plassy, and concluding a treaty with Colonel Clive and the other English officers, on his arrival at Mansúr-ganj, he was placed on the *masnad*. On his accession to power, he caused to be engraved on his seal the titles of Shujá'u-l

Mulk Husámu-d daula Mír Muhammad Ju far Khán Bahádúr Muhábat Jang and in conjunction with Rájú Dulabí Rám he directed his attention to the settlement of the affairs of the State. He also ordered all the property of Sirájú d daula to be seized, and despatched his own son in law, Mír Muhammad Kásim Khán, in pursuit of Sirájú d daula.

The fugitive Nuwáb had about this time arrived opposite Ráj mahál where he disembarked, and put up at the dwelling of a *fakir* named Dáná Sháh. While Sirájú-d daula was engaged in preparing his food the *fakir* gave secret information to his pursuers, who seized the Nawáb together with his family and brought them to Murshidábád on the 15th of Shawwál, on which date he was by order of Mír Míran put to death by the hands of Muhammad Beg. Sirájú-d daula was *Subáddar* of Bengal for one year two months and twenty seven days.

Mír Muhammad Ju far Khán and his son Míran finding the time suited to their purpose, resigned themselves to a life of ease and pleasure, and ceased to pay tribute to the King. Mír Muhammad Ju far also ceased giving alms. On being asked the reason of it, he said that while under Muhábat Jang (Alívardí Khán) he felt no difficulty in spending money, it was like bestowing a little water from a river; but now that he himself was in possession of the whole property he could not spare a penny even to a friend. Mír Ja far Khán soon after imprisoned Ghiasí Begam and Amína Begam daughters of Muhábat Jang (Alívardí Khán) and the wife daughter, and mother of Sirájú d daula, and sent them to Jahángír nagar.

The impure Míran used without the least hesitation to commit murder. He killed Khwája Hádí Alí Khán and Mír Kásim Khán, and blew Sadákat Muhammad Khán Zamíndár and Shaikh Abdul Waháh Kambh from the mouth of a cannon. He murdered many others, both men and women.

Míran was preparing to attack Khádím Husain Khán nephew of Mír Muhammad Ja far Khán who was at that time raising disturbances on the other side of Axímábád. Having conceived

some suspicion of the two daughters of Mahábat Jang, he ordered them to be conveyed in a boat to the middle of the river, and to be there thrown overboard; in the mean time making the Begams believe that they were to go to Murshidábád. When Amína Begam and Ghasítí Begam were taken to the appointed place, they were informed of the cause of their being conveyed thither. The two sisters, after bathing and putting on clean clothes, cursed Míran, saying, " O God, we have done no harm to Míran, who, having brought ruin on our family, and deprived our brothers of their rights, is now about to put us to death. We pray that he may soon be struck dead by lightning for his cruel deeds." Their prayer was heard, for Míran, after arriving in the vicinity of Hájípúr, attacked Khádim Husain Khán, and after defeating him, pursued him, but during the pursuit, on Thursday night, the 19th Zí-l ka'da, in the year 1173 A H. (4th July, 1760 A D), while it was raining, a thunderbolt descended and struck Míran and his servant dead.

Míran's remains were buried at Rájmahál. Mír Muhammad Ja'far Khán became insane after hearing of the death of his son, and this led to great disorder in the management of the State.

CLI

I A M I J A M

or

SAIYID AHMAD KHAN

'The Cup or Mirror of Jamshīd' who is confounded by Eastern fabulists with Solomon¹. This cup was found filled with the Elixir of Immortality upon the occasion of digging the foundations of Persepolis and as it mirrored the whole world, this expression or some other allusive to it, is not uncommonly applied to works on history and the *Jam-i Jahān numā* i.e. the World reflector" mentioned in page 158 of this Volume, is a title commonly bestowed upon the same magic mirror. Nizāmī tells us that Alexander invented the steel mirror by which it has been supposed illusion is made to the improved reflectors introduced by the Greeks.

The *Jām-i Jam* comprises tables of the Princes of the house of Timur, beginning with that Emperor including also the Saiyid and Afghān Dynasties, and ending with Muhammad Bahādur Shāh the reigning King of Delhi at the time of publication giving altogether forty three reigns. The tables show the name of each King's father and mother his tribe, date of birth place of accession age at the time of accession, Hijra year of accession chronogram of accession period of reign legend on coins, age at time of death year of death, chronogram of death honorific title after death place of burial, and a very brief abstract of important events.

¹ See Rampoldi, *Annali Maritimi*, vol. II. p. 403, and W. Thompson *Al-Bihar-i-Jadīd* pp. 37-466. The *Hafiz Nizāmī* says it is more correct to consider the cup as the manufacture of Kai Khwārd.

These useful tables were lithographed at Agra, in the year 1840 A.D., and at the conclusion is given a list of several excellent authorities, from which the compiler drew his information, though it must be confessed that some doubt may reasonably be entertained whether these authorities were really appealed to, for a private correspondence which I have held with the author on the subject has failed to elicit any information with respect either to their contents or their present possessors. Indeed, some which are quoted contain nothing whatever calculated to elucidate the period he had under review.

The author is Munshí Saiyid Ahmad Khán, Munsif of Dehlí, who has also written and lithographed at Dehlí a very good description of the remarkable buildings of that capital, accompanied with lithographed representations of them. In the Preface to the *Jám-i Jam*, he gives his genealogy, and details the several honours acquired by his fathers. His ancestor in the ninth generation, who came originally from Hirát, was appointed *Súbadár* of Bídár, which he takes care to inform us is equivalent in the English language to "Governor-General." Another was a *Kásí*, equivalent to "Sessions Judge." His maternal grandfather, Khwája Farídu-d dín Ahmad Khán, was sent to condole with the King of Persia when his ambassador, Hájí Khalíl Khán, was killed in an affray at Bombay. The same pride of ancestry is exhibited by his elder brother, Saiyid Muhammad Khán, in the Preface to the excellent copy of Jahángír's Autobiography collated by him, only, instead of construing *Súbadár* to mean "Governor-General," he is content with the humbler definition of "Governor."

SIZE.—Large 8vo

CLII

MAJMA'U L MULUK
 AND
 ZUBDATU L GHARA'IB
 or
 MUHAMMAD RIZÁ.

THE author of these works is Muhammad Rizá, son of Abú l Nazim Hasaní Hasaní who was honoured with the titles of Najmu-d daula Istikháru l Malk Ilá m Jang

The author is a Saiyid of the Tibátibá family which, after leaving Medína, went to reside at Isfahán and remained for many generations employed in the Royal Record Office. In the time of Bahádar Sháh his ancestor in the fifth generation came to Hindustán and after being received with great kindness by that Emperor, entered the service of Nawáb Barhánu l Malk Abu l Mansur Khán Safdar Jang and ever since that his family have continued in the service of the Nawábs of Oudh.

His father was employed for some time in Bareilly and subsequently became minister to the pageant King of Dehli. The author himself remained for nine years as Native Revenue Collector of Bareilly. After that district had been ceded to the Company and after the death of his father he became deputy steward of the household, and *darogha* of the treasury of the King of Dehli. When the provinces of Nágpúr and Gondwána were under the management of the Company he remained for several years employed in those provinces by the British Government and being held in great respect by his superiors, he passed his time in great comfort and happiness, except when the re-

flection came over him, that he was far removed from his relatives, and, being surrounded by Sunnís and Káfís, might run some risk of abandoning the Shí'a religion. At last, he returned to Lucknow, and has remained ever since without any public employ.

He gives us this account of himself in the Preface to the *Mafátihi-r Riásat*, and adds that his leisure was by no means idly wasted, for he was not unobservant of the passing events of the day, and knowing that gold and jewels were fleeting possessions, and were not regarded in so precious a light as wisdom in the eyes of discerning patrons, he determined upon writing a work which would immortalize his name; and in furtherance of this resolve, he abstracted one hundred and fifty works, which treated of religion and history, and made use of these abstracts in the large work of which the present volume is a portion.

The entire work is called *Bahru-l Zakhkhár*, "The Tempestuous Sea," and comprises the following volumes —

I *Mazáhu-u-l Adyán*, which treats of the different religions of the world, and chiefly of the Muhammadan faith, the Muhammadan Saints and Sects, Sa'iyid Ahmad, etc., comprised in 542 pages folio, containing 23 lines each.—II *Mansaru-l 'A'lam*, which treats of Astronomy and Geography, and is still incomplete for want of some philosophical instruments which the author is unable to procure. It is also called *Khún shud-i Lami'*, "The Resplendent Sun," as the words contain the chronogram of the date 1261 A H (1845 A D). Its present size extends to 224 pages folio, of 20 lines each.—III *Maqma'u-l Mulúk*, the subject of the present article.—IV *Mafátihi-r Riásat*.—V *Alkhbár-át-i Hind*, the subject of the succeeding article.—VI *Naghma-i 'Andalib*, on the subject of poetry, music, Hindú and Persian, the rules of versification, and a biography of the Poets. A small folio volume of 300 pages, and 20 lines to a page.

This large work was commenced about the year 1260 A D. (1844 A D). It may be considered the second edition of another work, which the industrious author composed in five volumes

between the years 1816 and 1830 under the name of *Zubdatu l Ghardib* ¹ "The Marrow of Marvels," but it is strange that in the Preface to his later work he never alludes to the former one. Though it is not divided in the same way, he has fully availed himself in the *Bahru l Zakkhar* of the matter contained in the *Zubdatu l Ghardib*. That work is distributed in the following manner but each volume has not a separate designation.

I The first to the fifth Book give an account of the Creation, Jinns, early Prophets, Muhammad, the Khalifs and Imáms. II The sixth and seventh Books give an account of the early kings of Persia, the 'Umayyides, Abbásides, Saljuks, Atábaks and other independent Muhammadan Monarchies. III The eighth Book on the Hindus and the Sultáns of Dehli, Gujarát, Málwá, the Dakhín etc. IV The ninth Book, on the Timurian dynasty of Hindustán and the establishment of British supremacy, V The tenth Book, on the Philosophers, Poets, Saints, and literary characters.

The author not satisfied with so much prose, has also indited poetry and has assumed the poetical designation of *Naym* a star under which head he appropriates an article to himself in the biographical portions of these works. In that article we find that it is his intention some day or other to write his personal memoirs and give an account of the celebrated characters with whom he has associated.

The *Maqma u l Muluk* is not regularly divided into Chapters or Books.

CONTENTS.

Preface, p. 1, On Eras and the Hindú Jugs and Rájás, p. 2
On the early Persian Dynasties and other Kings preceding Islám p. 36 On the 'Ummayyides, Abbásides and their branches, p. 128 On the Saffárians, Samánis, Ismaílians, etc. p. 170
On the Turks, Saljuks, Atábaks, Afshárs, Abdális, etc., p. 232;
On the Ghaznívides, Ghorians, Khiljis, Tughliks, and Afgháns

¹ In the chronogram which gives the date of 1231 A.H. (1846 A.D.), the author calls the work *Zubda Ghawáib* without the Arabic article.

of Dehlí, p. 250; On the Kings of Jaunpúr, Málwá, Gujarát, the Dakhn, etc, p 288; On the Tímúrian Sovereigns of India, p. 360.

SIZE—Folio, containing 458 pages, with 26 lines to a page.

The transactions in this volume do not extend beyond the short-lived reign of Sháh Jahán II., and are recorded in so abridged a form as to be of very little interest. Indeed, of both entire works, the *Bahn u-l Zakhkhár* and *Zubdatu-l Gharáb*, he says that “he has compressed his matter into so small a space, that it is like placing the ocean in the palm of the hand, or a desert within a span’s length.

The *Majma’u-l Mulúk* is at present very little known. My copy was obtained from the author direct.

CLIII

AKHBARAT I HIND

OF

MUHAMMAD RIZA

THIS volume is by the same author, and forms part of the *Bahr i Zakkhar*. The words of the title form the date of the completion of the volume viz. 1204 A H (1847 8 A.D.)

The work contains at the beginning some matter which is included in the *Majma u l Mu'lek* but the greater part of the volume embraces a much later period than that work extends to for we have an account of the Sutlej campaigns and our first entry into Lahore. Much of this latter portion is included in the fourth volume, the *Mas'utihu r Ri'asat*

CONTENTS

Preface, p 1; Hindu dates and religions, the boundaries of Hindustán, its subjection to the Kings of Irán and the introduction of the Muhammadan religion into Hindustán, etc. p 2, Ghaznivides, Ghorians Khiljís, Tughlaks and Afgháns of Dehlí, p 31 Kings of Jaunpur Malwá, Gujarát, and the Dakhín, etc., p 48 Tímúrian sovereigns of Dehlí down to Alamgír II., p 68, Sháh Álam, p 125, Muhammad Akbar II., p. 173, English in India, p 200 Nawábs of Oudh p 263 Afgháns of Farrukhábád, p. 356 Rájputs and Játs, p 374 Nizáms of the Dakhín, Haider 'Alí Tipú Sultán, etc. p. 407 Mahrattas, p. 487; Sikhs and Bundelas, p 485

SIZE—Folio containing 522 pages of 20 lines each

Although this volume was so lately composed, the author

seems to be again re-writing it, for in a letter with which he has favoured me, I find he is enlarging it, and has divided it into thirteen different Chapters. In his old age he seems to have preserved his literary energies unimpaired, and it is to be hoped that he has in the mean time studied to make himself better acquainted with matters of European politics and science, than he was when he indited his first edition

EXTRACT

Governor-General Marquis Wellesley

This nobleman resembling Joseph in beauty and Suhráb in the field of battle, was lord of the country of generosity, and master of liberality and benevolence. The pen in writing his name turns to a sugar-cane in the hand of the composer, and the gale of the spring is rendered fragrant by his munificence. He received his instruction in England, from the brother of Lord Cornwallis. The laws of Hindústán were the chief object of his study. Some years before, he had been in the Dakhn, and rendered valuable services there. First, the French had acquired great power and influence in the country around Haidarábád, an account of which shall be given in the chapter which contains a history of that city, but this wise nobleman by his judicious measures expelled them thence in such a manner that they put down their arms, acknowledged their pusillanimity, and were driven out of the Ásaf's (Nizám's) State. Instead of a French, an English army was employed, and a handsome annual contribution of upwards of thirty *laes* was fixed for its maintenance by the government of Haidarábád.

After this, the army which was stationed in Madras, at the very time that an expedition was setting out against Típu Sultán the son of Haidar Náik. espoused the interests of Típu, such an enemy as the English never have had or will have to contend with in India. Wellesley, having settled affairs at Haidarábád, went to Madras, collected the English forces, and having animated and encouraged the troops, who were quite exhausted and dispirited,

on account of having been engaged in warfare for twelve or fourteen years, and having given them hopes of obtaining plunder, prepared them to sell their lives. He thus destroyed the Sultan took possession of Seringapatam and its fort, and obtained plunder to the amount of *krors* of rupees; among which there was a tent which was presented to the Nuzáb Wazír of Lucknow, and the like of which was never prepared even in that State.

In short, he adorned the chair of governorship in 1798 A.D. Every one felt satisfied and consoled because he appreciated merit and was a master of wisdom and the pen. As the Honourable Company was greatly in debt no one would take the government paper at four per cent., so in his time it was raised to twelve per cent. The army was largely augmented by new levies. In his time, too, orders were given to the English presses to print books relating to the Hindu religion, such as the *Rámáyana* etc. The College of Fort William was founded, and every officer who landed from English ships in Hindustán was first taught in it the language of this country and was admitted into the public service only after examination.

Next year the Governor-General demanded a contribution from the Nuzáb Wazír and the territory which was possessed by him was divided equally between both the governments. Territory to the value of one *kror* and thirty five *lacs* of rupees, which afterwards increased to an annual revenue of two *krors*, was added to the possessions of the British Government. The copy of the treaty with a full detail of it, will be given in the chapter on the Wazírát.

After the acquisition of these two territories, viz. that of Típu and that ceded by the Nawáb Wazír, which extended from Alláhábád up to Farrukhábád, the English prepared themselves for the Mahratta campaign, and in 1803 A.D. a battle was fought with Sindhu and Holkar, an account of which shall be given in the history of the Peshwás and the Dakhni chiefs.

General Wellesley the brother of the Governor General, who

commanded the Dakhn army, defeated the Mahiattas, and having placed Báji Ráo Peshwá on the *masnad*, took a small portion of the territory of the Dakhn and half of Gujarát for the British Government. Afterwards, the English defeated the Bhonsla Mahrattas, and took some territory from them also. Then they conquered the entire provinces of Dehlí and Ágra, and repulsed the French army which was in the pay of the Mahrattas. They also gave a signal defeat to Har Náth, the bondsman of Holkar, at Sháh-Jahánábád.

General Gerard Lord Lake was appointed to command the army which was despatched towards the west. He achieved great conquests, an account of which has been given above, in the general history of the Empire. Battles were also fought with Amír Khán, and a large tract of country fell into the hands of the English in the districts of Kálpí and Bánda. The Government then regulated the affairs of the King of Dehlí; and an annual sum of fifteen *lacs* of rupees was sanctioned for His Majesty's expenses. After this, they made an arrangement for the temple of Jagannáth, which is a celebrated Hindú place of worship and pilgrimage in the district of Orissa, and assigned a small portion of the income derived from it to the Brahmins and guardians of the temple. They prohibited the custom of drowning children at Gangáságar.

In short, before the arrival of this Governor-General, the Honourable Company's territory did not exceed seven *lacs* of rupees in revenue, but through the great prosperity of this conquering noble, it increased to such an extent that it yielded an annual revenue of about fifteen *lacs*.

The Regulation, according to which *tahsildars* were allowed to take one-tenth of the revenue realized through them remained in force for six years, and the doors of prosperity were opened upon the face of the world. Notwithstanding that for the conquest of territory an expenditure of *lacs* of rupees is necessary, yet the Court of Directors would not open their eyes to the necessity. They still thought that, as of old, their servants might reside in

the country as merchants and aliens, without taking the whole of Hindustán into their grasp. They did not know that now, on every inch of land, enemies, who possessed large forces, such as the Mahrattas and the Pindáris, had arisen. They also did not do the Governor General the justice to consider how much country he had conquered and to what extent he had augmented the annual revenue of the Government. From want of information, they reproached him for the enormous expenses he had incurred in his undertakings. In the same manner as they had treated Colonel Olive and Governor Hastings they brought groundless accusations against this Governor General also. Lord Moira in England persisted more than any one else in his opposition. Consequently Lord Wellesley resigned the government and returned home. Lord Cornwallis was then a second time sent to Hindustán by the Court of Directors. He travelled as far as Gházípur and then expired. In short, the Marquis governed with full authority for a period of ten entire years having gained thousands of thanks and praises in Hindustán.

CLIV

MIFTÁHU-T TAWÁRIKH

OI

THOMAS WILLIAM BEALE

THIS "Key of History" is a work highly creditable to the industry and ingenuity of the compiler, Mr. Thomas William Beale, a clerk in the office of the Board of Revenue at Agra

He has collected in this volume the many chronogrammatic dates relating to important events in Asia, and especially in India, since the introduction of the Hīra era. In these are included the exact year and date of the births and deaths of Muhammadan kings, philosophers, and other eminent men. He has extracted them from the most celebrated histories in which they are carefully recorded, and he has copied the memorial inscriptions on tombs, mosques, gardens, tanks, forts and palaces. He has himself, as have also his friends, composed several new ones, which are inserted in the work. The Christian, Hindī, Fasī, Illāhī and Jalālī eras are also occasionally given

Although, to a superficial observer, this mode of recording events may appear a veritable *mataioteknia*, yet it is not without great use in any disputed point of chronology, for it does not admit of any errors, as in the case of numerals, since not only meaning, but in most instances rhyme and scansion, are required for a perfect comprehension of the dates. To them might we with justice transfer Joseph Scaliger's address to the venerable Olympiads "Hail, ye guardians of time, ye vindicators of the truth of history, ye bidders of the fanatical licence of chronologists!"

This kind of *memoria technica* was never in much use in Europe, although the Roman system of notation admits of it. In ancient literature it seems to have been altogether unknown, and even in modern times, when, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the taste for anagrammatic trifling was so strong, it was seldom applied to this more useful purpose.

The following instances will show to the European reader the use and application of a chronogram by combining the numerical values attached to the capital letters according to the Roman system —

gloria Iesusque Deo æCLorVM in sæVla sunt,

but this is a very lame instance, as some letters, which have a value assigned to them are omitted from the computation.

A better example is to be found in the distich composed by Godart, on the birth of Louis XIV., in the year 1638 on a day wherein there happened to be a conjunction of the Eagle with the Lion's Heart

eXorIens DeLphIn æqVILæ CorDLæqVe LeonIs
CongressV galLlæ spe LatItItæqVe reseCIt.

In the Persian system which is called *Jummal* (Addition), the letters of the alphabet have a numerical value assigned to them according to a particular scale styled *Abjad* because the first four units are represented by that word *a* being equal to 1 *b* to 2, *j* to 3 *d* to 4. The sentence which contains the date should always be significant the consequence is, that awkward methods are sometimes resorted to in order to combine both sense and chronology

There are four principal modes of using the scale

1st. *Mutlak*, in which all the letters are requisite to the formation of the date. There is an inferior kind of *Mutlak*, in which only some of the letters of the text are used.

2nd *Ta'miya-ddkhil*, in which the numerical value of the letters used is less than the date required in which case we are told that some other word or letter will complete the date

3rd. *Ta'miya-khâryl*, the contrary of the preceding in which

the numerical value is excessive, and we are therefore told that we must deduct some word or letter.

4th *Taushih*, an acrostic, in which the initial or final letter of each verse composes the date.

All these kinds are illustrated in various parts of this work, and we may suppose that, under the licence granted in the second and third instances, some of them are very ill-constructed. Many however, exhibit, to say the least, great inventive faculty.

Take, for instance, the example at p. 309, where in thirty-one distichs the first line throughout represents the date of Akbar's accession, and the second line throughout represents the date of Jahángír's birth. Or take the following from p. 219.

١٢٧	٣١٠	٣١	١٢٧
<p>بادشاه و هر بار با کمال عدل بود واقع احسان عالم مصدر لطف آید</p>			

٤٢٠	٥١٧	٥١٧	٤٢٠
<p>سال جان او گریدس جان مردوش بگو جای فردوس آید بگرید نابادشاد</p>			

This quatrain represents the death of Bábar in eight different ways, each hemistich by itself represents the date they therefore give the date four times. The fifth is obtained by combining the unpointed letters of the first hemistich with the pointed letters of the second hemistich. The sixth, by taking the unpointed letters of the second hemistich. The seventh, by taking the pointed letters of the second line, and the eighth, by combining the unpointed letters of the second line.

I have a chronogrammatical treatise in my possession which evinces even more labour than this. In it the events of Bengal in 1170 A H are related in prose, and each separate sentence gives the date of 1170, and the number of sentences amounts also to 1170. The narrative runs in so easy a flow that it would be difficult, without knowing it, to surmise that there was anything artificial about its construction.

There are other works of a similar nature to this which have

been written in India, such as the *Tārīkh nāma*, and a few others with like names, but none so copious or so well arranged as this.

The *Miftāhu-t Tawārīkh* was lithographed at Agra in 1849. The outer margin very conveniently contains a column, in which is inserted each date in numerals, and in regular chronological succession. It possesses other advantages, besides giving the mere dates. It gives short notices of each Asiatic dynasty and a brief account of each reign, as well as several biographical notices of distinguished individuals who have shone in the politics and literature of the Muhammadan world.

The *Miftāhu-t Tawārīkh* is divided into thirteen Sections, each representing a Century of the Hijra.

CONTENTS.

Preface, p 1 First Century p 7; Second, p 23 Third p. 31, Fourth p 41, Fifth p 46 Sixth p 64; Seventh, p 79 Eighth, p 114 Ninth p. 168, Tenth, p 203 Eleventh p 288; Twelfth, p 420 Thirteenth p 542

Some of the most conspicuous Indian dynasties and reigns occur at the following pages—Ghaznvide Dynasty p 51, Ghorian Dynasty p 79 Timur p 159 Sultāns of Málwā. p 185 Sultāns of the Dakhn, p 190; Sultāns of Gujarāt, p 202 Bābar p. 215 Sher Shāh, p. 226 Humāyūn, p 237 Akbar, p 245, Jahāngīr, p. 308 Shāh-Jahān p 344 Aurangzeb p 394 Bahādur Shāh, p. 446; Muhammad Shāh, p. 459; Shāh Ālam p 516, Akbar II p. 565

Size—Quarto, containing 609 pages of 25 lines each

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

- 'Abbās Khān Shīrwānī, ii 451, iv 301,
386, 389
'Abdu-llāh, iv 431
——— Wassāf, iii 24
'Abdu-l Hā, viii 189
——— Hakk, vi 175, 366, 483, 491
——— Hamsīd Lāhori, vii 3
——— Jabbār, ii 58
——— Kādīr Badāunī, ii 432, iii 6,
v 177, 493, 495, 496, 499, 508, 513,
519, 522, 524, 525, 534, 537, 539,
540, 546, 571
——— Karīm Khān, viii 124
——— Muktadīr Shānshū, vi 487
——— Rahīm, iv 218
——— Rahmān, ii 433, 513
——— Razzāk, iv 89
——— Sattār Kāsim, iii 479
——— Wahāb, vi 447
Abu 'Abdu-llāh Muhammad, i 74
Abū-l Farah Ruwānī, iv 205
——— Faraj, ii 5
——— Fazl, v 511, 516, 519, 522, 524,
529, 530, 543, vi 1, 106, 154, 288
——— Fazl Baihaki *See* Baihaki.
——— Hasan Abī (Mas'ūdī), i 18
——— Hasan 'Alī al Jāfī, i 100
——— Hasan al Haizam, ii 285
——— Hasan Madānī, i 114
——— Is'hāk Istakhrī, i 26
——— Kāsim (Khurdādba), i 12
——— Mārīn Antāma, ii 16
——— Ma'shar, v 573
——— Mu'ayyid Balkhī, i 102
——— Muhammad Nāsīh, iv 199
——— Nasr Mushkānī, ii 63, 183, 185,
272, 433
——— Rihān al Bīrūnī, i. 42, ii 1
See Bīrūnī
——— Sa'du s Samānī, ii 245
——— Sālih bin Shu'āb, i 100
——— Sharaf Jarbādakānī, iv 188
——— Tālib Husāmī, iii 389
——— Tālib Londonī, viii 298
——— Ussābiyah, ii 4
——— Zaidū-l Hasan, i 1
Adab-i 'Alamgiri, viii 205
Adabu-s Sālihīn, vi 491
Aftāb, viii 332
Afzalū-d dīn, iv 206
Afzalū-t Tawdīlīh, viii 26
Agm Pūana, vi 481
Ahmad bin 'Asmū Kūfī, ii 414
——— al Ghaffārī, ii 504
——— Thanesarī, vi 487
——— Yādgar, v 1
——— ibn Yahyā ibn Jābir al Bilādūrī,
i 113
Ahmad Shāhī, viii 377
Ahsanū-t Tawarīkh, vi 201
Ahwāl Adina Beg Khān, viii 167
Ain-i 'Albārī, v 485, vi 6
'Alimū-l 'Alhbādī, ii 157
——— Mulkī, iii 369
'Ajāibū-l Buldān, i 94
——— Makhlukāt, i 94
Albārī-nama (Abū-l Fazl), vi 1
——— (of Illahdād), vi 116
Alhbārāt-i Hind, viii 433-6
Alhbārū-l 'Alhyar, iv 142, 536, vi 175,
176, 484
——— *Bardmika*, ii 157
——— *Dawal*, vi 570
——— *Muhabbat*, ii 435, viii 376
——— *Sahāba*, ii 245
Alhīdk-i Jahangīrī, vi 447
'Alam-ard, viii 26
'Alam-dīdī 'Abbāsī, viii 354
'Alamghī-nāma, viii 174, 266
'Alāu-d dīn Juwānī, ii 384
Al Bīrūnī *See* Bīrūnī.
Albumazar, v 573
Alfiya wa Shalfiya, iv 206
Al Husām bin Yazīd us Sirāfī, i 114
'Alī, viii 200
——— Ahmad Nishānī, vi 489
——— bin Mushh, ii 17, 42, 44
——— Sher Khānī, i 327
——— Shīr, iv 128, 141, 527
——— ibn Sinā, ii 2
Al Jazārī, ii 244
Almagest, ii 3
'Amāl-i Sālih, viii 123
Amīnāf Kazwīnī, or Munshī, viii 1
Amīr Haidar Husāmī, viii 193
Amīr Hasan, iii 110

- Amir i Akhbar v 110
 Amir Khurā, il. 67 110 122 144 523
 866; vl. 485; viii 11
 Arund Nam Makhliis, viii. 76
 Asfa ul Akhbar, vl. 11
 Asnab il. 245
 A wdrat Tan. II, il. 252
 Ardub-i Makhli, l. 45; viii 6
 Arger-mahd-bedik iv 461
 Argān-nam l. 300
 Arzaki, iv *03
 Asad Beg vi 150
 Asaf Kh n, v 163
 Asiru-i Nāid, l. 94 il. 28
 Asir-us-Saudid, iii. 670
 A Aika, iii. 514
 Ashraf ul Bidid, l. 31; il. 412
 Ashraf vii. 73
 Ashraf-i Tawdrish, viii. 411
 Asjūdi, iv 189
 Asr-i Mubabbat viii. 370
 Atā Beg Karwini, viii. 8, 214 2-4 377
 Atā Malik Juwalai, il. 284
 Athar el Baluch, il. 5
 Atharra Feda v 453, 571
 Aurangzeb, vii. *03, 562
 Ausaf-i Asaf viii. 300
 Avicenna, il. 2, 3
 Ayat i dāniah, vl. 6
 Ayat-ul-kurā, v 516 vl. 5
 Asiru-llah, vii. 106
 Azād, viii. 183
 Azfari, viii. 231
- Bāber iv 18
 Badāoni, v 477 Sv Abdo-i Kādir
 Bādr Chāch, iii. 67 567
 Bādī-i Baydu vi. 487
 Badshah-nama, vii. 3, 121, 563
 Bāgh i mād, l. 213 v 163
 Urdu, viii. 7
 Bahādur Singh, viii. 417
 Bahyat-ul Tawdrish, l. 17 il. 17
 Bahman-nama l. 102
 Bahru-i Asmr v 476
 Bulān l. 94 il. 391, iii. 28
 Mawraj, vl. 487 viii. 235
 Tawdrish, viii. 101
 Zakākhār vi. 570 viii. 433
 Bāibaki, il. 2, 53, 197 266 392, 430
 Balakwi, il. 252
 Bakhtāwar Khān, vii. 145
 Bakya Naliya il. 67 535
 Balawnt-nama, viii. 416
 Barni, il. 93, 316
 Bātajai,
 Bālakal,
 Bātanpal,
 Bātanpal } l. 44 il. 2, 6
 Baydu-i Ifdāp viii. 124
- Baydu-i Jahāngir vl. 270
 Beale, T W., viii. 411
 Bey Lān-nama l. 30
 Bhāgarat vl. 472 viii. 205, 377
 Bhāgwan dā, vii. 132
 Bhāso Nam, viii. 377
 Bhārā Māl, vii. 163
 Bilāduri, l. 113 il. 414
 Binakili, il. 405 iii. 65
 Bīdrāban Day, vii. *33
 Bīrdni, l. 42 il. 1 202, 403 v 573
 Bd. See Abū
 Bām-i salim-nama il. 236
 Bārān-i Fāih, viii. 25
- Chach-nama, l. 131
 Chāhār Gulshan, viii. 235
 Chāhār Gulzar Shāf i viii. 201
 Chānd, vl. 464
 Charala, v 572
- Dakhl-i Firuz Shāh, v 573
 Dānshmand Khān, vii. 200 *02, 568
 Daryd-i Dāuri, viii. 378
 Dastūr-i Amī Aghā, vii. 203, 204
 Ifard, iv 142, 148
 Daulat Shāh, il. 571
 Dero Fardna, vl. 473
 Dhawul Feda, vl. 481
 Dimashki, iii. 573
 Dīrd-i Salwān iv 518
 Saud, il. 116
 Dīrd-i Salwān Jahāngiri, vl. 252, 276
- Faizi, Shāh, v 537 544; vl. 1 147
 490
 Faizi Shāhī vl. 116
 Faizul-i Albari, viii. 41
 Fakhr-d din Binakili, iii. 65
 Fakir Khānu-d din Muḥammad, viii.
 237 416
 Fakir Muḥammad, viii. 425
 Fālah-dahab, viii. *33
 Fāhā, iv 528
 Faraf b adu-ah Shāhidat il. 157
 Farām-nama, l. 102
 Farhang-i Jahāngiri, il. 69
 Farhat-u Nātarin, viii. 163
 Farzand Ali Humān, viii. 199
 Fāzawl-i Alamgiri viii. 416
 Ifard viii. 416
 Tādr Khān il. 367
 Fāth-nama, l. 131
 Fawāid-i Kāth-i Hūdāyati, il. 167
 Fāfaka, vl. 671
 Fāfān-i Tawdrish, viii. 413
 Fīrdā, iv 190
 Fīrāhta, il. 432, 446, 462, 563 vl. 20
 532
 Firuz Shāh, iii. 374

- Foe-Koue-ki*, i 47
Futuh-i Asdm Kúfi, viii 26
Futuhu-l Bulddn, i 113
——— *Saldtn*, vi 572
——— *Sind*, i 114
Futuhat-i 'Alamghri, viii 198
——— *Firoz Shdhí*, iii. 514
——— *Hind*, iv 288

Garshasp-nama, i 102
Ghairat Khán, vi 276
Gharabtu-l Asrdar, iv 143
Ghulam 'Alí Khán, viii 393
——— *Básit*, viii 200
——— *Husain Khán*, viii 194
Ghurratu-l lamdl, iii 534
Gulshan-i Ibdhím, vi 211
Gul-i Rahmat, viii 302
Gulistan, viii 7
Gulistan-i Rahmat, viii 301

Habibu-s Siyar, i 308, ii 431, iv 154
Haddiku-l Balaghat, ii 160
Hadiha Sanai, ii 418
Hadikatu-l Akalim, viii 180
——— *Auliyá*, i 328
——— *Hakikat*, iv 210
Háfiz Abrá, ii 431, iv 1
Haft Gulshan, viii 13
Haft Iklim, viii 180
Haibatu-d dín, ii 16
Haider Mirza Doghlat, v 127
Haider Rázi, i 213, ii 431
Háji Muhammad Kandahári, vi 572, viii 201, 314
Hdlat-i Asad Beg, vi 150
Hamdu-lla Mustaufi, ii 430, iii 60
Hamza Isfaháni, i 102
Harbans Purdn, vi 196
Harwansa, ii 7
Hari Charan Dás, viii 204
Harnám Singh, viii 336
Harsukh Rai, viii 355
Hasan bin Muhammad, vi 201
——— bin Muhammad Shír'azi, i 417
——— *Nakhshí*, vi 489
——— *Nizamí*, ii 204
Hasha-i Hindi, iv 311
Hátifi, viii 377
Haicash Kapah, vi 187
Havatu-l Haican, v 483
Hidava, vi 488
Humayun-nama, v 116
——— *Shahí*, v 136, vi 117
Husain Khán Atghán, viii 314
Husn-i Hasn, iv 540

Ibn Asir, ii 244 443, 444, 468
——— *Batut*, i 49, 68, iii 585
——— *Henkal*, i 26, 31, ii 412

Ibn Jauzi, iv 171
——— *Kalbí*, i 114
——— *Kasir Shámí*, iv 170
——— *Khaldún*, i 18
——— *Khalikán*, ii 413, viii 414
——— *Khurdádba*, i 12
——— *Mu'in*, viii 413
——— *Shuhna*, ii 433
——— *Wardí*, iii 17
Ibráhím Khán, viii 257
Ibrahim Shahí, v 70
'Ibrat-nama, viii 237
Idrisi, i 74
Iftakhar Khán, viii 153
'Ijaz-i Khusrúvi, iii 67, 566
Ikhd-nama, vi 252, 276, 280
——— *Jahangir*, vi 276, 400
Ikhtisáru-t Tawdrikkh, viii 332
Illahdád, vi 116
'Imru-z Zakhkhar, vi 570
'Imádu-s Sa'adat, viii 394-6
Imamu-s Sa'adat, viii 394
'Ináyat Husain, viii 372
——— *Khán*, viii 73
'Ináyatu-llah, vi 103
Insha-e Abú-l Fazl, vi 5, viii 193
——— *Amir Khusrú*, iii 566
——— *Nigar-nama*, vi 211
Intikhab Jahangir Shahí, vi 446
Intikhabu-t Tawarikh, viii 331
Irúdat Khan, viii 534
Ishtad, vi 487
Irshadu-l Wazrd, iv 148
Istakhri, i 26, ii 412
'Izzu-d dín, ii 244
'Izzu-d dín Kháhid-khání, viii 8, 314, 377

Jahán-drd, viii 26, 414
Jahángir, vi 251
Jahangir-nama, vi 251, 276, 360, 400, 439
Jahán Kúsha, ii 384, 549
Jáhu, i 95
Jalálu Tibátibá, vi 517, viii 132
Jalálu d dínu-s Sayutí, viii 414
——— *dín Tab'atabá*, viii 132
Jam-i Jam, viii 375, 430
——— *Jahán-nama* (Muzaffar Husain), viii 158
——— *Jahán-nama* (Kudratu-llah), viii 184
Jamali, vi 488
Jamí'u-l Hidayat, ii 155
——— *Peshurá*, v 478
——— *Tawarikh* (Rashidu-d dín), i 12 ii 8, 405, 410, 455 iii 1
——— (Kázi Muhtamad Rza), viii 425
——— *Usul*, ii 245

Ja-zadma vii. 902
Jarbsdškānī, ii. 16; iv. 189
Jauhar v. 130
Jauhar-i Samadn, viii. 2
Jawāhirul Akābir iv. 143
 ——— *Analys* i. 375
Jasb-ul Kalb v. 16 491
Jami ul Firda v. viii. 413
Joy Baskiat viii. 705, 377
Jugal Kishwar viii. 500
Juwainī, ii. 384

Kāfā iv. 311
Kalila o Dama iv. 210 vi. 6
Kalwat i Tarjūmāt, vii. 703, 201
Kāmgār Khān, vi. 6, 439
Kamīlāt-i Tūrikā, ii. 741
Kāmilat-i Tawdrīkā, i. 619 ii. 241 468
 47
Kāmwar Khān, viii. 13, 17
Kamary-Khand vi. 461
Kā un-i Hamdunī, iv. 143 v. 116
Kān a Masbū ii. 3, 7 412
Kāmil Mahfūz viii. 37
Kār-nama, viii. 233
 ——— *Jahd giri* iv. 276
Karāmat All. ii. 16
Kārid af Badr Chāch iii. 667
Kā hī, vii. 1-3
Kāshf-us Samā, vi. 60
Kā hīfāt-i Akābir viii. 372
Kawām bin Masān, ii. 16
Kāzi Ahmad, iv. 295
 ——— *Ahmad al Ghaffārī*, ii. 601
 ——— *Ajāz Būdshāhī* vii. 134
Kazwīnī, i. 91
Kawāl Rām, viii. 192
Khāfi Khān, vii. 207 441
Khairāt All. vi. 217
Khairul-bayān, v. 450
Khāki Shirkāzī, ii. 432 vi. 201
Khābūdshānī, viii. 8, 314 377
Khālik bīrī iii. 83
Khallul-Insan, ii. 167
Khazānu-l Futū h, iii. 67 523
Khazānu-l Amīn viii. 188
Khāṣṣ-nama, iii. 143
Khāṣṣ-afzāl, v. 613
Khondamīr ii. 431 iv. 141 148, 164
 v. 116
Khāṣṣat-i Afīd viii. 163
 ——— *Akābir* ii. 431
 ——— *Akādāt*, viii. 205
 ——— *Hayāt*, v. 160
 ——— *Inshā* vii. 168
 ——— *Tawdrīkā* ii. 433, 435 viii. 2,
 6, 194
Khurūdshā, i. 12
Khurākīd-i Latāf viii. 423
Khushhāl Chānī, viii. 10

Khwāja Atābak Karwīnī, viii. 364 See
Atā Beg
 ——— *Lifendī*, ii. 201
Khwājagī vi. 487
Khayyān Sa'dat iii. 16
Khayyān Sa'dat, iii. 523, 6 i viii. 11
Kishan Dayāl, viii. 411
Kitāb-ul Akdī v. 1 26
 ——— *Alhar Sādāt* viii. 377
 ——— *Amr* i. 93
 ——— *Ansh* ii. 1
 ——— *Dallard*, v. 574
 ——— *Dulān*, i. 114
 ——— *Fakīrī* ii. 419
 ——— *Maslik wa-l mamalik* i. 12, 31
 ——— *Masbū* iv. 109
 ——— *Tawdrīk*, iii. 4 14
 ——— *Tamīl*, ii. 14
Kudrat-ul-lab viii. 181
Kuljāt i Kānīn v. 165
 ——— *Sand*, viii. 7
Kurāt-ul-Mulk v. 64
Kāpī-dawūd i. 107
Kutb-ul-dīn Shirkāzī, ii. 17

Lamiatul-Aṣm, vi. 487
Lārī, ii. 423
Lidratī, v. 574
Lubīb-ul Akdī ii. 187
Lubīb-us Siyar viii. 293
Lubīb-ul Tawdrīk, ii. 432 iv. 293
 ——— *Tawdrīk-i Hūd*, vii. 163

Ma'dlīmāt-i Tawdrī, iv. 610
Ma-dūr-i Alamgīrī vii. 181
 ——— *Jahāngīrī*, vi. 276, 439
 ——— *Kāzī*, vi. 239
 ——— *Mulūk* iv. 143
 ——— *Rahīmī*, v. 480 vi. 237
 ——— *Umar*, v. 163, 177 viii. 167
Ma'dawul Akābir v. 1
 ——— *Akābir i Ahmadī*, viii. 364
 ——— *So dāt*, viii. 354, 304
Madānī, i. 114
Madhīyān Nubharat, vi. 176
Madhīyā, vi. 483
Madīna Salīmā vi. 176
Madīnatul-Ulām, viii. 161
Madhīyān Nubharat, viii. 423
Madhīyān Nubharat v. 114
Madhīyāt, i. 101 v. 429, 478, 484
 837 871 vi. 533, 643 viii. 201
Mahmūd bin Umar Manjānī, ii. 16
 ——— *Warrāk*, ii. 115
Mahmūd bin Manjānī, vii. 26
 ——— *Sadīq*, vii. 134
Majūd-dīn Kirmakā, ii. 16
Majūd-dīn, ii. 245 606
Majūd-ul Akābir viii. 365
 ——— *Akādāt*, viii. 70

- Maymūd-u-l Amsdī*, ii 157
 ——— *Ansab*, i 301
 ——— *Muluk*, viii 432
 ——— *Nasāh*, ii 485
 ——— *Sanāya*, ii 160
 ——— *Warīdat*, i 407
 ——— *Wasāya*, ii 485
Mahdlāt-i Jahāngīrī, v 276
Mahdmūd Abu Nasr, ii 433, iii 63
 ——— *Mahmūdī*, ii 58
Mahdrimu-l Akhlāk, iv 142
Maktūbat-l 'Alldmī, vi 5
Makhzan-i Afghānī, v 2, 67
Makhzanu-l Ghazāib, viii 200
Ma'lāmatu-l Afāk, i 328
Mal'fuzāt-i Timurī, iii 389, iv 91, 559
Mandkīb-i Sultān Tughlāk, iii 270, 271
Mansūr bīn Hātīm, i 114
Manū Lāl, viii 393
Manzaru-l 'Alam, viii 433
Marākashī, iii 574
Masdhiku-l Absar, iii 573
Mashrikī, vi 490
Mas'ūdī, i 18, 454, ii 417, 418
Ma'sūmī, i 212
Matla'u-l Anwad, vi 566, viii 201
 ——— *Sa'dāwī*, iv 89, 514, 569, v 575
Ma-twan-hn, i 47
Maulāna Ahmad, v 150
 ——— Nūru-d dīn 'Ufī, ii 155
 ——— Mnshtākī, iv 537
 ——— Shāhābādī, viii 377
 ——— 'Unsurī, viii 7 See 'Unsurī
Mazdhuru-l Adyān, viii 433
Mazhar 'Alī Khān, iv 303
Miftahu-l Futūh, iii 83, 136, 534
 ——— *Hayy*, ii 157
 ——— *Tafdsur*, iii 4
 ——— *Tawdīkh*, viii 441
Mish o māl, vi. 488
Minhagu-l Hayy, viii 161
 ——— *Masālik*, i 131
 ——— *Siraj*, ii 259
Mīr 'Abdu-l Latīf, iv 294
 ——— 'Alī Sher, iv 128, 141, 527
 ——— Ghulām 'Alī, viii. 188
 ——— Ghulām 'Alī Nakawī, 394, 396
 ——— Hasan, vi 486
 ——— Khāwand (Mīrkhond), ii 431, iv 127
 ——— Muhammad Ma'sūm, i 212
 ——— Muhammad Yahyā, viii 132
 ——— Tāhūr Muhammad Nasyānī, i 253
Mu-dtu-l Adwar, iii 16
 ——— *Aftab-numa*, viii 332, 415
 ——— *Ahmadi*, v 502
 ——— 'Alam, viii 145
 ——— *Asrar*, ii 433, 515
Mir-dtu-l Daulat 'Abdās, i 213
 ——— *Jahān-numd*, viii 145
 ——— *Mas'ūdī*, ii 433, 449, 513, iii 362
 ——— *Safā*, viii 27, 30
 ——— *Wdī'iddt*, viii. 21
Mīrzā Amīnā, vii 1
 ——— Jalāla Tībātubā, vi. 517, viii 132
 ——— Katīl, iii 67
 ——— Masītā, viii 334
 ——— Muhammad Nī'amat Khān, viii 200
 ——— Kāmgār, vi 276
 ——— Muhammad Bakhsh, viii 232
 ——— Muhammad Jān Mashhadī, viii 132
 ——— Muhammad Mahdī, viii 99
 ——— Muhammad Yusufī, viii 413
Mī'sar bīn Muhalbīl, i 95, 96
 ——— Muayyanu-d dīn Umrānī, vi 486
Miskīn, viii 100
Mu'ayyam, viii 26
Muakif, vi 486
Mubdrak Shāhī, iv 6, v 480
Mufazzal Khān, viii. 141
Mughīs Hānsavī, vi 488
Muhabbat Khān, viii 376
Muhallīb bīn Muhammad bīn Shādī, i 102
Muhammad-nāma, viii 103
Muhammad 'Abdu-l Bākī, vi 237
 ——— Abū-l Kasīm, i. 32
 ——— Afzal, iii 393
 ——— 'Alī, viii 25
 ——— 'Alī Abū-l Kāsum, ii 266
 ——— 'Alī bīn Hāmīd, i 131
 ——— 'Alī Khān, viii 316
 ——— 'Alī Khān Ansārī, viii 235
 ——— Amīn, vi 244
 ——— Amīn Kazwīnī vii. 1
 ——— Aslam, viii 163
 ——— Bakā, viii 150
 ——— Bākīr 'Alī Khān, viii 414
 ——— Hādī, vi 392, viii 13, 17
 ——— Hāshīm, viii 207, 441
 ——— Ja'far Shāmlū, viii 144
 ——— Kāsim, viii 569
 ——— Kāzīm, viii 174
 ——— bīn Khāwand, iv 127
 ——— Ma'sum, viii 198
 ——— Muhsīn Sādīkī, viii 72
 ——— Nābī, ii 285
 ——— of Nessa, ii 390, 394, 552, 565
 ——— Rīzā (1), viii. 151
 ——— Rīzā (2), viii 432
 ——— Sādīk Khān, viii 133
 ——— Sākī Musta'idd Khān, viii 181
 ——— Sālīh Kambū, viii. 5, 123
 ——— Shafī', viii 161

- Muhammad Shafi Teharkai, viii. 91
 — Shartf Hanafi, vii. 131
 — Tahir, vii. 73
 — Ufi, ii. 153
 — Waris, vii. 121
 — Ya' al, i. 483
 — bin Yusuf Hirwi, iv. 53
 — Zaki, vii. 132
 Mujalladdi i Daihali, ii. 53, 431
 Mujawid Buldu v 476
 Muymal Fasil vi. 201
 — Tawdrilā, i. 100; ii. 41
 Mukhtasar Jami'at Tawdrilā, iii. 17
 Mukhtasarat Tawdrilā, viii. 1
 Mul Iktāas, vii. 6
 Mulakhalasat Tawdrilā, viii. 199
 Mulla Dāud Ridāi vi. 466
 — Muhammad Gharnawi, ii. 433 613
 Munajjim Nakhli, ii. 433
 Mirdas Lal, viii. 393
 Munawwar Khān, viii. 314
 Munawwar-i Kāhīm, viii. 331
 Muntakhab-i De-badel viii. 401
 — De-badel Fursā i 301
 — Khuliatat Tawdrilā, viii. 378
 — Lubāb vii. 207
 — Tārikh-i Fāsāf iv 142
 — Tawdrilā (Madā'ir) v 477
 — (Hasan bin Muham
 mad) vi. 201
 — (Kābī Shīrāzī), ii.
 43 iv 200, 212
 — (Muhammad Yusuf) i.
 485
 — (Sadā'at), viii. 403
 Muriq-i Zahab i. 18 418
 Murtazā Husain, viii. 180
 Mushākh, iv. 535
 Mushākh, vi. 489
 Muslih-d dīn Lārī, iii. 16
 Mustafid Khān, vii. 181 283
 Mustajāb Khān, viii. 301
 Mu'tamad Khān, vi. 400 viii. 191
 Muttabar Kurrah, vi. 488
 Muzaffar Husain, viii. 188
 Muskhakāt vii. 201
 Naddi adma, viii. 90
 Nadir-i Edmāni, viii. 70
 Naf' i Fursā viii. 161
 — Ma-dar iv 204
 Naf'at ii. 525 iv 209
 — Isā, iv. 558; viii. 419
 Naghwa-i Adallāh, viii. 433
 Naf'at-i Rashid, v 478
 Najm, viii. 431
 Najm-d dīn, ii. 145
 Nakhlāt-i Tawdrilā, ii. 433
 Nakhb Khān, iv. 298
 Nal Daman v 640 vii. 127
 Nadir-adma, ii. 248 307
 Nadir i De-nazir viii. 7
 Nasru llah iv 210
 Nās o niyāz, i. 253
 Nawas-nāma, vi. 311 216
 Nawādir-i Hilāyat iv 417
 Nāmat Khān Ali vi. 517 vii. 200
 — 02, 568
 Nāmatu-llah v 67
 Nigār-adma i Hind, viii. 390
 Nigāristān ii. 501 iv 298 vi. 197
 — Gili adma, iv. 388
 Nikhā i 432
 Niyāz viii. 403
 Nā'admiya, viii. 26
 Nazam-d dīn Ahmad, ii. 432; v 177
 533; vi. 120
 Nazam-i Mulk Tāf ii. 485
 Nazam-i Tawdrilā, ii. 252, 430
 — Nazam, v 480
 Nizārī, ii. 246
 Nakh, iv. 538
 Nakh & Nakh iii. 567
 Nazam-d dīn Muhammad Ufi, ii. 155
 Nazam-i Hakh, vi. 182, 490
 Nazam i Jahānīd iv 298
 Nawāzī, i. 314
 Nazam-i Kāhīm iii. 60, 674
 — Muskhakāt i. 74
 Nazam-d dīn 5 377
 Nazam-adma vii. 1
 Nazam-i Jahānīd, iv. 535
 Nazam-adma, vi. 961
 Nazam-i, ii. 6
 Nazam-i, vi. 487 488
 Nāzan, vi. 489
 Nāzan, iv. 535
 Nazam-i Jahānīd v 478 viii. 377
 Nazam-i, viii. — 5 205 377
 Nazam-i Jahānīd, vii. 203 204
 Nazam-i, v 478, 539 5, 1
 Ram Chatter Mān, viii. 265
 — Parahād, viii. 378
 Rashid-d dīn, i. 42; ii. 2, 430 iii. 1
 Rashid i Adallāh, viii. 26
 — Nazam-i Adallāh ii. 55
 — Safa, ii. 431 478, 556 iv 127
 — Shakhād, v 186
 — Tahirī, vi. 195
 Razm-adma, v 429 537
 Razm-i Muhabbat viii. 376
 Razm-i ayāh, iv. 558
 — Dilerī viii. 378
 — Nazam-i Sulṭāniyāh, vi. 493
 — Sulṭāniyat, ii. 4
 Razm i Adallāh vii. 184
 Rizān llah, vi. 489
 — Muskhakāt, iv. 534

- Ruk'a'at-i 'Alamgiri*, vii 203
 ——— *N'amat K'hadu*, vii 201
Rustam 'Alí, viii. 40

Sa'adat-i J'diced, viii 336
Sa'adat Yár Khán, viii 302
Sád Salmán, ii 134, iv 518
Sadásukh, viii 403
S'adí, iii 110
Sádik Isfahání, iii 16, vi 453
Sadr-i Jahán Gujaráti, viii 314
Sadru-d dín Muhammad, iv 148
Sa'du-d dín Muhammad, ii 204
Sahíhu-l Akhbar, v 185, viii 313
Sa'idu-lláh Baizhawí, ii 252
Saifu-d dín, vi 489
Sauru-l Múluh, ii 424
 ——— *Bilad*, i 95, 96
Sa'iyid Ahmad, iii 621
 ——— *Ahmad Khán*, viii 430
 ——— *Hasan Ghazni*, iv 210
 ——— *Jamál*, i, 300
 ——— *Sultán 'Alí*, viii 354
Sakí-ndma, vii 154
Salmán, ii 134, iv 518
Salotar, v 574
Salsilatu-t Tawdrih, i 1
Sam'aní, ii 1
Samsámu-d daula, viii 187
Sanakhya, ii 5
Sárim, viii 190
Sarru-d Dari, ii 157
Sarúp Chand, viii 313
Sarvi-i Azád, viii 188
Sawan Singh, viii 332
Sawamh-i Akbari, viii. 193
Sayúti, viii 414
Sháh 'Alam-ndma, viii 393
 ——— *Shahí*, viii 377
Shahábu-d dín Daulat-ábádi, vi 487
 ——— *Tálásh*, vii 199
 ——— *'Umarí*, iii 573
Sháh Jahan-ndma, vii 1, 73, 121, 123, 132, 133
Shah-ndma, i 102, iv 191, v 484, vii 568, viii 331
Sháh Nawáz Khán, viii 187, 333
Shahrázúri, ii 1, 2
Shaikhu-l Hadád Jaunpúri, vi 488
Shaikh Muhammad, vii 153
 ——— *Sanáí*, iv 209
 ——— *Zam*, iv 288
Shayrat Afaghana, iv 529
 ——— *'Alí*, ii 157
 ——— *Atrokh*, ii 392, 560
Shams-i Siráj 'Afif, iii 269, vi 484.
Sharfu-d dín Yazdí, iii 478
Sharfu-n Nabí, ii 157
Sharh-i Tayrid, v 155
 ——— *Tárikh Yamini*, ii 16, 51

Shash Fath-i Kangra, vi 517
Sheo Dás, viii 331
Sheo Parshád, viii 175
Sher 'Alí Ja'fari Afsos, viii 6
Shigarf-ndma, vi 197
Shir-Shahi, ii 451
Shukru-lláh, iii 17
Siddhántas, ii 7
Sikandar-ndma, iii 236
Silk-i Sulúk, vi 485
Singhásan Battisi, v 513, 571, viii 5, 377
Siraj-i 'Afif, vi 484 See *Shams-i Siraj*
 ——— *Hajj*, viii 161
 ——— *Tawdrih*, vi 231
Sirat-i Jalálu-d dín, ii 550
Siyaru-l Arvedh, viii 158
 ——— *Hindi*, viii 41
 ——— *Muta-akhkhvín*, viii 194
Subh-i Saddik, vi 453
Subhán, vii 123
 ——— *Ráí*, viii 5
Sulaimán, the Merchant, i 1
Suru-l Bulddn, i 41
Susruta, v 572

Tabakdt-i Akbari, ii 432, 435, 451, 460, 463, 467, 473, 477, iv 6, v 177
 ——— *Akbar Shahi*, v 177
 ——— *Babari*, iv 288
 ——— *Ndsiri*, ii 205, 259, 430, 474, iii 93
 ——— *Sháh Jaháni*, v 478, vii 133
Tabari, i 102, ii 418
Tafhim, } iv 199, 522
Tafhimu t Tanyim, }
Tafser-i Tadr Khani, iii 367
Taghtratu-l Murád, i 328
Táhir Muhammad, i 253, vi 195
Tahkiku-l I'rab, iii 16
Tahmásp-ndma, viii 100
Tajammul Husain, viii 413
Táju-d dín, vi 489
 ——— *'Isá*, ii 16
Táju-l Futuh, ii 53
 ——— *Ma'dsu*, ii 204
 ——— *Tawdrih*, ii 204
Takfu-d dín, vi 239
Takmila-i Akbar-ndma, vi 103
Takwimu-l Bulddn, ii 407
Talabu-n Nur, vi 492
Tálif i Kalb, etc, vi 492
Tambihu-l Jahán, viii 404
Tarannum-i 'Ishk, i 347
Tárikhu-l 'Abbás, ii 157
 ——— *'Abdu-l Hakk*, vi 175
 ——— *Ahmad Sháh*, viii 104
 ——— *Ahmad Shahi*, viii 377
 ——— *Akbar*, viii 8
 ——— *Akbar Shahi*, viii 41, 314

- Tārīkh-i Akbarī* viii 377
 — *Al-i Subūtiyya*, li. 83
 — *Akhl* li. 67 823
 — *Alam-d dīn* li. 67
 — *Abū-d dīn Khāfi* viii. 2, 8
 — *Alamgir*, vii. 162
 — *Alamgir-nama*, vii. 153
 — *Alamgir Shāh* viii. 140
 — *Alfi*, li. 43, 471 662; v 180
 — *Amīn* li. 16
 — *Badshāh* li. 422; v 477
 — *Badshāh Shāhī* vi. 177 484;
 vii. 863 869; viii. 8 377
 — *Bakht*, viii. 314
 — *Bakht*, viii. 104
 — *Bakht*, li. 63
 — *Bakht* viii. 200
 — *Bakht* li. 63
 — *Chaghatāi* vi. 293 viii. 21
 — *Dādā*, iv 434
 — *Daulat-i Yāmīn* li. 182
 — *Faiz Dakhsh*, viii. 175, 176
 — *Farrukh Siyar* viii 41
 — *Farrukh* vi. 407 832
 — *Firuz Shāhī* (Hārū) li. 93
 — *Firuz Shāhī* (of Isrūd dīn) viii.
 8 314 377
 — *Firuz Shāhī* (Shams-i Shirāz) li.
 209
 — *Ghadr* } li. 6 7 9 iv 3
 — *Ghadr* }
 — *Ghadr-d dīn Tughlak*, viii 2
 — *Ghadr* li. 430 461 li. 60
 — *Hafiz Abru* iv 1
 — *Hafiz Razi*, vi. 674
 — *Hafiz Nābī* li. 284 285
 — *Hafiz Muhammad Khandakari*, vi.
 6 2 See *Hafiz Muhammad*.
 — *Hafiz-i Hind*, vi. 673
 — *Hafiz* vi. 176
 — *Hafiz Saltanat Shāhī* iv 4
 — *Hafiz* viii. 414
 — *Hafiz*, li. 1 403; iv 868
 — *Hafiz* (of Rustam Ali), iv 200;
 viii. 40
 — *Hafiz-i Sind*, li. 131
 — *Hafiz-i Sind* iv 213 v 136
 — *Hafiz-i Sind*, iv 213, vi. 211 216
 — *Hafiz-i Sind*, viii. 257
 — *Hafiz-i Sind*, viii. 834
 — *Hafiz or Irif* v 185 viii. 314
 — *Hafiz-i Sind* *Saltanat* vi. 251
 — *Hafiz-i Sind* (Juwaini) li. 384
 — *Hafiz-i Sind* (Nader-nama),
 viii. 90
 — *Hafiz*, vi. 670
 — *Hafiz-i Sind* viii. 300
 — *Hafiz*, li. 244
 — *Hafiz* viii. 377
 — *Hafiz-i Sind*, vii. 207
 — *Tārīkh-i Khān Jahān Lodi*, v 67
 — *Mahmūd Ghaznavi* viii. 2
 — *Mahmūd* li. 626; lii. 236 viii.
 2 41
 — *Mahmūd Subūtiyya* (of Unsurī)
 viii. 7 314
 — *Mahmūd*, li. 268
 — *Mahmūd-i Hind* viii. 200
 — *Mahmūd-i Fathā* viii. 144
 — *Mahmūd Shāh*, viii. 2
 — *Mahmūd Shāhī* viii. 21 70
 103, 377
 — *Mahmūd* li. 63 407
 — *Mahmūd* li. 212
 — *Mahmūd* vi. 6, 4
 — *Mahmūd Shāhī*, iv 6
 — *Mahmūd* vii. 141
 — *Mahmūd*, vi. 484
 — *Mahmūd*, viii. 190
 — *Mahmūd Muhammad Ghaznavi* li.
 433. See *Tārīkh-i Mahmūd*
 — *Mahmūd* li. 167
 — *Mahmūd*, viii. 316
 — *Nader-nama*, viii. 70
 — *Nader* viii. 443
 — *Nader* li. 63 266, 284 302, 430
 607 608, 611
 — *Nader* v 1 177 vi. 197
 — *Nader-i Hind*, iv 638
 — *Nader-i Hind*, iv 638
 — *Nader*, v 137
 — *Nader-i Sind*, vi. 673
 — *Nader-i Sind* viii. 354
 — *Nader-i Afghān*, v 1
 — *Nader-i Ghori* vi. 178
 — *Nader-i Hind*, vi. 492
 — *Nader Shāhī* vi. 251 256
 — *Nader Alam*, viii. 393
 — *Nader Alam Shāhī*, viii. 377
 — *Nader Alam Bahadur Shāh* vii.
 668
 — *Nader-d dīn Ghori*, viii. 2, 7
 — *Nader* viii. 41
 — *Nader-i Farrukh Siyar* viii.
 232
 — *Nader-Jahānī* viii. 377
 — *Nader-Jahānī Dakhsh* vii. 1
 — *Nader Shāh*, viii. 314
 — *Nader-Shāhī* iv 301
 — *Nader*, li. 212
 — *Nader*, li. 63
 — *Nader-i Sind*, v 177
 — *Nader* li. 263 vi. 197
 — *Nader* li. 24
 — *Nader*, li. 14, 68, 429 436 iv
 188
 — *Nader*, vi. 163
 — *Nader-i Farrukh*, li. 414
 — *Nader* li. 16 iv 168
 — *Nader-nama* i. 300

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

*The asterisk (*) calls attention to the additions and corrections at the end*

- Abhāsin (R) vi. 313
 Abhābād, l. 66
 Abhd (Abd) iii. 30
 Abirā, l. 607
 Ab-leiyāh (R) iv. 37 61
 Ab-kand, iv. 17
 Abkashda (R) l. 238
 Abkash, l. 480
 Abri, l. 31
 Abrūn, l. 16
 Abūn, vi. 15
 Abd, il. 230, 3-6
 Abūbar il. 260 iii. 269, 72
 Accudra, l. 614
 Achlāgar vii. 63
 Adampūr v. 614
 Adashān, l. 61
 Aden, vii. 359
 Adhoni, vii. 336. See Adoni
 Adilābād Farkā, vii. 390
 Adil Shāhī Kōkan, vii. 316
 Adinapūr l. 47
 Adoni, vi. 230 vii. 300 631
 Af hān, iv. 163
 Afghānistān, il. 408, 422
 467
 Afhāmpūr il. 174 35,
 628
 Afghānshāla, il. 114
 Agā-mahāl, v. 397
 Agham, l. 362, 602
 ——— Kōt, l. 362
 ——— Lobāna, l. 362
 Agharābād, vii. 229
 Aghushtā, l. 67
 Agra, iv. 203 256, 257, 263,
 319 368, 450, 624 v. 23,
 99 203, 296, 491, 499
 vii. 482, 483 vii. 228
 Agrinagara, l. 393
 Agroha, iii. 46
 Agrowah, iii. 300
 Ahan, l. 228
 Khangarān, ii. 235
 Ahār, l. 62, iv. 47, 82 v.
 606
 Abirwārā, vii. 68
 Ahmadābād, il. 218 v.
 193 196 197 31, 403
 431; vi. 353, 358 vii.
 461 627 pass
 ——— (in Panjāb) il. 440
 Ahmadnagar, v. 300, 441
 vi. 10, 99 144 03 11
 217 302, 350 416 431
 437; vii. 68
 Ahmad Shāhī, vii. 146
 Ahsanābād, vii. 634 vii.
 16
 Ahūdā, iii. 428 49*
 Ahū (R) v. 325
 Abānat, vii. 63
 Ahwāz, l. 440
 Aibak, v. 230
 Ail, l. 63
 Ailam, vii. 17
 Aina, l. 16
 Ain-zarba, l. 148
 * Alai v. 429
 Ajāi l. 63
 Ajam, il. 237
 Ajmir il. 213, 314 225,
 v. 374 263 vi. 31 347
 vii. 139 41; vii. 62
 ——— (in Siwālīk), v. 497
 Ajodh l. 66
 Ajodhan, il. 630 il. 431
 487 630 iv. 29 v. 336,
 661
 Ajtābād, l. 207
 Ajādhyā, il. 630 631
 Ak, v. 397
 Akarand Bakar, il. 398, 654
 Akbarābād, vii. 276 363
 366
 Akbar-nagar v. 180 vi.
 391 408-9 416 vii. 260
 Akbar-pūr vii. 18, 218,
 461 472
 Akhāndr vii. 91
 Akhār v. 446
 Akhārpūr vi. 229
 Akhlāt, vii. 31
 Akhāj vii. 340
 Ak mahāl, v. 397
 Al, v. 200; vii. 160
 Ala-bhāni, iii. 300
 Alah-wādī, il. 674
 Alahwār (Lāhore), l. 110
 il. 414
 Alahwār, il. 414
 Alakānandā, l. 60
 Alamgūr nagar vii. 144
 276
 Alamdī, il. 674
 Alang vii. 10 11 36
 Al Bahāmā, l. 1 3, 126
 443
 Al Bahā, l. 119 123, 443.
 See Bahā
 Albari, il. 320 360
 Al Daur
 Akhār (Al Bār) } l. 14 34
 Alexandria, l. 366
 Alhāhī, iv. 630
 Alil, v. 290
 Alijān (R), l. 601
 Ali Masjid, vi. 314 vii. 77
 Aliputra, l. 323
 Aliya, vi. 126
 Alka, vii. 67
 Al Khārdj l. 61
 Allāhābād, vi. 411 vii. 273
 486 vii. 182, 229, 403
 * Allāhāpūr (Alhāmpūr)
 v. 91
 Allah-band, l. 403
 Al Mahfūza, l. 126
 Aloda, vii. 296
 Alola, vii. 116, 119
 Alor l. 14, 23, 27 37 48,
 79 138 162, 183, 192,
 193 256, 311, 363, 466
 Al Bār l. 23, 27 28, 30,
 37 122 128. See Alor
 Alor (R) l. 446
 Almkā, l. 122 203
 Al Usāfān, l. 129 461

- Alwar, iv 61, 273, 274,
 v 139, 203, 329, vi 21
 Āmak, i 64
 Amānābād, vi 337
 Amardī, vi 311
 Amarkot, v 212, viii 97
 See 'Umarkot
 Amarpur, i 251
 Amartali, v 440
 Amārūn, v 444
 Ambāghāt, vii 370
 Ambajogāi, vii 16
 Ambāla, iv 249, 441, 486,
 488
 Ambār, ii 577
 'Ambar-Kot, vii 38
 Ambarpūr, v 463
 Amber, v 406, vi 318,
 386, vii 188, 483, viii
 44, 343
 Amethī, ii 534, 549
 Amhal, i 27, 363
 Amrawat, ii 325
 Amroha, iii 106, 198, 554,
 iv 68, v 505, 507, viii
 332
 Amul, ii 137
 'Ana, i 13
 'Anāb, i 13
 Anapa, i 511
 Anā-sāgar, vi 387, vii
 299
 Anbār, i 420
 Andarāb, v 223, 232
 Also Indarāb
 Andarābah, iv 237
 Andardūn, v 53
 Andarū, iv 75
 Andhāwāl, iii 303
 Andhra, i 16
 Andkhod, ii 233, 302, 577,
 vii 79
 *Andol (Erandol), vii 16
 Andrun (Andardūn), v 46
 Andwar, iv 61
 Anhalwāra, i 61, 355, ii
 469 *See* Nahlwāra
 Anhārā (R), ii 247
 Anj, i 109
 Anjan-dudh, vii 17
 Anjarāi, vii 53
 Anjat, i 52
 Anjil, iv 106
 Anka, vii 57
 Ankot, vi 389
 An Makinda, iii 80
 Annari, i 27, 30, 34, 37,
 39, 384
 Antarbed, viii 262, 268,
 270
 Antarī, vi 107
 Antrī, iv 500
 Anupnagar, viii 170
 Anūpshahr, viii 147, 347
 Anūptalāo, v 554
 Anwala, iv 47, 50, viii
 178, 182, 303, 306
 Arab, v 399
 Arāil, v 94
 Arak Tīrat, i 55
 Aral (R), 448, 450
 Arāman, iv 8
 Arangal, iii 80, 189, 201,
 231, 233, 245, 558 *Also*
 Warangal
 Arathūr, i 62
 Ārāvalli, i 523, ii 355,
 v 397
 'Arbang, vii 80
 Arcot, viii 369, 391
 Ardabīl, v 219
 Ardal (Arwal?), iv 454
 Arghandāb (R), i 241
 'Arīkanna, iii 50
 Arkāt, viii 391
 Armābel, i 29, 34, 38,
 151, 364
 Armāil, } i 34, 77, 80,
 Armāyil, } 119
 Arman, i 72
 Armān, i 15
 Arra, iv 283
 Arracan, vii 254, 257, 304
 Ar Rukhaj, i 23 *See*
 Rukhaj
 Arū, i 71, iv 19
 Arūbar, iv 40, 51
 Arūr, i 61
 Arzalan, i 92
 As'ad-nagar, vii 383
 Asadpūr, viii 306
 *Asahūhar, iv 38
 Asalkanda, i 365
 Asām, vii 144, 264, 267
 Asandi, iii 494 *See* As-
 pandī
 Āsār, iii 450, 505
 Asāwal, i 66, 87, 357,
 iii 260, iv 39, v 198
 Asfaka, i 34, 77, 81
 Asfahid, iv 168
 Asghafa, i 29
 Ashahār, i 139, 143
 Ashak, ii 284
 Ashām, vii 65, 264, 267
 'Ashikān bāzār, ii 75, 97
 Ashkandra, i 104
 Ash Sharkī, i 125, 441, 447
 Ashta, vii 47, 60
 Āshtī, vii 52
 Āsī, i 58, 59, 394, ii 46, 462
 Asī (R), v 98
 Asīr, v 275, 403, 406, vi,
 97, 135, 388, vii 58, 490
 'Askalan, viii 31
 'Askaland, i 104, 138, 141,
 203, 365, 469, 520
 'Askaland Usa, i 365, 520
 Askalandra, i 365
 'Askān, i 16
 Asnānd, i 91
 Asnī, ii 222, 458
 Asolpūr, ii 549
 Aspandi, iii 431, 494
 Assai Ghāt, i 394
 Assam, vii 65, 264, 267
 Astarābād, vi 207, 564
 Astor, i 46
 Asur, i 58
 Asura, i 46
 Asursān, i 77
 Aswān, iii 420, 487
 Atarpūr, viii 118
 Atak, v 386, 443, 457,
 vi 312, 313, 428, viii 80
 Atak (R), iv 525, viii
 80, 92, 95
 Atak-Benares, v 386, 423,
 443, vi 312, 370,
 Atak-Katak, v 443
 Atal, i 388
 'Atba, i 204
 Ater, viii 53
 Atrār, iii 394
 Atrāsā, i 87, 91
 Atri, i 77, 79
 Atrol, iv 63, 64
 Attals (R), vi 313
 Attock *See* Atak
 Aubāsh-darra, vii 16
 Aubkin, i 77, 85
 Audar, i 48
 Audh (Oudh), i 338
 Aughasht, i 92
 Aūndhār, i 160, 387
 Aurangābād, v 527, vii
 130, 180, 256, 305, 310,
 451, 472, viii 66
 — (Panjāb), viii 95,
 115, 166
 Aurkān, i 52
 Avantipura, vi. 457
 'Awair, i 77
 *Awantghar, v 100, 104
 'Awarā, i 178
 Awesar, v 504
 Ayodhya, ii 549, viii 420
 Ayūbpūr, v 514
 Ayud, v 561
 Azādpur, iii 297, 298

- Aram vil. 160
 Azampur v. 316, 353;
 vi. 1-3
 Azamgarh, vil. 368
 Azimabad, vil. 577 vil. 411
 Azimabad, vil. 128, 130
 Azimabad Patna, vil. 228
 — (Tirauri) vil. 205
 Azra, iv. 205
 Azur vil. 444
 Babal, vil. 256
 Baband, i. 30
 Babar Khana, i. 63
 Baharioka, i. 316
 Bahal vil. 331
 Baha i. Abwab, i. 600
 Baccanore iv. 614
 Bach Pahar, vil. 217
 Bachdina v. 358
 Bad, v. 422
 Badah, vil. 622
 Badakhshan, i. 63 v. 223,
 418, 455 vil. 70 77
 Badal-garh, v. 12, 257
 486, 491
 Badali, vil. 200
 Badam, i. 32, 207 301
 322, 355 vil. 36, 106
 iv. 87 456 v. 56 600
 Badbaj v. 233
 Badban i. 403
 Badchis, vil. 604 605
 Badham, iv. 47
 Badhanor vil. 169
 Badhnor iv. 40
 Badib, vil. 172 602
 Badin, i. 250; vil. 92
 Badra (R) i. 385
 Badrakot, } vil. 661 619
 Badrakot, }
 Bagar i. 448 vil. 218, 467
 Bagh, i. 386
 Bagh-i Jan, vil. 237
 Baghara, i. 32
 Baghbah, i. 307
 Baghdad, i. 420
 Baghat, vil. 605 621
 vil. 149 171
 Baghrat, vil. 182
 Baghrat i. 122, 163
 Baghara, vil. 70, vil. 10
 65, 307 309 463
 Baghara, (near Ganges)
 vil. 528
 Bah, i. 28, 24
 — (R), vil. 41
 Bahadur-garh, vil. 337
 372, 383
 Bahadur-Khampur vil. 106
 Bahadurpur vil. 218 306
 Bahalmir i. 200
 Bahaltar i. 387
 Bahar (R) i. 104
 Baharimad, i. 126, 412
 Baharpur, vil. 134 148
 Bahatli (R) i. 22
 Bahawalpur vil. 439
 Bahawalpur i. 62
 Bahra, v. 408
 Bahutlar i. 162, 387
 Bahkala, iv. 308
 Bahla, i. 387
 Bahlawil, vil. 221
 Bahlan vil. 332
 Bahmana, i. 369
 Bahmanabad, i. 106. See
 Brahmanabad
 Bahmanad, i. 369
 Bahmanad Mansura, i. 61
 Bahmanwah, i. 189 369
 Bahra, } vil. 463, 810;
 *Bahra, } iv. 230 232,
 231 v. 206, 314
 Bahratich, vil. 314 346, 374
 631 636 vil. 219; iv.
 363; v. 89; vi. 187
 Bahraj i. 168, 191 425
 Bahra, vil. 653 [H. 397
 Bahrapur i. 224, 342
 Bahrawan, vil. 298
 Bahrawar i. 191
 Bahrein, i. 63, 423; vil. 33
 Bahria, i. 339
 *Bahrkunda, iv. 357 See
 Nahrkunda
 Bahrukh } i. 49 61, 66.
 Bahroj, } See Broach
 Bahru-i Akhar iv. 4
 — Hamran, vil. 248
 — Jorjan, i. 45
 — Khazar i. 46
 Bahrur i. 174
 Bahoji (R) vil. 79
 Bahund, i. 463
 Bail (Pail) iv. 49 62
 Baila, vil. 469
 Bailaman (Al) i. 123 126,
 443
 Bain wah, i. 189 369
 Bainam Kala, vil. 435
 Bainampur, vil. 346
 Bairat, i. 69 392 398
 Bait, i. 163, 167
 Bairat, i. 335, 455, 482. See
 Al Bairat
 — (near Shiraz), vil. 262
 Bajpur iv. 230, 353 v.
 460; 468 487 vil. 80, 568
 Bajhora, v. 340
 Bajlana, iv. 60
 Bajran, i. 243
 Bajrapur vil. 4
 Bajana, v. 370
 Bajwara, iv. 81 309, 390
 452, v. 488 vil. 167
 Baka, i. 60
 Bakalana, vil. 398, 480 v.
 227
 Bikan (R) i. 63
 Bakar i. 18; vil. 9 v. 238,
 351. See Bhakar
 Bakarba, vil. 274
 Bakarnachak, vil. 92
 Bakhar, v. 206 See Bhakar
 Bakhsinda-bakhsch, vil.
 373, 382-3
 Bakhtawar-nagar vil. 150
 Bakhtawar pdr vil. 160
 Bakhtan, iv. 240
 Bakhar, iv. 19
 Bakhar, iv. 124 814
 Bakra, vil. 83
 Bakra, vil. 308
 Bakrapur vil. 106, 109
 Bakri, vil. 813
 Bakrubar i. 8
 Bakur iv. 3, 0 v. 89
 vil. 182 217
 Bakur Chhetra, v. 92
 Bakur v. 681
 Bal, vil. 164
 Baladar i. 82
 Baladast, vil. 309
 Balaghat, vil. 323, 377
 416, 424 vil. 7 12,
 24 68
 Balaghatrak, vil. 640
 Balahar i. 188
 Balala, vil. 394, 396-7
 553, 563, 664
 Balamgarh, vil. 156 265
 Balan (R), i. 60 [360
 Balapur vil. 243, 377;
 vil. 498-9
 Balaram, vil. 258 iv. 26
 Balawarda, i. 62
 Balaxi, vil. 350
 Balbak, i. 87 89
 Balboud (R), v. 379
 Balboud, i. 18
 Balhar i. 168, 397
 Balhik Jogi, iv. 246 Also
 Balhik
 Balhama, v. 363
 Balhama, vil. 67
 Balhik, i. 49, 419; vil. 135,
 141, 268 iv. 189 v. 247
 230; vil. 664 vil. 70 77

- Bálkí, vii 54
 Ballabhipúra, i 354
 Ballarí, i 27, 34, 37, 39, 384
 Balhú, iv 309
 Ballyári, i 522
 Bálmer, i 359
 Bálnát, ii 450-1, iv 176, v 114
 Balnátth Jogí, iv 415, 419
 Bální, vii 24
 Bálpúr, vi 98
 Balrawán, ii 281
 Baltastán, ii 576
 Balúj, i 417
 Baluná, ii 542
 Balwar, ii 351
 Balwí, i 27
 Balzí, i 34
 Bámbarwá, i 340
 Bambás (R), iii 79
 Bamhi, ii 52
 Bámfán, i 472, ii 268, 399, v 227, 232
 Bámiwán, i 34, 369
 Bamunwasy, i 369
 Ban, iv 497, 498
 Bána (Tanna), i 89
 Banadri, iii 36
 Banáras, vi 312
 Banárasí, iii 312, iv 11
 Banarhas, i 139
 Banás, iii 542
 Banawás, i 58
 Band, i 29, 34, 52, 81
 Band-i Fath Khán, iii 354
 Bānda, ii 459, viii 439
 Bandāna, iv 103, 514
 Bandar 'Abbási, vii 355
 ——— Chátégám, vi 326
 ——— Dewal, i 377
 ——— Láhorí, i 377
 Bāndher *See* Bhānder
 Bāndhú, iv 463
 Bandhugarh, iv 463
 Bāndrí, iii 88
 Bandwa (Pandwa), vi 224
 Bang, ii 307, 308, iii 295, vi 553
 Bangála, iii 295
 Bangamati (R), ii 310
 Bān-ganga (R), ii 445, vi 382
 Bān-ganga (Páyín-ganga) (R), vii 12, 338
 Bangarman, iii 248, v 15, 500
 Bangash, v 233, 234, 466, viii 116, 350
 Bangashát, viii 92
 Bangash-i-bálá, vii 89
 Bangash-i páyín, vii 89
 Bangáwan, ii 311
 Bangú, vi 109
 Bāniá, } i 27, 30, 34, 37,
 Bāniya, } 40, 77, 79, 367
 Banian, iii 36
 Bānihál, iv 497
 Baní Sháh Darak, vii 371
 Baní Sháhgarh, vii 373
 Banjhír, ii 124
 Bankála, ii 553, 563, 564
 Banna, i 116, ii 414
 Banpúr, iv 95
 Báns Bareilli, v 505
 Bánswála, } iv 492, v
 Bánswára, } 402, vi 59, 109
 Bānú, iii 477, 482, 522
 Banú, ii 414, 440
 Banúr, iv 249
 Banyán, ii 328, 330
 Bára, i 85
 Bar-ace, i 444
 Barada, i 444, ii 246
 Barági, i 55
 Bárah, ii 241
 Bára-múla, v 465, vi 305
 Barahpola, viii 55
 Baran, ii 42, 52, 322, 458, ii 237, iii 159, 242, 248, iv 35, 36, 42, 82, v 79
 Bārání, ii 556, 557
 Barand, ii 318
 Barangánw, vi 101
 Barauz (Broach), i 116
 Barba, ii 42
 Barbanda, ii 318
 Barbar, i 50
 Barbarike, i 368
 Barbarkáj, i 52
 Barcelore, viii 389
 Barda, v 438
 Bardád, ii 247
 Bardár, ii 334, 353, iv 11
 Bardasír, ii 398, 575
 Bardaxema, i 507
 Bardwán, v 386, vi 74, 78, 86, 391, 408, vii 33
 Bareilly, viii 182, 221, 303, 350
 Bārgán, i 238
 Bar-gánw, vii 383
 Barghand, ii 276, 277, iii 537, iv 203
 Bárha, vii 520, viii 56
 Barhad, vii 53
 Barhampur, iv 274, v 215
 Barhás, i 139
 Bári, i 50, 54, 56, ii 398, 427, 464, v 90, 104, 324
 Barín-lanka, vi 305
 Barkandharat, i 52
 Bárkar, i 296
 Barkúdoz, i 71
 Barlak, i 71
 Barna, ii 460
 Barnagar, v 369
 Barnáwa, iv 403
 Baroda, iii 253, 256, v 196, 343, 432, 433, 435, vi 125
 Bar-rám, iii 147
 Barsáná, viii 366
 Barshúr, ii 150
 Bartot, iv 74
 Bárúá, i 444
 Bárúd, i 444
 Barúh (Broach), i 14, 87
 Barúja, ii 477, 522
 Barúji (R), iii 80
 Barús (Broach), i 87, 126, 441
 Barwála, ii 375
 Barúdoz, i 71
 Barúzi, ii 397
 Barwán, i 47
 Barygaza, i 356
 Bās, i 16
 Básad, v 435
 Basankot, ii 329
 Basantpúr, v 497, vii 106
 Basant-garh, vii 364
 Basáwar, v 362, 370, 525, 540
 Basea, i 123
 Bashín, ii 576
 Bās'húr, i 59
 Basí, vii 345
 Basína, iv 23
 Basmad, i 37, 39, 122, 123
 Basmak, i 77, 79
 Basmand, i 27, 28, 30
 Basmat, i 34
 Basra, i 420
 Batála, vi 129, viii 169
 Batinda, ii 347, 438 *See* Bhatinda
 Bātna, } i 154 177, 368.
 Bātiya, } *See* Bhātina
 Batnúr, iv 389
 *Bátora, vii 10
 Batt, i 431
 Battut, iv 232
 Banura (city), i 22
 Bāwal, i 69
 Bāwali, v 407, viii 271
 Bayák (Payág), v 94

Dayāna, H. 368 380; iv
 37 265 60 31 410,
 507 531; v 74 93 98
 99 190 344 490; vi
 12, 500, 550. *Also*
 Dhayāna
 Dayat, L. 63
 Dayāra, L. 58 395
 Dayawāl, H. 331
 Dayghand H. 276
 Dayghārah, H. 107
 Dayor H. 360
 Debnore iv 104
 Deg, L. 314
 Dekhār H. 341 *See* Dibār
 Dehat, } (R), iv 33 310
 Dehat, } 310; v 463; vi
 303, 304 305, 30 372
 Dehra (Dahra?), vi. 655
 Dehta (D) i 80
 Dekhāra, iv. 305
 Deia, L. 365
 Denarua, L. 66 H. 102,
 222, 251 297 iv 32
 v 322 vii 22 viii.
 315, 229 360
 Dengāl, vi. 370 viii. 130
 Deul (R), iv 54
 Deobān H. 510
 Deoli, iv 14
 Dera, H. 379
 Derouān, H. 560
 Desakh, H. 549
 Detwa (R), L. 60 H. 70
 vi. 56
 Dhadar (R), v 423
 Dhaddwar } iv 417 v
 Dhadduriya, } 74 viii. 53,
 262
 Dhadra (R), L. 50
 Dhadrak, v 383; vi. 93
 Dhadrasmā (R), L. 50
 Dhadrasmā (R) L. 50
 Dhagal (R) viii. 311
 Dhagalpūr, v 331 vi. 19
 Dhagratthi, } (R) L. 52,
 Dhagratthi, } viii. 331
 Dhāgunagar, vii. 336
 Dhāg mal, L. 340
 Dhagwān-gola, viii. 330
 427
 Dhagwānpūr v 363
 Dhailān, H. 328 iii. 148,
 149
 Dhain-ganw v 144
 Dhakar } L. 224 226, 233,
 Dhakkar } 244, 311 H.
 201 241, 554 iv 59
 v 456 vi. 568 viii. 16
 Dhakra, vi. 308

Dhāktī, vii. 28, 54
 Dhāmbarkāh, L. 332 369
 Dhambūr, L. 332, 268 446,
 482
 Dhambara (R) vii. 261
 Dhambār kāl, H. 177
 Dhander vi 108 vii. 21 47
 Dhandner iv 403
 Dhangar, H. 297, 304; iv 63
 Dhanra (R) vii. 301
 Dhand-ganw iv 77
 Dhara, L. 312. *See* Bahra
 Dharatpūr } v 525 viii.
 Dharitpūr, } 35, 360
 Dhardana, H. 6 1
 Dhari, H. 303
 Dhat (R), L. 46
 Dhata, iv 402, 474, 4 8, 484
 Dhatal, L. 45
 Dhat ghora, iv 462
 Dhath, v 244
 Dhath, L. 61 368; vi. 72,
 75 77 79
 Dhāta, } H. 3 248, 430;
 Dhātā, } iii. 64 iv 170
 vi. 363
 Dhātinda, H. 317 433; iii.
 109
 Dhātūr H. 109 420 422,
 Dhātūr, iv 309 [487
 Dhātū, H. 229
 Dhātūrā, v 86
 Dhawan, H. 445
 Dhayāna, H. 304 H. 317
See Dayāna
 Dhara, H. 392, 4 5, 439
 462
 Dhāsa, } L. 60 H. 378;
 Dhāsān, } iii. 148, 543
 iv 261, 277 397 vi.
 92 viii. 233
 Dhām, H. 445
 Dhāma (R), vii. 54 361
 Dhāmbār } H. 452, v 467
 Dhāmbhar } 464 vi. 436
 Dhāmnagar H. 34, 444, 445
 505, vii. 65 iv 173
 Dhoh, iv 65
 Dhojpur H. 105, 539 v
 316, 376, vi. 10, 20, 55
 Dhomsa, vii. 15
 Dhopāl, iv 378 viii. 57, 58
 Dhowa, iv 56
 Dhowāl, vi. 74 76, 106
 Dhrigutachchha, L. 49
 Dhūlganw v 11 74 79
 Dhōj v 446
 Dhukanā, iv 63
 Dhūlyā, v 452
 Dhua, v 353

Dhūn Kānān, iv 63
 Dhongr vii. 411 412
 Dhōnra (R) vii. 54 56
 Dhot, L. 57; H. 393
 Dhutear i 57 63
 Diah } L. 48, 142. *Also*
 Dha, } Dehat and Dya
 Dibipūr viii. 215
 Didar } iii. 233 244 247
 Didr } 246 258 vi. 70
 104, 414 557; vii. 54
 171 128, 343
 Didrār iv 101
 Dhh, L. 34
 Dihand, H. 433
 Dihar H. 300, 305 306
 iii. 36, 312 iv 10 347
 363, 462; v 22; vi. 39
 Dihāra, vi. 423
 Dihishtābād, vi. 115
 Dijagar, iv 391 v 275,
 400 411 vi. 18, 559;
 vii. 16 395 490
 Dijalār L. 72
 Dijanagar H. 80; iv 96
 103; v 406; vi. 70 229
 557
 Dijkār v 439; vi. 163,
 323 vii. 35, 53 57 139
 322, 323
 Dihānir L. 298, v 211 265
 Dikrām, iv 239 v 236
 Dikān-d dāwar H. 575
 Dilehrāgh, vii. 76
 Dilgrām, iv 26, 27 vi.
 17 viii. 176
 Dūha, L. 37
 Dūkan, H. 577
 Dūlār L. 46
 Dūlār āgh, L. 46
 Dūlār iv 104
 Dūlār, L. 65; iv 244
 Dūwat, v 107
 Dulchpār vi. 386
 Dunagara, L. 397 393
 Dindrāban, viii. 228
 Dindrāwach, viii. 92
 Dinār (R) iii. 88
 Dini Dhar v 223
 Dir vi. 415 vii. 12, 14
 15 17 53 65
 Dirāhan, L. 63
 Dīram gām, v 440 445
 Dirār v 441; vi. 84, 241
 vi. 10, 58, 139 364
 408, 498
 Dirār Pāyin-ghāt, vii. 408
 Dirbāl, iii. 60 91
 Dir Ganj v 1, 9
 Dir-ganw vii. 364, 372, 383

- Bir-nagar, i 60, vii 529
 Birmapur, vii 346
 Birpur v 137
 Birán, i 396, ii 1, 34
 Birwán, ii 562
 Bisauli vi 229, viii 178, 303, 306
 Bishanpur, ii 375; vi 86
 Bisham, ii 356
 Biswapatan, vii 356
 Biswar, i 60
 Biswára, viii 408
 Bitáro, i 622
 Bitúr, i 48
 Bitura, i 316
 Bitúráshít, i 48
 Bitúri, i 58
 Biváhi, } i 122, ii 52415,
 Bivás, } iii 36 iv 1,
 26, 33 *Also Bías and*
Behát
 Biválas, i 29
 Bizápur, vii 15
 Bodhi *See* Budhi
 Bohnkundal, iv 419
 Bokhára ii 357
 Bolín (R), i 385
 Bombay, vii 351
 Bouvaktser, ii 560
 Brahmanábád, i 122, 138, 145, 146, 150, 176, 179, 189, 258, 369, 139
 Brahmápur i 139, 143, 207
 Brahmaputra (R), ii 310, vi 73, 75, 106, vii 65
 Brahmashik, i 55
 Brahmastpuri, iii 90
 Broach, i 14, iii 256, 259, v 196, 197, 331, 343, vi 15, 126, 463, vii 238
 Brumbapooree, vii 346
 Budána, vii 430
 Budápur, i 386
 Budd-fattán, i 68
 Budh, i 160
 — (temple), i 148
 Budha, i 27, 29, 33, 34, 123, 370, 386
 Búdhiya, i 138, 159, 160, 386
 Budh-mulk, i 46
 Budhpúr, i 138, 145, 386
 Budína, i 404
 Budri, ii 198
 Buffalo Water, i 442
 Búgyál, vi 309
 Buhí, iv 57
 Bukhárá, i 429, ii 268
 Búla, iii 31
 Bulandrai, vi 83
 Bulandshahr, ii 158
 Bulbad, ii 206
 Bulchákpur, iii 112
 Buluch, viii 92
 Buluchistán, i 399
 Bundelkhand, ii 159, viii 353
 Bándi, vii 189, 190
 Bunsir, vi 80
 Búríg, vii 67
 Buráwa, v 30
 Barául, i 126
 Bararia, ii 440
 Bardsir, ii 556 *See* Bar-dasir
 Burgánw, vi 143
 Burhánábád, iv 61 v 79
 Burhampur, v 197, 275, 406, vi 323, 377, 379, 395, 418, vii 10, 21, 31, 58, 307, 310, 122, 490, viii 30
 Búria, iv 518, 519
 Burva, viii 119, 146
 Busrá, vii 63
 Bust, i 23, ii 61, 132, 280, 114, 116, 575, iv 159, 160, vii 87, 89, 91
 Buzurg, iv 497
 Calcutta, viii 127, 228, 324, 325, 378
 Calcut, viii 386
 Cambay, i 367 *See* Kam-bay
 Cananore, viii 386
 Carnatic, vi 232, viii 391
 Chách, iii 567
 Cháchagám, i 403
 Cháchandí, viii 46
 Cháchar, i 366
 Chach-hazára, vi 368
 Cháchkán, i 313
 Chachpúr, i 138, 366
 Chahár-dáng, vi 180
 Chahár-díwár bág, v 314
 Chahárkand, v 201, vi 19 *See* Jhárkand
 Chanduka, i 311
 Chakgard, viii 94
 Chákna, vii 15, 256, 258, 262
 Chakshu, i 50
 Chálís-gánw, vii 16
 Chalkai, vii 79
 Chalna, i 509
 Chamár-gonda, vii 52, 56
 Chamba, ii 240
 Chambá, vi. 522-3
 Chambal (R), iii 79, 512, iv 60, vii 220, 541
 Chamavári, v. 254
 Champá, i 66
 Chámpánsi, v 193, 194, 331, 343, vi 14, 16, 17, 125
 Champáran, iii 291, iv 516, vi 49
 Chának, viii 380, 383
 Chánd, vi 92
 Chand, viii 386-7
 Chándá, vi 151, 352, 387, vii 50
 Chandáha (R), iv 516
 Chandan, vii 257 [370
 Chandan-mandan, vii 257,
 Chandawáhi, ii 297
 Chandawál, ii 300
 Chandáwal, iii 540
 Chandawár, iv 17, 18, 62, v 92
 Chanderi, i 58, ii 351, 462, iii 148, 201, iv 261, 274, 378, 379, 467, v 38, 102
 Chandernagore, viii 127, 327, 383
 Chándi, vii 107
 Chandiál, ii 152
 Chandor, vii 10, 16, 53, 66, 124
 Chándpúr, viii 269
 Chandrá, i 48, 58, 394
 Chandráha (R), i 63, ii 11, 52, 120, iv 525
 Chandúka, i 231, 247, 502
 Chandwálá, vi 303
 Chandwár, ii 297, iv 270
 Chandráwár, i 36
 Chancesar, i 176, 179
 Chanir, i 176
 *Chániut, iv 232
 Chansir, i 176
 Chappar-ghatta, iv 507, v 245
 Cháran, iii 548
 Chár Hankára, i 339
 Charbar, i 523
 Charbeli, vii 494
 Char-chashma, vii 81
 Chárigáran, } v 225 281
 Chárikáran, } 287
 Cháryá, viii 125
 Charkh, ii 268, v 207
 Chatáwar, v 100
 Chátgám, } vi 326, vii
 Chátgánw, } 66, 275
 Chaubála, v 507
 Chaudwar, i 296

- Chaulkibath vill 330
 Chaul, vill. 388
 Chaundh iv 323, 328 *See*
 Jund
 Chauna, iv 376 v 113,
 323, 2 6; vi. 63, 64
 Chauragarh, v 169 88,
 638 vi. 30 118 vil. 47 48
 Chelka L 40
 Chhabraman, iv 606
 Chhatar-d war vil. 17
 *Chhatraman, v 212
 Chhatar L 37 238
 Chhetra (Jhatra) v 92
 Chhinko (R), iv 60
 Chhencole vill. 322
 Chihal zina, vil. 90
 Chin, } L 2, 48 vil. 32
 China, } 46 iv 96
 Chioa (R) iii 474
 Chinkh, iv 232
 Chinkh (R) i. 63; ii. 6, 234
 Chinkh (Chinkh) iii. 413
 Chinkwa (R) iii. 472 619
 622
 Ching L 71
 Chinsura vill. 383
 Chitribandar L 621
 Chisht, ii. 623, 618 649
 Chittakdug vil. 333
 Chittapur vil. 232
 Chitar iv 219
 Chitor } L 60 191 355
 Chitor } 305 406 vil.
 76 189 iv 261 277
 406, 416, 631 v 321
 vi. 11, vil. 103 188
 Chitral, ii. 407 676
 Chitror L 370
 Chittaganw } vi. 46 326
 Chittagong, }
 Choebri, vill. 383
 Chol, iii. 422, 483, 488
 Chol (Jalali) iii. 409, 477
 482, 522; iv 94
 Chol Jarad, iii. 409; iv 94
 Chondha, iv 379
 Chonra iv 633
 Chopra, vil. 305 307
 Chor L 632
 Chowar iv 283
 Chou L 65 vill. 92
 Chunar, iv 282, 343 350
 359 417 v 93, 138, 199
 287 306; vi. 241 vil.
 220, 369
 Chupa-ghat, v 141
 Chusab iv 283
 Cochín, vil. 380
 Coalon vil. 387
- Cranganore vill. 288-9
 Cuttack v 380 388
- Dabal vill. 285 287
 Dabalwarah ii. 470
 Dabur iv 630
 Dabra, L 310
 Dacca, vi. 76 100 410
 vil. 65, 241
 Dadar vil. *14
 Dadh (Darb) L 91
 Dadhawah (R) L 108, 172
 Dagdar v *60
 Dahad, vi. 253
 Dahak i 216
 Dahan (R) L 256
 Dahand (R) iv 25
 Dahanda (R) iv 38 40
 Dahatarath vil. 301
 Dahila, L 189 *See* Dhalila
 Dahmilla, L 6
 Dabra, vi. 330
 Dahak L 38, 458.
 Dalbol. *See* Debal
 Dair, v 371
 Dakdahi, iv 282
 Dakhin, vil. 63
 Dakli, L 72
 Dal, ii. 318
 Dal, vi. 305; vil. 93
 Dalaman, } iii. 43 iv 13,
 Dalama, } 26 37 v 94
 Daliya, iii. 236
 Dalmian, i. 71
 Dalma, L 128 441
 Damanikan, ii. 62, 437
 v 218
 Damak, vi. 308
 Damal v 162, 661
 Daman, vil. 345; viii. 389
 Daman-ganw, vil. 16
 Dambur L 63
 Damdama, vi. 394
 Damdhom iii. 81
 Damek, vi. 198
 Dambari, v 248, 254 257
 Damodar (R) vi. 69, 71
 Damrila ii. 398 646 vil.
 261, 264
 Damtar vi. 305. *See*
 Dhamtar
 Damoda, vi. 119
 Danyek, vi. 308
 Danda, L 190 vil. 256
 Dandahar, i. 160 [532
 Dandana (R), iii. 476 621
 Dandakan, ii. 273
 Dand-Rajperi, vil. 256,
 289 291
 Dand vinar L 160
- Danderi, vil. 235
 Dandhar L 160
 Dandoka, v 353, 369
 439, vi. 16
 Dangan vil. 95
 Dandtan, L 382, 383
 Dar L 63
 Daraburka, i. 63
 Darabgard, L 421
 Darah-lar (R) vi. 305
 Darak, L 20, 31 77 80
 Dara-karh, i. 234
 Darak yamona, L 54
 Darband Nias L 71
 Darbela, ii. 398
 Dard (R) L 63
 Dardor, L 77
 Darra, iv 205
 Darra Gaz, v 231
 Dar sarā, iii. 612
 Darūd, L 66
 Daru-e surdr vil. 310
 Darwar, v 229
 Darweshpur iv 462 v. 96
 Daryabad, iv 467
 Daryal, ii. 407
 Daryapur, iv 612; v
 379, vi. 106
 Dasht-i Kipchak, iv 96
 Dasht langan, ii. 132
 Datta, vil. 68
 Daulatabad, iii. 317 339
 698; iv. 97 230, 232,
 380 vil. 11, 16, 24, 41
 68, 189
 Daulatabad (Kandahar)
 vil. 90
 Daudkhara, i. 160
 Daudkhara, L 160
 Daur ii. 163
 Dawakir, iii. 674 676
 Diwar ii. 284, 285, 413,
 676 viii. 92
 Dawarud-Masud, L 64
 Debal, L 14, 16, 21 27
 29 30 34, 37 66, 77
 374 *Also* Dewal
 Dehli, ii. 216, 219 221
 301 340, 356 iii. 447
 601 603, 676, 679 689
 613 iv 256, 263 v
 203; vi. 556; vii. 85
 viii. 10
 Dehh (village), iv 63
 Dehmari, L 62
 Dehra, L 238
 Dehri, v 661
 Dehsuna, v 254
 Deo, L 355 [200
 Deobalpur, m. 122, 191

- Deohār, v 96
 Deo-gānw, vii 55, 382
 Deogarh, vii 364
 Deogir, i 73, iii 77, 79, 148, 149, 163, 200, 231, 257, 261, 526, 543, 570, 575, 582, 598, vii 41, 189
 Deo-kot, ii 311, 313, 315, Deonī, vii 54 [318
 Deo Rānā, vi 347
 Depūr, ii 274
 Derā, v 560, 561
 Derabend, v 561
 Dera Isma'il Khān, iv 496
 Derajāt, viii 92
 Derāpūr, v 163, 559
 Desohā, vi 129
 Desuā, iv 548
 Dewal, ii 294, 302, 303, 326, 398, 555, vi 265, 270 *Also* Debal
 Dewalgānw, vi 395, 408, 418, vii 11
 Dewālī, ii 362
 Dewal Sindy, i 375
 Dewatī-mājūri, vi 21
 Dhādar, vii 244
 Dhak, i 344, 486
 Dhāl, i 58
 Dhālāla, i 174, 176, 189
 Dhamai, iii 153
 Dhamak, vi. 308-9
 Dhamek, ii 235
 Dhamrás, vii 106
 Dhamrī, vi 522
 Dhamtaur (or Dhantūr), v. 457, vi 368, 370
 Dhāmūnī, vii 47, 48
 Dhāndhar, vii 244
 Dhandhera, iv 552
 Dhangān, iv 520, 521
 Dhanjur, i 61
 Dhankot, v 488
 Dhanni, vi 368
 Dhār, i 59, 60, 356, iii 175, 203, 251, 252, iv 37, 41, 49, 60, vi 135, vii 218
 Dharab, vii 53
 Dhārāgar, vii 41
 Dhārāgar, iii 252, 258, 261
 Dhārāja, i 378
 Dharampūr, vii 18
 Dharpūr, vi 75
 Dharan-gānw, vii 16, 305, 307
 Dhārāsīyūn, vii 55
 Dharpūr, v 385, vi 86
 Dhārur, vii 12, 20, 278
 Dhat, i 489
 Dhātrath, ii 43
 Dhaulī-ghāṭī, v 402
 Dhawar, vii 244
 Dholiya, vii 10
 Dholpūr, iv 39, vii 9, 220 *Also* Dhūlpūr
 Dhor (R), vi 368
 Dhūd, vii 213
 Dhūdhat, viii 290
 Dhūlak, i 51
 Dhulpūr, iv 465, v 97, 99, 100, 294 *See* Dholpūr
 Dhūpamā, v 88
 Dhūr Samundar, iii 87, 88, 90
 Dhurī, i 339
 Dhyr, vi 457
 Dībal Kangarā, i 370
 Dībālpur, iii 420, 487, iv 8, 76 *See also* Dīpālpūr
 Dīg, viii 64, 208, 213, 225, 227, 228, 283, 353, 366, 370
 Dih Afghānān, v 225
 Dihāyāt, i 145
 Dihbārī, vi 97
 Dihdawāl, iv 415
 Dih-fattan, i 68
 Dihmuri, v 254
 Dihūī, iii 253-6
 Diktūr, iii 401
 Dīnārkotah, ii 139
 Dīn-kasārī, v 385
 Dīnkot, v 234
 Dīnpanāh, iv 498, 499, v 124, viii 11
 Dīnūr, iv 199
 Dīpālpūr, iii 109, 121, 191 *See also* Deobal-pūr *and* Dīpālpūr
 Dīpālpūr (in Malwa), v 403, vii 19
 Dīpūr, iv 199
 Dirak, i 265, 403
 Dīrandī, vii 355
 Dirāna, i 47
 Dīsa, v 342, 363
 Disāwa, v 254
 Dīū, v 193, vi 14, 18, viii 387, 389
 Dīwālī-Mahall, iv 96
 Diwarāwal, v 211
 Dodaree, vii 355
 Dohud, vii 213
 Domnī, v 376
 Dorāha, vii 395
 *Dublāhan, iii 357
 Dūdbāī, vii 56
 Dūdherī, vii 355
 Dudhi, i 59
 Dūdna (R), vii 17
 Dugar, iii 562
 Duhalī, iv 29
 Dukam, i 56
 Dūkampūr, i 56
 Dulaka, i 87, v 353, 369, 405, 431, 444, 445
 Dulka, i 357
 Dālī, v 99
 Dūn, iv 244, 247, vii 105, 106, 107
 Dunāra, vi 54
 Dūndherī, vii 355
 Dundoore, vii 355
 Dūngarpūr, v 402, vi 42
 Dunm, ii 451
 Dūr, i 55, 77, 79 *See* Alor
 Durbela, i 247, 276, 325
 Durdasht, v 223
 Dūr Samun, iii 49 *See* Dhūr Samundar
 Dūrī Samundūr, i 73
 Dūshāb, i 23
 Dwāra Samudra, i 73
 Dwārka, iv 533, v 438
 Dyamau, i 62
 Elchpur, iii 149, v 442, vi 85, vii 58
 Ellora, vii 189
 *Erandol (*cori* for Andol)
 Etāwa, iv 26, 40, viii 310, 350, 409
 Euthymedia, i 529
 Fahalfahra, }
 Fahalfahūh, } i 29, 34, 81
 Fahlafahra, }
 Fahraj, i 81
 Faizābād, vii 79, viii 176
 Faj Hanīsār, ii 285
 Fākanūr, }
 Faknūr, } i 68
 Falālī (R), i 370, 373, 399
 Fālid, i 34
 Falkamīn, i 77
 Falta, viii 325
 Fāmbal, i 27, 28, 34, 38, 363, 522
 Fandarāna, }
 Fandarāna, } i 89, 90,
 Fandarāna, } iv 514
 Farāh, vii 87
 Farās-dānga, viii 127, 327, 383
 Fardān, i 77, 81, 84

- Fardāpūr vil. 307 408
 Farghānā il. 64
 Farghāna, l. 499; iv 210
 Faridābād, vil. 205; vil.
 610 vil. 186, 212
 Faridpūr vil. 311
 Fārīyāh, il. 141 142, 676
 Farjān l. 123
 Farhunda bonyād, vil.
 627
 Farō-dust il. 309
 Farra, v. 86 42
 Farra (il.) il. 670
 Farrah, il. 676
 Farrahābād, vil. 48, 118,
 12, 303, 311
 Fāra, l. 33
 Farshāwar il. 291
 Farwan, l. 47
 Farzān l. 34
 Fa, l. 4 1
 Fatan, il. 650
 Fathābād, il. 253 253,
 300 251 4-8; iv 42,
 109; vi. 45 67 77
 Fath-bāgh, l. 250 251
 321
 Fath Khān l. 260 il. 351
 Fathpūr il. 468 iv 40
 62 393 v 79 332,
 334 334 356, 469 vil.
 637
 Fathpūr Sahīna, v 281
 ——— Sikri, iv 481 v
 332, 334
 Fattān, l. 60
 Fathāwar il. 301
 Fathbūr, l. 77 80 61
 Fathj l. 6 25
 Fathā-dānga, vil. 137
 See Farā-dānga
 Fīroz l. 467
 Fīrozābād, il. 302 316
 343 351 433 448, 406,
 603 iv 21 32 vil.
 185 225; vil. 350, 351
 vil. 11
 ——— (near Agrā), vil. 63
 ——— (near Bījāpūr) vil.
 64
 ——— (Pandwa) il. 208
 ——— Hārni Khīra, il.
 Fīrozah, il. 401 [354
 Fīroz-garh, iv 494
 ——— Koh il. 281 286,
 200 203, 205 316
 Fīrozpūr iv 12, 14 484
 vi 229
 ——— (Jharka) iv 484
 v 36
 Fīroz Shāh, vil. 133
 Fītan, il. 3
 Fīshānj iv 167
 Fīshūr, l. 47
 Gakkī, l. 209
 Gāgri l. 213, 247
 Gāgrā, iv 202 v 189
 271 323, vil. 650 vil.
 67
 Gahrāwāl, v 201
 Gajāl l. 607
 Gajalpūr l. 607
 Gakhar country v 278
 Gālewār il. 227
 Gālār iv 250
 Gālā, vil. 25, 463
 Gāmbaz, l. 243
 Gānur v 27
 Gāndak (il.) iv 516; v
 377, vil. 41 49
 Gāndī, l. 342
 Gāndāva, l. 160, 353 356
 Gāndgarh, vil. 368
 Gāndhārā, l. 48, 446 vil.
 637
 Gāndīrī, vil. 290
 Gāng il. 123 iv 61
 Gāngā (il.) l. 49 60
 Gāngos (il.) iv 6 vil. 45
 76
 Gāng (Godāvari) (R), vil.
 65 103
 Gāngadāpūr, v 376
 Gāng-dwār l. 64
 Gāngāpūr vil. 301
 Gāngā Sagar l. 49 60
 Gāngā Sāgar l. 49
 Gāngatorī, il. 316
 Gāngūt (see of Kīnkōta)
 Gānjāva, l. 238, 309
 Gānjgarh vil. 308
 Gāo-gāt, vil. 601
 Gārā (R) v 345
 Gārā, vil. 368
 Gārāunda, v 28
 Gārābād, vil. 353
 Gārha, v 169 297 420;
 vil. 30 117 vil. 47
 Gārha katanaka, v 288
 vil. 30, 117
 Gārha gajāl, l. 607
 Gārhi, v 110 200 381
 397 416, 416; vil. 19 41
 44 63 67 326
 Gārha Muktesar v 207;
 vil. 44 221
 Gārha patīl, vil. 44
 Gārjāh, iv 390
 Garmāl iv 221
 Garmāl l. 306 il. 278
 286 293, 676 iv 201
 vil. 361
 Garra (il.) vil. 47
 Garra-Kantak v 12. See
 Garha-Katanaka
 Gati, l. 62
 Gaur iv 333 330, 350
 361 367 612 v 390
 201 vil. 653
 ——— (on Chambal) v
 100
 Gāwīl, vil. 66
 Gāwīl il. 303
 Gēb l. 20
 Ghāgra (R) il. 629
 Ghāna, l. 34
 Ghānah l. 13
 Ghānjara, il. 176
 Ghāndr, il. 1 1
 Ghāra, l. 601
 Ghāra (R) l. 314
 Ghārā (R) l. 299
 Ghār-gāw, vil. 260
 Ghārjūn vil. 350
 Ghārī, l. 350, 365, 307, 421
 Ghārjān il. 281 286
 Ghārjūn Shāh il. 676
 Ghārkol, vil. 136
 Ghārī iv 421
 Ghārshān, iv 232
 Ghārwarand (R) l. 47
 Ghāta, il. 80
 Ghāti Haldia, v 398
 Ghātīlājura, il. 149 160
 Ghātī-sākūn il. 216 280
 Ghātī-karjī, vil. 17
 Ghānā-kāda, vil. 263
 Ghāzāt, il. 491
 Ghāzīpūr iv 266, 283;
 v 105 306, 3 6 vil.
 66 vil. 341 369 440
 Ghāzī-d dīn nagar vil.
 149
 Ghazna, } l. 23, 63 il. 114
 Ghazni, } 29 267 280
 Ghaznin, } 268, 291 288,
 399 v 207 233 234
 Ghaztik, il. 400
 Ghīyāpūr il. 146 v 280
 Ghīār iv 106
 Ghīārī, l. 601
 Ghōlghāt, vil. 379
 Ghōr l. 303, il. 111, 195
 269 282, 284, 285, 449
 677 iv 174, 618 vil.
 Ghōra, iv 403 [664
 Ghōrā-ghāt, v 354, 390
 vi 45 66 68, 71 72;
 vil. 144

- Ghorband, i 47, ii 455,
v 224, 225, 228, 425,
vii 81
- Ghorband (R), v 225, 310
- Ghorí, v 227, 228, vii 80
- Ghoristán, ii 576
- Ghorkhatrí, vi 314
- *Ghor-nadí (*cor* of Khor-andí)
- Ghúmti, i 444
- Ghúrak, i 47, ii 449
- Ghúr-gánw, iii 87
- Ghurjistán, ii 136, 576,
iii 65, iv 175, vi 564
- Ghúzak, ii 436, 449
- *Gídhór (*cor* of Kídhúr),
v 381
- Gílán, ii 285, 576, v 524
- Gulgt, i 46 ii 407, 576
- Gurjhák Nindúna, v 114
- Gisrí (R), i 399
- Goa, vi 42, 57, 85, 331,
vii 345, viii 385, 388
- Godávarí (R), i 60, iii 88
- Godh, viii 289
- Goga, vi 331, 354, viii 387
- Gogandah, v 398 *See*
Kokanda
- Gogar (R), iv 280
- Gogoonda, v 398
- Gogra, iv 283
- Goh, vi 331
- Gohad, viii 53, 289, 296,
364
- Gola, iv 384
- Golgot, viii 379
- Golitaláb, v 348
- Golkonda, vi 412, vii 49, 109, 139, 320, 336
- Gomatí (R), i 49
- Gonda, ii 449
- Gondal (*also* Kondal), iii 264, v 438
- *Gondhána (Kandána),
vii 59
- Gondwána, iv 402, vi 30, 233, 550, vii 10, 50
- Gopalgír (garh), iii 104
- Gopámau, viii 391
- *Gorakhpúr, i 56, iii 294, v 324, 381, vi 39, 321
- Govindwál, vi 265, 270,
298
- *Gowah (R), Gumti
- Gowálpára, v 385
- Gubber, v 568
- Gúdú (R), v 375
- *Gúdí (R), v 375
- Gudrang, iv 64, 65
- Gugúrghar, iv 366
- Guhram, iii 621 *See*
Kuhram
- Gúja, i 446
- Gujarát, iii 31, 74, 163,
214, 323, v 339
- Gujarát (Panjáb), vi 300,
303, viii 80, 95, 166
- Gulka, vii 343
- Gulshanábád, vii 337, 345
- Gumal (R), i 383, iv 308
- Gumtí (R), i 50, iv 280,
v 375
- Gúngrú (R), i 404
- Guni (R), i 362, 523
- Gurdáspúr, vii 456
- Gurdez, ii 130, 293, 576,
v 233, 234
- Gúrgán, ii 277, 576
- Gurgánj, ii 577
- Gur-gánw, iii 86
- Gurgáon, vii 343
- Gúri (R), v 375
- Gurjara, i 359
- Guzerat, i 59, 67, 358,
359 *See* Gujarát
- Gúzán, ii 576
- Gwáliár, } i 58, ii 227,
Gwáhyár, } 297, 304, 322,
Gwáhor, } 327, 369, 380,
467, iii 601, 603, iv
39, 47, 48, 49, 60, 265,
270, 280, 383, 385, 416,
551, v 12, 13, 20, 486,
493, vi 163, 550, viii
296, 353
- Gwahor, (Siwálik), iv
19, 494, v 357, vi 128
- Hadál, viii 366
- Hadála, v 439, 440
- Hadbári, i 169
- Hadráwúr, i 34
- Hafdapúra, vii 306
- Háfizábád, vi 303
- Haibatpúr, v 138, 353
- Haiderábád, vii 111, 336,
viii 437
- Haitam, i 71
- Hajar, ii 247
- Hájipúr, iv 310, 333, 363,
v 283, 372, 377, vi
39, 43, 49, viii 429
- Hajnir, i 62, iii 36, 38
- Hákra (R), i 256
- Hála, i 370, 456
- Hála-kandí, i 316, 379
- Hálár, i 444
- Haldeo, v 399
- Haldí, iv 285, v 90
- Haldí-ghát, v 398
- Haldípúr, vii 33
- Halín (R), iii 433, 495
- Halwad, v 444
- Halwán, i 447
- Hamadán, vi 239
- Hamáwarán, vi 554
- Hambátú, iv 232
- Hamírpúr, v 464, vi 30
- Hanáwal, i 87, 357
- Hándiya, vii 395, 495
- Handú, iv 551
- Hanjar, ii 200
- Hankúra, i 339
- Hánsi, i 58, 394, ii 135,
140, 297, 352, 354, 370,
372, 375, iii 300, iv 8
- Hans-mahál, v. 362
- Hanswa, v 279
- Hanúr, iv 126
- Hápur, iii 525
- Hárá, vi 523
- Harbi-khír, iv 8
- Hardat, ii 52
- Hardwár, i 52, iii 458,
510, vi 382, viii 170,
230, 352
- Hari (R), ii 291
- Hariáb, ii 578
- Haripúr, vi 302
- *Harís (Harischandar-garh), vii 60
- Harj, i 37
- Harmakút, i 46, 64
- Harolí, iv 63
- Harradawá, ii 527
- Harrán, i 465
- Harrána, ii 380, iv 308,
548
- Harrú (R), iv 231, vi 367
- Harsira, vii 60
- Hartála, vii 496, 498
- Harúj, i 34
- Harúr, iv 248
- Haryúb, ii 578
- Hasak, i 92
- Hasanábád, vii 412, viii 16
- Hasan Abdál, v 457, vi 310, 367
- Hasanpura, vii 306
- Háshimiya, i 420
- Hashtnagar, vi 368
- Hási (R), i 153
- Hasora, i 46
- Hast Áin, i 52

Ha tinspdr vl. 836 vill
 Hatampdr HL 831 [19
 Hathknt, iv 65 67, 418
 v 102
 Hatyá, vi 303-9
 Haur, i. 463
 Haur i Aial, vil 226
 — Rául, il 382
 — Raulána, v 88
 Hawáron, i. 72
 Haxra, i. 303, 304 v
 223 232; vi. 368 vill.
 61
 Haxra Farih, vi. 363
 Haxar't, vill. 92
 Haxarmard, i. 446
 Hel, i. } L. 400 401
 Hellsa, }
 Helmand, i. 11 467
 Hemakot, i. 310
 Hemakót, i. 46, 61
 Hemdmand i. 467 See
 Hiedmand
 Hijn, vil 33
 Hili, i. 83
 Hima, i. 46
 Hims i. 126
 Hind, i. 46 62 vil. 28
 Hind and Sind, i. 183
 Hindal vi. 205
 Hindan (R) vil 147
 Hindbári i. 169
 Hindi, il. 370
 Hindia, iv 391 396, 603
 v 200 411 vi. 64 121
 659
 Hindmand, i. 117 il. 416
 Hindow i. 80 395
 Hindu Koh, v 223 vil. 76
 81 82
 Hindun, v 490
 Hindupat, iv 29
 Hindustán, i. 147
 Hinduwara, v 398
 Hindwán (Hindaun) iv. 81
 Hindwari iv 67
 Hir i. 60
 Hira, i. 60
 Hirápr vl. 54
 Hirát, i. 419 il. 136; iv
 106 167; vi. 605
 Hissár Shádmán, v 393
 Hissár Firozsh, } HL 208
 Hissár Firoza, } 254 iv
 8, 249 vi. 225
 Hissár v 230 237
 Hladani, i. 60
 Hodal, v 27
 Hodhna, iv 648
 Horito, i. 468

Hormára i. 463
 Hormór, iv 93 i 8 See
 Hurmór
 Hoshlyárpdr vill. 167
 Hustrin, i. 16
 Högli } vil. 31 211 vill.
 Högthil, } 127 327 379
 Hónd i. 48; il. 429
 Hurmór, i. 69; il. 606,
 607; vil. 33 iv 93 126
 Husin, i. 335
 Husupdr vil. 61
 Husin Sagar vil. 117
 Huska-pura, i. 64
 Huskara, i. 64
 Hyátla i. 472
 Hypona, i. 614
 Ibn Káwán, i. 16
 Ibrahimpdr vl. 47
 Ibt, i. 37
 Idalábád, vil. 307
 Idar v 342, 360, 369 402,
 401; vi. 42
 Idari, il. 388 369
 Idala, } vil. 233, 294 208,
 Idar } 303 iv 8, 10
 vi. 224
 Idahábia, iv 457 v 221
 376 427 612 vi. 408
 Imánábád, il. 977 vill.
 80, 114
 Intiyáz-garh, vil. 634
 Indan (R), vil. 59
 Indapdr vil. 54
 Indar i. 62
 Indar-dar bandi, il. 124
 Indarab il. 407; vil. 401
 450 Afre Andarab
 Indarí iv 242
 Indarpat, } il. 216 vil.
 Indarprat } 148, 227 228,
 303; iv 477 vi. 638;
 vil. 10
 India, i. 20
 Indirance (R), vil. 50
 Indore vi. 396
 Indri, iv 28 v 485
 Irák i. 420 463
 Irák-i Ajami, i. 420; il.
 677, iv 167 186 vi. 666
 Iráki i. Arabi, i. 420
 Irán, vi. 548 vil. 243
 vil. 256
 Iráwá (R) i. 48, 62
 Iraj } vi. 103, 100 161
 Irich, } vil. 7
 Iriypdr il. 79
 Iriyáb, } il. 676 vil. 408
 Iryáb, }

Ir Kahtala, vil. 16
 Isá, vi. 106
 Isákkel, il. 441
 Iskandarpdr v 351 vi.
 44
 Islámábád, vil. 263, 276
 Islám-garh iv 491 499
 Islámpuri, vil. 346, 363,
 383
 Isráil, vi. 622
 Istakhar i. 418, 419
 Isliyk, il. 203
 I timálpdr vill. 63
 Iwar, il. 36, 47
 Jaba, i. 12, 76
 Jabalpdr, vil. 47
 Jabba, vi. 456
 Jabbal, il. 137 163, 164
 282, 286, 291 67,
 Jabban, } vil. 4, 0, 475, 518,
 Jaban, } 627
 Jadrawar i. 34 36
 Jag-dara, vi. 80
 Jagdespdr vi. 68
 Jagunáth, v 511; vi.
 26, 66 vill. 420
 Jagat, v 438
 Jagma, vil. 634
 Jabábon, iv 49
 Jahn, i. 393
 Jahana, vil. 608
 Jabánábád, vi. 66
 Jahangir-nagar vi. 330
 vil. 64, 241
 Jahangirpdr vi. 302
 Jahn numá, vil. 431 496
 496 iv 16, 94 234
 Jahn-panáb, il. 448 603
 589
 Jahn, v 60 608
 Jahra, iv 61
 Jallam (R) i. 63 il. 139
 456; vil. 4 6 iv 626
 Jalmór i. 66
 Jalnagar vil. 344 363
 367
 Jalpdr, i. 167 169 177
 178 vil. 44, 62
 Jalwar, v 433
 Jalhodi, i. 67 283
 Jalman, i. 64 vil. 231
 Jalnagar il. 314; vil. 112,
 116 117 234 312,
 314 iv 10
 Jajbott, i. 384
 Jajpdr, vil. 113
 Jajd Sarki, vil. 397
 Jákán (R), iv 106
 Jakash (R) i. 50

- Jakkar, vii 164
 Jál, iii 415, 485
 Jalálábád, v 282, 424, vi 313, 428, vii 416, viii 172
 Jaláli, ii 362, iii 105, iv 444, v 74, 88
 Jálándhar, i 62, ii 347, iii 36, 162, 621, iv 51, 73, 520, v 237, vi 378, 550, vii 417
 Jalesár, ii 380, iv 22, 23, 26, 47, 287, 380, v 386, 414, 504, vi 186, viii 53, 228
 Jálhár, iv 39, 68
 Jálhát, viii 388-9
 Jalkaná, viii 176
 Jal-khet, iv 546
 Jalkota, iii 90
 Jálna, vii 11, 305
 Jálnapur, vi 102, vii 11
 Jálór, ii 238, v 283, 354, 363, 440
 Jalúgar, i 234
 Jalúpara, v 307
 Jalwálí (R), i 176, 188
 Jamári, v 369
 Jambhú, i 504
 Jambo, iv 96
 Jamd (R), iii 410, 413, 476, 482, 483, 522, iv 4, 49
 Jamkhír, vii 16
 Jammú, iii 467, 471, 517, 519, iv 56, 58, 415, vi 125, 374, 555, 562, viii 122
 Jammú (R), iii 519
 Jamna, i 54
 Jamnuari, i 50
 Jampa, i 71
 Jamrud, v 455, vi 314, viii 77
 Jamú, ii 369
 Jámúd, vii 465
 Jamún, vii 240, viii 96
 Jamúnd, iv 458
 Janáwal, i 86, 357
 Jandar, i 380
 Jandara, i 394
 Jandarúz, i 40, 380
 Jandáwal, 465
 Jandiár, i 380
 Jandiáwár, i 465
 Jandrud, } i 27, 34, 40,
 Jaudúr, } 77, 83, 380
 Jáugúr, i 387, 483
 Jangazhata, vi 437
 Janglí, i 68
 Jánháva (R), iv 56, 58
 *Janid (Jind ?), iii 301
 Jánipúr, v 375
 Janján, iii 416, 419, 485, 486
 Jánjúha, iii 537, iv 232, 234
 Jankán, i 138, 178, 387
 Janki, ii 52
 Janksái, i 72
 Jannatábád, v 201
 *Jaráhi, vii 11
 Jarak, i 396, 400, 401
 Járan Manjúr, iii 70, 71, 621
 Jarumanjúr, iii 621
 Jártoli, v 104
 Jasán, iv 106
 Jasarkánur, vi 47
 Jási, iii 36
 Jastrúna, vi 126, 127
 Jaswant, vii 526
 Ját, vii 361
 Jaunápur, vi 411
 Jaunánpur, iii 307
 Jaunpúr, iii 307, 312, 354, iv 10, 13, 29, 259, 368, 455, 461, 509, v 35, 37, 189, 306, 307, vi 19, 20, vii 369
 Jaurán, i 81
 Jausa, v 416, 420, vi 411 See Chaunsá
 Jáva, i 70, 71, iii 27
 Jawáli, vi 523
 Jawetari, i 179, 180
 Jáwiyán, vii 243
 Jazíra, vii 289
 Jelum, ii 41, 52, 234, iii 36
 Jellalore, v 386
 Jenghapúr, ii 570
 Jerún, iv 95
 Jesalmír, i 293, 296, 489, v 211, vi 397
 Jessore, vi 73
 Jetwár, i 444
 Jewar, i 167, 168
 Jhailam, i 48
 Jham, iii 74, 102, 146, 148, 172, 173, 175, 193, 203, 217, 541, 549, 622, iv 49
 Jhajjar, iv 8, v 264
 Jhajúsa, v 445
 Jhálawán, v 558
 Jhálawár, v 437, 444
 Jham, i 167
 Jhand, vi 463
 Jhang, v 469
 Jhang-Syál, ii 422
 Jhánsi, vii 50, viii 215, 275, 284
 Jhanud, vi 352
 Jhar, iv 27
 Jharáwar, i 48
 Jhareja, i 218
 Jharka, iv 484
 Jharkand, iv 368, v 112, 201, vi 19, 30, 47, 48, 88, 551
 Jharna, viii 46
 Jharna (R), v 82
 Jhársah, iii 622
 *Jhath (Chath), iv 51
 Jhaunsi, iv 393, 411
 Jhow, i 365
 Jhúni, vii 491
 Jhusa, iv 370
 Jhúsi, viii 229
 Jibal Fallah, iv 125
 ——— Jallán, iv 125
 Jidda, ii 246
 Jidiya, iii 617
 Jihún, i 30, 50, ii 32, 256, iii 400, vii 78
 ——— (Indus), ii 390, 393
 Jilam, iv 240, v 165
 Jilán, ii 272, 576
 Jináb (R), iv 70
 Jind, ii 372, 375
 Jinjera, vii 289
 Jinjí, vii 346, 348, 361
 Jirbátan, i 86, 90, 93
 Jíruft, i 418
 Jitáran, v 363
 Jítasáran, vi 22
 Jitgarh, viii 46
 *Jitúra, v 386
 Jíwal, vii 256, 271
 Jodpúr, i 317
 Jodhpúr, vii 187 See Joudhpúr
 Jola, vii 53
 Jonau, iv 106
 Joondhpoor, iii 621
 Jorkal, iii 401
 Josháb-garm, ii 288
 Josi, v 321-2
 Joudhpúr, v 211, 341, 354, 382 Also Jodhpúr and Júdhpúr
 Júbála, iii 538
 Juckow, i 430
 Júd, i 70, ii 235, 297,
 Júdi, } 346, 365, 396, 397,
 555, 564, iii 36, 107,
 410, 477, 482, iv 232,
 240, v 162, 164, 561

- Jálh, III. 160 621
 Jodhan, vii 60
 Jódhpúr iv 400 631 See
 Jodhpúr
 Jukl, v 211
 Jólak, vi 30
 Jomna (R) i. 49 81; iv
 4; vi. 8 Also Jón
 Jón, i. 250 313 iv 463
 Jón (R), ii 4, 62; iii. 79
 iv 4-7 v 14 vi. 22
 Janagarh, v 230 403
 428 459 481 400; vi.
 00
 Jódal, } iv 459, 459 v
 Jódal } 18 vi. 40. See
 Chaudh
 Jód (Cháwán) vii 60
 Jónir vi. 233, 43 vii.
 1; 62 81 80 88, 60
 Jórast, ii 40
 Jór fattan, i. 69
 Jórjón, i. 46; ii. 8 0; iv
 165 190 vi 664
 Jorjaniya, ii. 8 7
 Jorz, i. 4 10 100. See Jazr
 Jwál (Jbow) v 932
 Jón (Chau) v 93
 Jótán, v 43
 Jozarát, i. 358
 Jazr i. 4 15 26, 6, 355
 Jázjón ii. 59 676 iii.
 61 iv 165
 Jázjónán, ii. 8 7
 Jwala, iv 416
 Jwálá mukhl, ii. 446;
 iii. 318
 Kabá kánú i. 30 35.
 Kabal, i. 2
 Kabal Lutan, i. 72
 Kábar iii. 639 viii. 181
 Kabbata i Islám, iii. 8 8
 Kábil, iii. 30
 Kabryán, i. 34
 Kábul i. 3 46 63 92,
 429 ii. 9 268, 403
 412, 413 414 iv 233
 v 272, 424 448
 Kábul (R), i. 23 47 ii.
 468 iv 238 239 vi.
 313
 Kábulistán, ii. 425, 442
 603; iii. 308
 Kábuliz, ii. 621 629
 Kábulpúr iv 65
 Kach, i. 49 65 66, 217
 Kachh, } 218, 267 268,
 206 v 440 443 vii.
 228, 243
 Kachh Gandára vii 214
 Kachhokot, iv 31
 Kach kot, iv 239
 Kachchlaurál, viii. 169
 Kachwah iv 2, 4
 Kachwára iv 406 407
 Kachlup, vii. 2 3
 Kálik, i. 7- 81
 Kálist u il. 407 9
 Káur (R), iv 210; vi. 225
 Ká, hriwára, vii 38
 Káhal gánw iv 462
 Káhamrá, v 146
 Káhn, i. 33, 393
 Káhn (R) vi. 308
 Káharphón, vii. 190
 Káharphúcha vii 62
 Káhuwan, vii 3 0
 Kábhana vii. 62
 Káhlánd, i. 67
 Kákarán, vii. 491
 Káhlér iv 18 v 40
 Kámarwál, vii. 48
 Káhopar (Cawpore) iv
 321
 Káhrán ii. 8 4
 Káhrám. See Káhrám
 Káhtol, v 354
 Káhdra kanil, iv 20
 Káhwara, ii. 331
 Kákhán, i. 382
 Kákhán, i. 381 422, 448
 Kákhánán, i. 123, 139
 381 422, 466
 Kákarár i. 90, 93
 Káil, iv 163
 Káil ii. 648
 Káin ii. 130
 Káiroán, i. 415
 Káirunya, i. 14
 Káis, ii. 33
 Káitál-shahr iv 496
 Káitál, } i. 62; ii. 337
 Káitál } 353 372, 377
 ii. 38 216, 420, 494
 v 41
 Káitoul, ii. 609 671
 Káiwán, iv 217
 Káji i. 391
 Káji (R) i. 48
 Kájariki, i. 231
 Káji-dár, v 487
 Kájiyat, i. 168
 Káji (R) vii. 63
 Kájrál, i. 87
 Kájura, i. 384
 Kájdráha, i. 87 383
 Kájarwá, i. 87
 Kákra, i. 328
 Kákán, i. 307
 Kákáráj, i. 387
 Kákárá, i. 609
 Kákraní, v 291
 Kálába. See Kálába
 Kálábagh, iv 625
 Káládí, i. 381
 Kálábát, iv 98 125
 Kálákot, i. 262, 369 3 0
 400
 Kálá kot, vii. 23
 Kálánjer ii 668
 Kálákot i. 351
 Káláoor } iv. 57 66 215
 Káláoor } v 241 4-3
 (in Dakhin) vii. 8
 Kálá páni (R) iv 37
 vi. 313
 Kálá páni, vi. 310
 Kálárchal, i. 46 65 See
 See Kárcháland Kárájil
 Kálari, i. 384
 Kálari, i. 77 78 79
 Kálatár (Kalanór), iv 39
 Káláwar, ii. 390
 Kálbota, i. 87 92
 Káldah Kábar iv 232
 Káléwar, ii. 241
 Káli (R) viii. 147
 *Káldah (Káliyáda) iv
 303
 Káli gang (R), vi. 66, 67
 Káli i. 81
 Kálikot, iv 98 100; viii.
 360-7
 Káli nal (R), iv 444
 Kálinf (R) iii. 432, 495
 iv 36
 Kálinjar i. 88 ii. 231
 255 366, 369 40
 664 iv 186 236 406,
 40 478, 524 v 189
 333 vi. 9 11 653 ii.
 21 vii. 214
 Kálinjar (on the Indus)
 ii. 660
 Káli Sind (R) v 325
 Káliya, vi. 387
 Káliyáda, vi. 184
 Káikal-gnáti, v 388
 Káikáyan, i. 86
 Káikam, vi. 133
 Káikari, i. 27 30, 34 3
 129 284
 Kálar kahár, iv 232
 Káima (Gáima) vi. 102
 Káipi iv 79 266 378,
 392, 394 466 466 60
 v 11 105 244, 319;
 vi. 11 650 vii. 19
 viii. 182 216 439

- Kalul, in 54
 Kaluwā, in 94
 Kalwān, v 38, 80
 Kalwar, v 115
 Kalwāl, i 27, 30, 381
 Kalvān, in 54, 179
 Kalvānī, in 127
 Kāmā, in 228
 Kāmā, v 213
 Kāmā (R), v 313
 Kāmān, i 25, 361
 Kāmān-pahārī, in 55
 Kāmān-pahārī, v 119
 Kāmān, iv 184, v 397,
 541, vi 229, 361, vii
 45, 216, Kāmān
 Kāmbal, i 119
 Kāmbala, in 245
 Kāmbāl, i 29, 34, 77,
 80
 Kāmbālmār, v 276 *See*
 Kāmbālmār
 Kāmā, i 27, 30, 34,
 Kāmā, v 38, 39, 66,
 Kāmā, v 67, 77, 81,
 Kāmā, in 163, in
 31, 33, 43, 74, 163, 256,
 259, iv 1, v 193, 343,
 405, 435, vi 15, 317,
 318, 353, vii 238
 Kāmbāl, iv 47
 Kāmbala, in 614
 Kāmbāl, vii 90
 Kāmā, i 27, 30, 363
 Kāmā, i 25
 Kāmpat, vi 413
 Kāmpāl, in 105, 246,
 Kāmpāl, i 18, 58, 455,
 v 74, 87, vi 537
 Kāmra, } i 11, 13, 57, 76,
 Kāmra, } 361, in 307,
 Kāmra, } 308, 310, 312,
 v 511, vii 144, 265
 Kāmāhul, i 39, 40
 Kāmāl, i 16
 Kāmān, vii 365
 Kām, i 338
 Kāmā, vii 167
 Kānapūr, i 152
 Kāmbā, iv 96
 Kānchī, i 16
 Kānā, i 19, 21, 23, 33, 45,
 49, 54, 90, 91, 147, 454,
 in 41, 45, 51, 170, 241,
 297, 368, 427, 456, 533,
 iv 5, 26, 178, 205, 263,
 278, 368, 378, 419, 526,
 v 304, vi 552, 558,
 563, vii 420
 Kānd, i 52
 Kāndābāl, } i 14, 29, 30,
 Kāndābāl, } 34, 38, 106,
 Kāndābāl, } 127, 128,
 132, 189, 440, 465, in
 115
 Kāndābār (ancient), i 11,
 21, 22, 38, 52, 63, 73,
 91, 127, 132, 445, vi
 347
 ——— (modern), i 117,
 238, 303, 407, in 115
 v 207, 219, vi 130,
 702, 781, vii 64, 87,
 89, vii 145
 ——— (Dakhan), vi 70,
 323, 412, vii 25, 52, 58
 Kāndāhāt, in 249
 Kāndāhāl, i 84
 Kāndāk, v 86
 Kāndān, in 173
 Kāndān, vii 272, 273,
 373, 482-3
 Kāndār, in 163, 514
 Kāndār, iv 265
 Kāndārā, vii 786
 Kāndārān, i 86
 Kāndāhāl, i 385
 Kāndāhār, i 115, in 265
 Kāndāhārā, i 231
 Kāndār, in 90
 Kāner, iv 164
 Kāngra, in 34, 116, 505,
 in 465, iv 67, v 355,
 507, vi 374, 381, 517,
 vii 68
 Kānhāvat (Kāmbay), in
 256
 Kānhā-gazn, in 132
 Kānhpur, in 158
 Kānhun, in 86
 Kānhānān, i 31
 Kānā, i 16, 86, 90
 *Kānh (read Kīcha), v 87
 Kānjī, i 56, 66
 Kānjā, vii 53
 Kānkān, i 67, 68
 Kānkārā, i 58
 Kānkādh, vi 554
 Kānkū, i 58
 Kānnāzbun, } i 29, 34, 40,
 Kānnāzbun, } 119, 389
 Kānobārī (R), in 90
 Kānsī, vii 355
 Kāntāl, v 420
 Kānt-bārāhī, in 261
 Kānt Gola, iv 384, v
 413, 498, 500
 Kānthur, iv 12
 Kāntī, vii 55
 Kāntī, i 55, v 94, 95
 Kānulpur, v 18
 Kānūr, v 266, vii 386
 Kān-vāhār, i 148
 Kān-wāhār, iv 267
 *Kān-wāhār, iv 245
 Kānwārī, in 106
 Kānwārī garh, vii 272
 Kāpish, i 17
 Kārā, i 306
 Kārā, iv 106
 Kārābāgh, i 303, v 228,
 311, 314
 Kārā-bela, i 365
 Kārāchī, i 374
 Kārāchī, in 617 *See*
 Kārājāl and Kārāchāl
 Kārād, iv 106
 Kārāgar, v 151, vi 80, 81
 Kārāh, iv 106
 Kārāj, i 11
 Kārājāl, in 241 *S.*
 Kārāchī and Kārāchāl
 Kārājāng, i 63, 73
 Kārāka, i 509
 Kārākūtā, in 402
 *Kārākūpūr (correction of
 Gorākūpūr), v 381
 Kārāmbātān, in 311
 Kārāmbātī, in 54
 Kārān, i 90
 Kārān-tīrāt, i 55
 Kārā-sū (R), in 452, 507
 Kārātīgū, v 229
 Kārāz, vii 284
 Kārāhā, i 190
 Kārāhā-bārā, vii 62
 Kārān, i 138, 139, 381
 Kārānā, i 72
 Kārāz, vi 348
 Kārājāghāl, in 561
 Kārāhār, vi 58
 Kārī (Kāra), v 179, 364,
 369, 431, 432, 433, 446,
 vii 243
 Kārīāt, i 59, iv 97
 Kārī, iv 248
 Kārāhū, vii 144
 Kārī, vii 89
 Kārān, i 510
 Kārānītī, i 510
 Kārā-khānā, iv 231
 Kārāz, i 14
 Kārāj, vi 567
 Kārām, in 221
 Kārāmūs (R), iv 283
 Kārāmūt, i 87, 90
 Kārāl, in 261, 262, 263,
 264, 300, iv 552, v
 355, vi 296, vii 419,
 vii 61, 81, 82

Karnatik vl. 610 vil. 1 0
139
Karndi vil. 301
Karnala III. 256
K roha, l. 68
K roe iv. 308
Karra II. 318 352 358
360 370 380 III. 163
360 312 606 iv. 82
v. 91 89 470 VIII
216 311 408
Karra Mankpūr, II. 303
370 III. 30 iv. 268
Kasib, l. 60
Kartal, v. 461 401
Kartur l. 62, 139 143 07
Karna, l. 63
Karnail, l. 100
Karnan, l. 139
Kar l. (R), v. 49^a
Karya-ganj vil. 4^a
Karsat, l. 301 393
Kā il. 677
Kā, v. vil. 355
Kashla (R) II. 610 642,
613
Kasir l. 7
Kashil il. 6 7
Kashin l. 29
Kashir l. 31 38 39
Kā hān vl. 39
Kāshbin l. 6 361
Kashgar l. 429 il. 268
Kashmir l. 19 23 46 63
90 178, 444 II. 43
411 466 III. 476; iv
496 v. 706 235, 411
440; vl. 304 307 367
372 vl. 07 98
Kā hūa III. 639
Kāshbin II. 677
Kā m bārūr vil. 3-5
Kānpūr vil. 46
Kālar II. 247
Kashbar l. 77
Kasmandi il. 376
Kasmur l. 38
Kāna, vil. 192
Karan l. 14, 61 84
Kār band, l. 77 61
Kār kajrān, II. 293
Kārland, l. 29 34
Kāsa l. 121 126, 701
Kārūr III. 627; vil. 491
Katak III. 449 603
Katak, v. 443 vl. 408
Katak Dandras, v. 386
388 423 611
Kataka, III. 698
Kataljār vil. 60

Katanka, vl. 20 117
Katāria, v. 416
Katihr, III. 103 106; iv
14 49 61; v. 93; vl.
272 VIII. 303 310 pass
Kāth il. 67^a
Kathā nali (R) vl. 466
Kathani (R) l. 60
Kāthiwar l. 416 6 1; v
19, 30 430 621; vil.
69
Katholi, vl. 354
Katlān l. 323
Kattī l. 69 III. 33
Kāth-gang (R) vl. 68
Kator il. 40 409 III.
401 407 481 vl. 370
Katora vil. 365
Katrāpur vl. 3
Kāthiwar v. 107 360
See Kāthiwar
Kaugha l. 31
Kaurbār l. 798-9
Kautpūr III. 632
Kawāchir II. 402
Kāyā l. 1 8
Kajāt, iv. 356
Kayōla, iv. 393
Kāzrān, l. 418
Kazwā, II. 677; v. 218
Kedge l. 29
Kehrān vil. 9^a
Kehān vil. 12
Ken l. 67 il. 439
Kenery vil. 355
Kerkūa, l. 610
Kerketoa, l. 610
Khabālk, l. 68
Khabārdn l. 86
Khabā il. 193
Khabwa, vil. 233
Khegar (R) II. 429 430
493 iv. 8
Khasbar iv. 610
Khalbar pass, v. 45-, 455
vl. 314, viii. 8
Khanabād, l. 277 iv. 71
Khaipurā, l. 353
Khaun vil. 233 435
Khaivāra, iv. 651
Kb khar (R) iv. 8
Khalay iv. 103
Khalānw v. 95
Khalipūr vil. 103
Khālis-kotāli III. 421 3
483
Kham III. 91
Khamār, II. 276
Khambālt (Kambay) vl.
363

Khanbāligh, } l. 72; II
Khanbālik, } 46; iv. 96
Khandālar l. 416
Khanderi, vil. 255
Khandes, v. 2 6; vl.
Khandesh, } 138 211 vil.
68, 139 VIII. 318
Khandhār III. 79
Khandi, iv. 25
Khān Ghāt, v. 91
Khānskin, II. 317
Khānpūr, v. 351 vl. 62
466 VIII. 167 318
Khanāsi, l. 72
Khanāsh, vil. 63
Khānwā, v. 490
Khānwāh (R) l. 601
Khar vl. 309
Kharabābād iv. 8
Khārak, l. 14
Kharak III. 299
Kharbāra, vl. 310
Kharid iv. 232-4
Kharā, III. 316
Kharosa, III. 701
Kharol, iv. 44
Kharpe, vil. 358
Kharū l. 81
Khāspūr Tāda, iv. 310
Khātā vl. 73
Khātāb, vil. 77
Khātākhiri, vil. 36
Khātāpūr, l. 70 73
Khātān, il. 126
Khātār, vl. 312
Khāwāh, n. 407
Khāwāl III. 401 407 481
Khwāh, l. 92
Khwāwāpūr iv. 406, 602
vl. 303; vil. 369
Khwāwāpur Tāda, l.
608, v. 343
Khāz, l. 117
Khāzar l. 46
Kheina, vil. 278, 338,
370 371
Kherār v. 291
Kherā-pāra, vil. 17
Kher-darak vil. 63
Kheria, vl. 85 97
Khetwāra, III. 303
Khibar l. 92
Khika III. 198
Khilipūr vil. 19
Khin l. 16
Khīr vl. 318 321
Khirkī, vl. 344, 379 380,
414, 433
Khita, } l. 73 II. 232
Khita, } 302; v. 163, 164

- Khizrábád, m 77, 300,
 350, 351, 550, v 408,
 vii 86, 106, viii 134
 Khizrúpúr, vi 73, vii 144,
 269
 Khojand, i 429
 Khor, m 31, 246, vi 309
 Khoraja, viii 322
 Khorandí, *prop* Ghor-
 nadí (R), vii 59
 Khudábád, viii 92 [391
 Khujista-bunyád, vii 194,
 Khudábád, vii 194, 395
 Khuld-manzil, vii 407
 Khulm, m 400
 Khunduz *See* Kunduz
 Khur, i 77, 80, iv 47
 Khuram (R), ii 441
 Khurásán, i 20, 452, ii
 154, 268, 269, 280, vi
 Khurda, vi 79, 355 [564
 Khurd-Kábul, v 424
 Khurfakán, iv 126
 Khúr Kakhla, i 84
 Khurramábád, m 572
 Khusháb, i 312, iv 232,
 234, 387
 Khután, iv 171, vi 545,
 554, 565
 Khutlán, i 472, v 229
 Khuzistán, i 400, ii 568
 Khwája Khizr, v 74
 Khwája Riwáj, v 228
 Khwája Zaid, vii 80
 Khwárasm, } i 45, 429,
 Khwárazm, } ii 153, 154,
 Khwárizm, } 232, 577,
 iv 167, 176
 Khyssore, vi 456
 Kía, i 77
 Kich, ii 559, 562
 Kícha, } iv 41, 82, v 87
 *Kíchar, }
 Kídán, ii 286
 *Kídhur (*prop* Gídhor),
 v 381
 Kíkán, i 116, 117, 128,
 381, ii 415
 Kílághar, vii 106, 107
 Kíláhát, i 69
 Kílakán, i 16
 Kíla-i sufed, i 418
 Kíl, m 166, 168
 Kílíd-i futúh, vii 364
 Kílkáyan, i 16, 90
 Kılmak, vi 111
 Kílo-kharí, } ii 331, iii
 Kílú-gharí, } 126, 135,
 136, 148, 227, 525, 620,
 iv 477, viii 11
 Kímár, iv 19
 Kín, i 72
 Kínár, iv 278, vi 11
 Kínára-i Hauz, m 491
 Kínjar, i 400
 Kínkot, i 244
 *Kínkúta (Gangút), iv
 244, 247
 Kinnazbún, i 14
 Kíforai, vii 12
 Kípchak, i 304, v 145
 Kír, i 77, 80, 83, vii 318
 Kíra, i 24
 Kíra-tal, i 274
 Kíraj, i 124, 125, 189,
 390, 391, 441, vi 463
 Kíranj, i 5, 25
 Kírát, ii 464, 466
 Kírbun, i 14
 Kírdán, i 381
 Kírí, ii 160, 273, iv 138,
 198
 Kírkæum, i 510
 Kír Káyán, i 77, 81, 83,
 84
 Kírmán, i 14, 27, 33, 151,
 417, 453, ii 193, 194,
 398, 402, 551, iv 95
 Kírúsi, i 80
 Kís, i 15, 67, 365
 Kísh, i 80, ii 413, 415
 Kísham, v 223, 228
 Kíshan-Gang (R), vi 372,
 373, vii 30
 Kíshangarh, viii 52, 367,
 370
 Kísht, v 46
 Kíshtiwár, vii 373
 Kístna (R), vii 368, 383
 Kit, i 53
 Kiyára, viii 311
 Kiyátasa, i 109
 Kíz, i. 29, 34, 38, 80, 365,
 456
 Kízkanán, i. 39, 382
 Kobus, i 514
 Kochi, iv 244
 Kodai, viii 55
 Koel, iv 270, 272, viii
 117 *See* Kol
 Koeena (R), vii 364
 Koh, iii 177, iv 81
 Kohána, iii 381
 Kohát, vi 456, vii 95
 Koh-hatah, vii 65
 Koh-páya, i 381, ii 375,
 iii 360
 Kohla, iv 55
 Kohistán, i 419, ii 136,
 iv 167, vi 567, viii 92
 Kohráam, ii 216, iii 621
See Kuhrám
 Koiad, viii 386
 Koji, viii 386
 Koka, vi 90
 Kókan, vii 52, 59, 289
Also Konkan
 Kokanda, v 341, 397,
 398, 400, vi 59, 428
 Kokar country, iii 36
 Kokarmanda, vii 395
 Kokri, vi 79, 344
 Kol, i 15, ii 222, 224,
 343, 358, 380, iv 13,
 50, v 74, 87, viii 225,
 321 *Also* Koel
 Kol (in Dakhn), vii 53
 Koláb, v 227, 229, 230,
 392
 Kolába, vii. 290, 355,
 viii 285
 Kolábi, v 268
 Kolapur, vii 56, 338
 Kolás, vii 411
 Koliwára, v 193
 Kombalmír, } v 276, 326,
 Kombhalmír, } 341, 397,
 410, vi 58
 Kombha, vii 59
 Komkam (Konkan), i 4
 Koná, v 266
 Konájúr, v 266
 Kondal (*or* Gondal), iii 264
 Konkan, i. 4, 60, ii 202
Also Kókan
 Kophes, i 514
 Kor, vi 309
 Kora, vii 233, viii 221,
 341, 342, 408
 Korá Jahánábád, viii 50,
 52
 Korax, i 510
 Korí, i 446, v 375
 Koriya, vi 144
 Koriya-ganj, viii 310
 Korok-ondame, i. 510
 Korok-ondametis, i 510
 Korwái, viii 58
 Kor-zamín, i 237
 Kosha, i 77
 Kosi (R), ii 316, iii 293
 Kot, ii 456
 Kota, v 325, viii 57
 Kotara, i 296
 Kothi, iv 75
 Kotla, iii 430, 449, 455,
 456, 458, 493, 505, vi.
 523 *Also* Kútla
 Kotah-báz-báb, ii 287
 Kot-pakali, vi 57

- Loháwar, i 62, 65, ii 392, 156 iii 36
See Lahore
 Lohgáw, vii 56, 59
 Lohgarh, v 207, vi 97, vii 424
 Lohkot, ii 455, 164, 467, iv 497
 Lohor (Lahore) ii 301 303
 Lohur (Lahore), ii 59, 240
 Lohri v 206
 Loni ii 315, iii 432, 195
 Loniara vii 18
 Loruh, ii 210
 Loshi, i 77
 Lur, i 16 [192
 Lucknow, iv 276 280, v
 Ludhiána, i 53 v 422,
 Ludhiána } vii 107
 Luhár inf, i 19
 Luhari, v 206
 Luk, ii 242
 Luknor, iv 384 *See*
 Lakhnor
 Lulu, i 16, 90
 Luluwá, i 86
 Lun, vii 340
 Lundy (R), vi 313
 Lunwa, i 91
 Lus, i 29

 Ma bar, i 69, iii 32, 33,
 45, 47, 50, 74, 78, 85,
 243, 339, 550, 618
 Máchehri, vii 228
 Máchin, i 45, 46, iii 32,
 iv 96 *Also* Mahá Chin
 Máchíwára, v 96, vii
 106, 107
 Machhli, vi 390
 Machhli-gáw, vii 12
 Machu (R), i 522
 Mad, i 406
 Madad, iv 496
 Madades, i 54
 Madán, v 152
 Madáran, v 385, vi 326
 Madhgarh, vi 57
 Mádiár, i 87, 91
 Madras, vii 325
 Madurá, iii 91, vii 139
 Mahábalastán, i 59, 60
 Mahában, ii 458, 460,
 vi 564, vii 66 *Also*
 Maháwan
 Mahá Chin, i 64, 71 *Also*
 Máchin
 Mahan, v 57
 Mahá-Kot, vii 38
 Maháli, i 34

 Mahalkarra v 396
 Mahánadi (R), i 356, ii
 11, v 388
 Mahandwári, iii 354
 Maharatn-i Hind, ii 14
 Mahári iv 16
 Mahawá, vi 55
 Maháwili, iv 309
 Mahawán, ii 368, 160,
 iv 63 *Also* Maháwan
 Mahdi-ghát, vii 215
 Mahdípúr, vii 276
 Mahfuz, i 371, 372, 112,
 465 182
 Mahgáw, vii 12
 Mahi (R), i 356 v 135,
 vi 356, 363
 Mahundri (R), i 314
 Mahundri, } 135, vi
 16, 37
 Mahundwári, iv 25
 Mahír, vi 17
 Mahla iv 398
 Mahmúnára, iv 525
 Mahmudábád (Dakhan),
 v 196, 353, 369, 442,
 vi 16
 Mahmudábád (Bengal),
 vi 45
 Mahobá, i 383, ii 232,
 162, iv 13, vi 30,
 vii 215
 Mahpalpúr, iii 354
 Mahr, ii 368
 Mahrard, vii 372
 Mahrát, vi 563, vii 126
 Mahrat-des, i 60
 Mahrauli, v 74
 Mahrola, iii 303
 Mahu, vi 90
 Máhúli, vii 56, 59
 Mahumahra, i 60
 Mahur, vi 232, 563
 Mahura, i 54, 59
 Mahwa, i 296
 Mahwári, vi 106
 Mahyak, i 84
 Máibar, i 366
 Maidara, i 87
 Máldi, i 37
 Maumanah, vii 76, 79
 Mairtha, v 274 *See*
 Mírtha
 Majad, vi 566
 Majháwan, ii 458
 Majhifatan, } i 72
 Majhípatan, }
 Makah, i 272-3, 323
 Makám, iv 230
 Makandara, vii 271

 Makanpúr, v 499
 Makhad, iv 496
 Makhásabád, vii 32
 Makhua vii 380
 * Máktulán (*cor* of Bá-
 kúlán)
 Makida ii 315
 Makúth, vii 54
 Makrán, i 11, 28, 29, 30,
 33, 40, 80, 151 152,
 117, 424, 156, ii 131,
 212, 559, 562, 564
 Makránát, ii 559
 Maksudábád, vii 210,
 223, 228, 265
 Málábár, i 168, iv 96,
 vi 519, vii 385 *Also*
 Málbár
 Malán, i 131
 Málán, iv 106
 Maláwanúr, vii 336
 Maláwi, v 91
 Málá, iv 372, vi 45,
 77, 318
 Maldán, i 30
 Malgullí, vi 369
 Málgarh, vi 141
 * Mallur, vii 472 *See*
 Malir and Mulhír
 Malhu, iv 327
 Mah, i 15, 85, 522
 Maha, i 56, 66
 Máha, i 445, 450, 522, v
 414, 446
 Mah Bári, i 56
 Máliba, i 126, 442
 Málbár, i 68, iii 31,
 iv 103, vii 202 *Also*
 Málábár
 Mah Fatan, } i 69, 72,
 — Fitan, } iii 32
 Mah-Katan, i 72
 Máhkona, iv 64
 Malikpúr, ii 395, iii 383
 * Malir, iii 256, vii 309,
 Málir, } 311, 312 *Also*
 Mulhír
 Máha, iii 354
 Malkand, vi 80
 Malkapúr, v 337, vi 391,
 vii 383, 406
 Málkher, vii 293
 Malkonsah, iv 416
 Mallan, i 87, 89
 Malláwan, vii 175
 Málurá, iv 508
 Málwa, i 60, 91, ii 351,
 iii 31, 76, 251, 598, iv
 260, 524, v 168, vi 555
 Málwakot, iv 497

- Málwála, i 69
 Mámbrál i 77 9 81 363
 Mámbari (R) i 61
 Mámá kh 10n, v 31
 Mámáwán i 369
 Mámáwála L 629
 Mámórá, v 316
 Mámórábál, v 353 436
 Mán (R) vii 369 383
 Mánáb-vi, L 7 77 391
 Mánchhar } L 23, 460
 Mánchhar }
 Mánd, i 14 85
 Mándákar v 44
 Mándal, L 14 176 390 411
 Mándal, v 3 6
 *Mándalawá Teri, Hi 61-3
 Mándalawara, i 391
 Mándalgarh v 393
 Mándalíl, L 630
 Mándapúr i 630
 Mándar, L 425
 Mándatí iv 8
 Mándawar ii 241 312
 Mándawí L 391 iv 6
 vi. 403 vii. 90
 Mándah il 78 284
 Mándhor L 623
 Mándhukar L 6, 630
 Mándhwa vi 118
 Mándhyawála, i 630
 Mándilál, i 649
 Mándil vii. 189
 Mándíor v 191 vi. 335
 vii 10 374
 Mándkálór L 62 il. 129
 Mándlalar L 391
 Mándor L 391
 Mándrá, i. 391 623 630
 Mándráíl iv 27 v 03
 vi. 12
 Mándráś, L 623
 Mándropat, L 623
 Mándróđ, v 233
 Mándrus (R) L 628
 Mándó } Hi. 76, 660 iv
 Mándó, } 85 260 281
 378 380, 391 651 v
 192, 276 280 vi. 13
 18, 346, 603 vii. 24 67
 Mándér il. 241 326 iii.
 148
 Mándyála, L 629
 Mángachar L 383
 Mángahúr iv 124
 Mángalor } iv 103, 124
 Mángalore } vi. 90; viii.
 Mángalór } 389
 Mángal Kot, vi 79
 ————— pahra vii. 377
 Mán garh iv 421
 Mánga Bawu iv 409
 Mángiri L 66
 Mángitur, v 97
 Mán ii vi 369
 Mángi i iv 193
 Mánhábari, L 7 79 391
 Mánhábari, i 27 391
 Mánhal i 190
 Mánhar L 90 403
 Mánik-dádh, vii. 16
 Mánikpór il. 335 379;
 iii 163 v 97
 Mániktara, L 310
 Mánikyála, vi. 309
 Mánila, v 339
 Mánisál (R), iv 2 3
 Mánjáhari L 2 30 31
 37, 40 391 392
 Mánjardr L 68
 Mánjhal L 176
 Mánjharul v 90
 Mánjháwan ii 468
 Mánjira (R) vii. 18
 Mánjra, vii. 63
 Mánjór iii. 647
 Mánjórán il. 103
 Mánkála, il. 394 396 397
 663
 Mánkalakár L 60
 Mánkarwál, v 321
 Mánkár i 19 21 24 27
 31 355 392
 Mánkod vii. 19
 Mánkót iv 402, 491 608
 v 351 355 489
 Mánkól il. 63
 Mánohar nagar v 407
 Mánpdr vi 373
 Mánár il. 469 617
 Mánár iv 396
 Mánára, L 11 14 21 23
 24 27 29 34 49 7
 8, 106 177 136 369
 464 466 468 482 il.
 49 303, 363, 477 iii.
 462, 607 iv 4
 Mánadr-ganj viii. 324
 330, 427
 Mánadr-garh, vii. 17
 Mánadrpdr, il. 331 371
 iv 11, 62
 Mánár n 316
 Máná iii. 471 619
 Mára, il. 462
 Marahra, iv 648
 Mára (R) L 63
 Mára (R), v 293
 Mardain, il. 63
 Mardhan kot il. 310
 Mándi, iii 62 63
 Margaia } il. 273 451; vi
 Margaia, } 309 310
 Mārāhkar } iv 481 607
 Mārāhkar }
 Marhata, iii. 698
 Marhara, v 88
 Mārī, vi. 466
 Mariala, L 629
 Mārīkālā, il. 273
 Marmad, } L 126 441
 Marmad, }
 Marmāra, il. 160
 Marmda, L 62
 Martot, iv 74
 Maruthali, i 441
 Mardī, il. 350 351
 Mārōta, il. 391
 Marw L 61 6 vi. 505-6
 Mārwar L 411 v 276
 vi. 556, vii. 60, 6
 Marwin, il. 463
 Masāna, v 432-3
 Mashhad i Mukaddas, vii.
 67
 Mashhadi, vi. 73
 Masij vii. 62
 Māshān, i 80 81
 Mashat, L 468 iv 97 120
 vii. 316
 Masnaha, L 87
 Mastān, v 216
 Mastang v 216
 Mastūr L 225
 Mas ddpdr il. 78
 Masulipatām, L 73 vi. 300
 Mādrān, L 77 84
 Maswābi, L 27 34 37
 Maswān L 77
 Matābīla, L 369
 Mata Kathor il. 391
 Matāri, L 481
 Matdakar L 60
 Matela, L 406
 Matbīla, L 231
 Mathra (Madura) iii. 91
 Mathurā il. 44 51 466,
 460 iv 447 v 90
 284 vi. 293 386 640
 vii. 184 viii. 147 228,
 265
 Mathurā-pdr vii. 266
 Matī (R), vi. 389
 Matmayapdr L 60
 Mataya, L 393
 Mattnagar i 60
 Mattra, i. 84 vii. 184
 512 vii. 163
 Mat, L 406 vi. 621; viii.
 311 Also Mid

- Nairón, L. 43 460 *See*
 Nirón
 Nai hápár L. 410; II. 130
 8 8 v. 664
 Najibál vil. 302-3
 Nakal vil. 86
 Nakál, II. 653, 655
 Nakkár, IV. 633
 Nakhach, III. 318
 Nak ar vil. 69
 Nakti, L. 98
 Nakwón, II. 231
 Náleba, v. 901
 Naldung vil. 65
 Nalla (II) L. 60
 Nallai (II) L. 60
 Nallak, L. 1 6
 Namadi, L. 216
 Namakha, v. 296
 Namáwar L. 60
 Namikha, v. 96
 Námrán L. 83
 Nánek math, vil. 301
 Nánsarj L. 148 357
 Nand, L. 34
 Nandana, II. 62, 317 366
 Nander vil. 105 vil. 8
 89, 406
 Nandna, II. 62
 Nandol, v. 123, 437
 Nandua tart. II. 303
 Naddi, II. 229
 Nandurbár v. 405, 406
 434 442 v. 136 vil.
 66 362, 395 466
 Nánmal, L. 486
 Nangnebár L. 400
 Náráin, L. 303; II. 30
 210 298 3 4 431 446
 IV. 1 4
 Náráinpór vil. 64
 Nárána, L. 68, 69 61
 303, II. 449
 Nárand L. 127 444
 Náráni L. 168
 Nárániya, III. 199
 Nárdín, L. 69 II. 37 460,
 465 III. 65; IV. 1 4
 176
 Narela v. 4 76
 Narganda, vil. 411
 Narban v. 298, 301
 Nari (R), L. 385
 Narila, vil. 205
 Narkoti, II. 314
 Narmada, L. 441
 Narmastrá, L. 16
 Nármal III. 640; IV. 44;
 v. 284, vil. 186, 294
 295 vil. 44 121 272
 Nart Topa, vil. 466
 Narat, vil. 299
 Narwar IV. 466 v. 291;
 vil. 63; vil. 169 vil.
 Naryál, v. 195 [81
 Naryadiba, v. 405
 Na ibin v. 162 650
 Na ica L. 336
 Na ik L. 356 vil. 9 09
 333 vil. 10 82 68
 vil. 247 289
 * ——— Tirbung (Trim
 bak) vil. 323 433 vil.
 10 *See* Trimbak
 Násirpór L. 372
 Naurpór L. 216 217 220
 248 290, 299 371 372
 456 488
 Nauhár L. 443
 Namlund IV. 178
 Nauráhi, v. 604
 Nauras pór vil. 29
 Nauras-ikrá, vil. 363
 Nausári v. 197 830 vil.
 16
 Nauhahr } III. 622 IV
 Nauhahra, } 400 v. 200;
 vil. 213 368
 Nausitára, IV. 619
 Nau vuhár L. 193
 Nawáb-ganj vil. 40
 Nek Dibár vil. 61 82
 Negapataro vil. 359
 Nellore III. 32
 Nerbadla, L. 60 441 vil.
 79 561
 Nermada L. 441; vil. 463
 Nerona, L. 622
 Nija, L. 67
 Nijár L. 61
 Níkh, IV. 221 228 v.
 34
 ——— (R), II. 662 IV
 *35 vil. 212 213 vil.
 62
 Niláwar III. 32
 Nilawt, vil. 96
 Nílbiragh, vil. 76
 Nílgarb IV. 396
 Nílhán L. 160 442
 Nílkant vil. 79
 Nílma, L. 292 296, 442
 Nílmán L. 442
 Ními vil. 21
 Nímker, v. 296
 Ním kahár v. 296 vil.
 123
 Nímránd, vil. 68
 Nímroz, L. 64 407 468
 II. 284, 416; v. 169
 Nindóna II. 450 451; IV
 389 v. 103 114
 Nipál L. 67
 Niró L. 77
 Nirankot, L. 237
 Niróhi L. 296
 Nirón, L. 31 37 77 8
 121 136 167 163 369
 396; II. 1
 Nirankot, II. 1
 Nirúr L. 27 28
 Nisab, v. 650
 Niyás (R) III. 79
 Niyáwat, L. 67
 Niyól vil. 610
 Nizámabád, v. 307 vil.
 16
 Nizámpór vil. 37
 Nizám Sháhi Kokan vil.
 316
 Noulal vil. 19
 Nodha, L. 336
 Nodiyá, II. 300 308 214
 Nohár L. 148
 Nób o Datal IV. 37
 Nókán L. 14 117; II. 678
 Nóláhi, vil. 19
 Nór II. 464 465 466
 Nórland vil. 89
 Nór-garb vil. 85
 Nórghát vil. 296
 Nór and Kíráh, L. 47; II.
 Nórakíráh, } 466
 Núrpar L. 62 v. 162; vil.
 621 2-3, vil. 69
 Núraddna, IV. 619
 Nuzhatábád, vil. 48
 Nuzál, III. 364
 Nuzál-Sandal, L. 194
 Obolla, L. 14, 468
 Ohind, L. 46 v. 455
 Ojhar vil. 16
 Oká Mandal, L. 391
 Ontgir (*see* of Awant
 ghar)
 Oránj, II. 677
 Orissa, IV. 607 v. 299
 384 390 vil. 26 45, 71
 79 86, 88 vil. 129
 Oríto L. 468
 Othaniya, v. 439, 446
 Oudh, II. 354 III. 630
 v. 323
 Ozena, L. 366
 Pábal v. 476 vil. 266,
 271
 Pábiya, L. 138, 140 366
 Pádahar v. 38

- Padmán, iv 390
 Padmar, i 66
 Padmāvatī, iv 11
 — (R), vi 78
 Paelpúr, iv 309
 Pahal, iv 477
 Pahan (R), i 104
 Pahrí, vi 523, viii 217
 Pahlúdi, v 211
 Pahonj (R), ii 459
 Páin-vah, i 369
 Pakali, } iv 221, v 457,
 Pakhal, } 465, vi 306,
 Pakli, } 369, 370
 Pakka, vi 309
 Pákpát, viii 279
 Pák-pattan, iv. 398
 Pakrota, vi 523
 Pálam, v 74, 331, 407, 526
 Pálámún, vii 69
 Palhúr, iv. 244
 Páli, ii 229, iv 477, v 363
 Pálka, vii 57
 Palla, iii 495
 Palnád, viii 386-8
 Palnár, viii 385
 Palol, vi 296
 Palwal, v 319, viii 56
 Pámpúr, vi 304, 376
 Panáh-garhi, vii 461
 Panár (R), vi 75
 Panch-gánw, vii. 370
 Pandu-garh, vi 539
 Pandwa, iii 294, 298, iv 10, vi 226
 Pámpat, i 62, ii 347, iii 431, 496, iv 251, v 28, 64, 74, 355, vi 295, viii 80, 81, 82, 145, 401
 Panjáb, ii 411, 454, iii 36, v 237, vi 549, 555
 — (R), iii 476, 587
 Panjál (R), ii 456
 Panjkora, vi 313
 Panj-mábhíát, i 144, 436
 Panj-nad, i 48, 49
 Panj-pahrí, v 378
 Panjshur, ii 420, 561, v 228
 Panna, iv 454, v 89, 93, 94, 288 vi 30, 117
 Panpan (R), iv 508, 512
 See Punpun
 Pánwa, v 295
 Parám-gum, v 438
 Paránti, v 439
 Páras-garh, vii 370
 Pardabathra, i 507
 Parenda, vii 22, 56, 57, 263
 Pareotakál, v 94
 *Párgánw, vii 56
 Parhálah, iv 235-6, v 235
 Parián, v 228
 Paryárf, i 296
 Parkar, i 403
 Parlí, vii 367
 Parnála, vii 260, 278, 287, 338, 344, 346, 364, 369, 370
 Paro, vi 90
 Parpat (R), i 348
 Parsarúr, } ii 397, iv
 Parsrúr, } 240, viii 95, 115, 166
 Parsháwar, i 47, 63, ii 196, v 293
 Parshor, v 423, 424
 Partúr, vii 17
 Parwán, i 47, ii 399, 566, 571, v 146
 Paryán, iii 401
 Páryátra, i 398
 Pasha-afroz, ii 317
 Pashí, v 99
 Pasháwar, ii 397
 Pát, vi 309
 Pátali-putra, i 56
 Patalpúr, i 399
 Pátar, v 206
 Pathán, vi 128
 Patháunkot, vi 521
 Patharí, vi 99
 Páthri, vi 104, vii 12
 Pathwár, vi 309
 Patlad, v 405, 435
 Patna, iv 328, 347, 354, 462, 477, 512, v 372, 380, vi 39, 321, vii 130
 Patparganj, vii 46
 Patta, vi 30, 117
 Pattala, i 369, 399, 524
 Pattan, i 226, v 179, 268, 342, 351, 353, 405, 432, vi 16, 93, 94, 380
 Pattan Nahrwála, v 342
 PattanShaikhFaridShakr-ganj, v 561
 Pattanwál, v 363
 Pattháli, iii 105, 246, iv 37, 48, 50, 456, v 74, 87, 503
 Pavaní (R), i 50
 Payág, v 321-2, 420, 437, 512
 Pával, v 507
 *Páyin-ganga (*con of Bân-ganga*)
 Páyin-ghát, vii 16, 58
 — kota, iv 64
 Pegu, vi 549
 Perhí (R), i 50
 Peri Kehra, vi 225
 Pershaur, } ii 142, 236, v
 Pershor, } 424
 Pesháwar, ii 25, 142, 150, 236, 294, 408, 438, 447, iv 163, v 235, 448, 525, vi 567
 Peshták, i 238
 Phallur, vi 368
 Pham-dirang, vi 372
 Phangwarri, i 522
 Phaphú, viii 308
 Phaphund, v 96
 Phasis, i 516
 Philor, viii 107
 Phulbás, v 452
 Phúljarí, viii 391
 Phúpháman, viii 223
 Phútwar, vi 309
 Pilibhít, viii 182, 303, 312, 347
 Pind Dádan Khán, i 379, 380
 Pindí Bhattán, ii 440
 Pindus, i 379
 Pinjor, i 61, ii 363
 Pipali, vi 408
 Pipalnárf, vii 13
 Pipla, v 433
 Pirála, iv 235
 Pírár, i 309, 310
 Píroz-púr, iii 462, 507
 Pitti, i 509
 Plassy, viii 329, 426
 Pohn, iv 77
 Pokhar, viii 225
 Pondicherry, viii 391
 Pothuwár, vi 309
 Poya, v 99
 Prág, i 56
 Prayág, ii 462
 Pulák-Surlik, v 218
 Pulchirágh, vii 76
 Púna, v 369, vii 15, 256, 262, 269, 272, 373, viii 258, 286
 Púneh, vi 367
 Pun-garh, vii 370
 Punpun (R), v 379, vi 48, 205, 322 *Also Panpan*
 Púr, vii 189
 Puráb (R), i 365
 Púran (R), i 369, 403

- Purandhar vil. 272
 Purnāya, vil. 130, 14
 Purnādar l. 414
 Pūr-lakhirā, fr 11
 Purna, vil. 46
 Pūrna (R), vil. 12 495
 Purnāpur vil. 95 See
 Purnāpur
 Purnāpur il. 25
 Pūrta (R) vi. 97
 Pyāg fr 45 See Pyāg
- Rābārī il. 91 203
 Rābārī, fr 270 278
 Rab l. il. 670
 Rāchap, il. 291
 Rādhāpur v 445
 Raen, l. 391
 Rāhāb (R) l. 49 il. 60
 Rāhāb, l. 313 4
 46; il. 637 fr 4
 60 v 60
 Rāhān l. 73
 Rāhet (R) l. 49
 Rāhima, vil. 92
 Rāhūr vil. 93-9 311
 Rāhū, l. 13 6 361
 Rāhūl }
 Rāhūn l. 313
 Rāhūn lakkāh, vil. 353
 Rāhūl (R) l. 60
 Rāhūl l. 466
 Rāhū-madh l. 205
 Rāhūn l. 60 v 60 vil.
 416
 Rāhūl (R), fr 616
 Rāi bāgh, vil. 30 66
 Rāi Bercilly v 310
 Rāichor vil. 377
 Rāid (R) l. 22
 Rāigarh, vil. 288
 Rāil, l. 483
 Rāin (R) l. 318 362
 Rāipūr vil. 66
 Rākin fr 277 376 391
 302, 397, 417; v 441
 vi. 12, 30
 Rāi Sing fr 277
 Rāy, il. 677
 Rājā pur il. 423, 492
 Rājā grāha, v 397
 Rājāpur vil. 425
 Rājāpur, l. 68 69 65,
 395 il. 466;
 Rājāwārī, fr 496; v
 Rājārt, 463 vi. 376,
 Rājābandar, vil. 392 [436
 Rājāgarh, v 83 vil. 268
 2 l. 273 287 288, 337
 342 373, 376
- Rājāgiri, l. 62, 65
 Rājāwāh (R) il. 300
 Rājākot v 446
 Rājāmahāl v 397; vil. 300
 Rājāpipā, v 435
 Rājāpipāya vil. 433
 Rājāpur vil. 256
 Rājā Sambār vil. 189
 Rājā n. l. 325
 Rājāhang vil. 51 65
 Rājāhī (R) il. 95
 Rāmā l. 151 177
 Rāmābhārī, vil. 12
 Rām-darra, vil. 311 314
 Rām Dā v 462
 Rām Deb l. 339
 Rāmāpur l. 296
 Rāmāchar l. 66
 Rāmāngā (R) l. 40 il.
 463 vil. 118, 311
 Rāmāgarh vil. 123 176 663
 Rāmāghāt, vil. 306
 Rāmāgiri, vil. 318
 Rāmānā l. 70
 Rāmānjāwān, v 85
 Rāmāpur v 171 326 393
 vi. 46 vil. 183 303
 308 360 pass.
 Rāmāy l. 0
 Rāmāy vil. 313
 Rān, l. 267 v 440,
 Rān } 444, 446
 Rān il. 622 vi. 366
 Rānānand, l. 62
 Rāngāw v 69
 Rāngān fr 106
 Rānāpur l. 211
 Rānkā, vi. 316
 Rāntāmbhor } il. 219, 241
 Rānthambhor } 324 334
 349 358 370 380; il.
 74 171 174, 640, 649
 622 fr 281 398 416
 551 65 v 91 260
 3-5, 493 vi. 368
 Rānthor } fr 11 395
 Rānthār }
 Rāntpur fr 261
 Rāntwī, fr 422
 Rāpūr, fr 47 64 65 68
 456 v 74 79 81 88
 vil. 63
 Rānā, l. 14 29 34 81
 Rānān, l. 62
 Rāshid-garh, fr 494
 Rāshidkot, v 469
 Rāshāt, il. 234
 Rāshānā, l. 91
 Rāshānā l. 87
 Rāshā vil. 31
- Rātāmbh, v 376
 Rātānpūr vi 30; vil. 496
 Rātānā, l. 72
 Rāvi (R) l. 48, 112
 Rāwa (R), fr 620
 Rāwāl, il. 622, 623
 Rāwāl pāndi, l. 380 v
 450 vi. 309
 Rāwar l. 122 154 167
 170 173 189 469
 Re il. 137 141 151 491
 6, fr 186 vil. 32
 Registan l. 46,
 Rewān fr 478
 Rewār v 289
 Rewārī il. 610 v 211
 vil. 60
 Rikākesh, l. 62
 Rirādānda vil. 388
 Riwārī, il. 361
 Roh, fr 306, 303, 439;
 v 108 vi. 563
 Rohangarh, vil. 416
 Rohākhand v 498 vil.
 409
 Rohār, fr 308
 Rohār il. 352
 Rohān, fr 323, 367 363
 417 631 v 201 300;
 vi. 46 209 411 410
 655
 Rohās (new) fr 390 415
 489; v 114, 235, 237
 4-3 457 vi. 307
 Rola, vil. 63
 Rorī, l. 316 363 il. 441
 Roṣā, l. 178
 Roṣāk, v 232
 Royam, l. 176
 Rōdār Māl vil. 372
 Rudarpūr vil. 45
 Rōdbār l. 117 il. 416
 6 4
 Rōdpāl, v 162, 561
 Rūhmī, l. 6, 13, 361 See
 Rāhūn
 Rūhtak, fr 31 43
 Rūjhān, l. 138 387
 Rūkhay l. 23 il. 284 296
 413, 416 419 577
 Rūknābād, vil. 469
 Rōmānā, l. 14 8, 92
 Rōmānā, l. 62
 Rūnthār fr 478
 Rūpāh } l. 340 487
 Rūpāh }
 Rūpāl, v 162
 Rūpār } fr 65 248
 Rūpār }
 Rūp-bās, vi. 337

Rupnagar, viii. 52
 Rûr, i 363
 Ruras, i 52
 Rustam-nagar, viii 221
 Rûzbâr, i 117

Sabralgarh, vi 136
 Sâbarmatî (R), v 439
 Sâbdân, i 77
 Sâhit-kâsra, viii 147
 Sâbûrkân, ii 142, 578
 Sacotra, iv 96
 Sadar-â, i 68
 Saddhur, ii 534, 549
 Sadhaura, v 408
 Sadhîrûra, ii 125, 131
 Sâdik-garh, viii 370
 Sâdûsân, } i 14, 27, 31,
 Sadustân, } 37, 39, 388,
 401, ii 397, 555
 Sâfâhân, ii 316
 Sâfan, i 76
 Sagala, i 529
 Sagapa, i 398
 Sagar, viii 377
 Sâgara, i 398
 Sâh (R), vi 41
 Sâhamî-wâl, iv 76
 Sahaniya, i 394
 Sahasnâk, v 268
 Sahbân, i 14, 121
 Sahenda, viii 21
 Sâhet, ii 549
 Sahî, vi 368
 Sahypur, viii 107
 Sahina, i 58, 59, 394
 Sâhir Samma, i 339
 Sahlat, ii 305
 Sahli, ii 305
 Sahsarâm, iv 310, vi 46,
 118
 Sahsilang, iii 261
 Sahûr, ii 529, viii 525
 Sahwâl, iii 420, 487
 Sâi, i 273
 Saifrud, ii 281, 295
 Sailamân, ii 40, 455
 Sailân, ii 455
 Saimur, i 24, 27, 30, 33,
 34, 38, 39, 66, 77, 85,
 97, 402
 Sairasb, i 14
 Saividpur, v 375, 421
 Sâj, i 76
 Sâjî, i 16
 Sakâliba, i 45
 Sakânir (R), v 344, vi 37
 Sakar, i 521, viii 366
 Sâkara, i 398
 Sakarkalt, i 50

Sakartâl, viii 170, 242,
 213, 302, 303
 Sakâwand, ii 110, 172, 578
 Saket, v 319, vi 185 *See*
 Sakît
 Sakhar, i 210, 311
 Sakharalua, } viii 278,
 Sakkhkharalua, } 372
 Sakhet, iv 19
 Sakîna, iv 17
 Sakit, v 79, 87 *See*
 Saket
 Sakrâwâ, viii 160
 Sakrit, i 50
 *Sakrudih, iii 345
 Sakî (R), vi 78
 Sâkura, i 256, 396, 446
 Sakurad, i 52
 Sâkarpûr, iii 381
 Sâlaura, iii 300, 350, 354
 Sâlhar, vi 368
 *Sâllîr, viii 66
 Sâllîpur, iii 381
 Sâlmûbâd, vi 86
 Salim-garh, iv 498, viii
 85, viii 11
 Salimah (R), iv 11
 Salin-nawin, ii 358
 *Sâlîr, iii 256, viii 300,
 305, 307, 311, 312, 472
 Salmân, i 14
 Salmûr, ii 356, 376
 Salsâs, i 46
 Saluj, i 162, 387
 Sâmana, i 224, ii 216,
 376, 377, iii 36, 73,
 109, 111, 115, 191, 245,
 421, 431, 487, 527, iv
 37, vi 186
 Samand, i 28, 30, 83
 Sâmând, ii 239
 Samandûr, } i 30, 87, 90
 Samandûr, }
 Samandirân, i 86
 Samankân, iii 400
 Sâmûra, i 297, 298
 Sâmarâ, i 420, 489
 Samarkand, i 429, iii 400
 Sâmba, vi 126
 Sambal, } ii 349, iii 106,
 Sambhal, } iv 31, 41, 50,
 368, 384, 452, 463, v 87,
 315, 355, 505, vi 229,
 viii 182, 352
 Sâmbhar, } v 273, viii 44,
 Sâmbhar, } 56
 Sanibast, iii 477, 522
 Sâmîd, i 109
 Samkâda-dîp, i 70
 Sâmkura, i 501

Samma, i 138, 115
 Samma-nagar, i 402, 496
 Sammawati, i 487
 Sâmpgânw, viii 314
 Samugarh, viii 220, 397,
 136
 Samûi, } i 272, 273,
 Samûi-âbâd, } 339, 401,
 402, 496
 Samûiya, i 402
 Samundar, i 16
 ——— (R), ii 310
 Sâmutthalla, iv 29
 Samwâl, viii 92
 Samûm i 62, ii 353, 371,
 372, iii 36 *See*
 Sannâm
 Samarûz, i 117
 San-ehârik, viii 79
 Sandabat, iii 601
 Sandan, i 450
 Sandarûz (R), i 40, 380
 Sândî, viii 241
 Sandîla, iv 13, 29, 37
 Sandûr, i 77, 83, 93
 Sanfarân, ii 293
 Sang-i surâkh, } ii 291
 Sang-i surkh, }
 Sangada, i 430
 Sangameshwar, viii 338
 Sangania, i 430
 Sânganîr, v 356, 369,
 viii 44
 Sangamnîr, viii 10, 17, 52,
 54, 338
 Sangdâkî, iv 231, 238
 Sangrâm-nagar, viii 275
 Sangwân, ii 234
 Sânid, i 109
 Sanjad-darra, v 312
 Sanjar (R), viii 92
 Sanji, i 90
 Sankarân, ii 293, iv 208
 Sanknât, ii 308, 309
 Sankot Pindî, vi 561
 Sankra, iv 10
 Sânkra (R), i 294, 295, 297,
 372
 Sankrâk, ii 557
 Sankrân, iv 208
 Sankri-gali, iv 367
 Sankurân, ii 551
 Sann, i 251, v 464
 Sannâm, iii 109, 115, 245,
 iv 11, 205 *Also* Sanâm
 Sansani, viii 360
 Sansawân, v 496
 Sansî, viii 532
 Santâpûr, viii 425
 Santpûr, ii 355

- Bantôr il. 305 370
 Bantôr iv 19
 Bawalî garh vi. 81
 Bar (R) l. 5 8 5 7
 Bar, l. 77
 Barâdhân vil. 55
 Barâd Nudarpôr vil. 78
 ————— Barâd, vi. 313
 ————— Barâd, vi. 313
 ————— Barâd vi 10 157
 ————— Daulatâbâd, vi. 314
 ————— Lachkar v 86
 Barâd (R) l. 50
 Barâk l. 410; il. 207
 578 iv 197 vi. 561
 Barâk pâr vil. 167
 Barâd, iv 516 v 87
 Barâdib, il. 6 16 30 39
 Barâdip l. 60 80 92 il.
 710 475 iv 103
 Barâdipâr iv 261 277
 378 397 491 v 2 0
 2 1 vi. 43 vil. 140
 Barâth iv 41
 Barâd (R) il. 114 115
 Barâwar v 208
 Barâv il. 50
 Barâv v 198
 Barâd-wâr, il. 210 48
 iv 47
 Barâvâr il. 231
 Barâvâr. See Barâvâr
 Barâpâr vi. 106
 Barâd (R) l. 49 50 il.
 374 il. 114
 Barâdipâr l. 58
 Barâv v 431 445
 Barâkhs (Barâkhs) il. 120
 Barâkhs, iv 9
 Barâkhs il. 284
 Barâkhs il. 90
 Barâkhs, v 226
 Barâkhs v 311 315 447
 vi. 37
 Barâd (R) l. 526
 Barâkhs, il. 221 See
 Barâkhs
 Barâd l. 207 iv 190. See
 Barâd
 Barâd, il. 58 295 297
 375; il. 36, 225, 300
 353 427 402 iv 8 69
 106 vi. 25
 Barâd (R) l. 49 il. 295
 Barâd (R) l. 8 11; vi. 78, 544
 Barâd (R) l. 374 375 il.
 114 130 529; iv 283
 *Barâd, il. 459
 Barâd (Barâd) v 278
 Barâb l. 237
 Barâd l. 56; v 301, 303
 Barâd (R) v 307
 Barâd l. 393, 391;
 Barâd l. 41 5
 Barâd l. 318
 Barâd (R), vi. 53 vil. 48
 Barâd-ganw il. 230 13
 vi 45 vil. 31
 Barâd iv 10
 Barâd l. 48 iv
 Barâd l. 6 51 v 318
 Barâd l. 241
 Barâd (R) il. 35
 Barâd l. 533 530 519
 Barâd vil. 257 351, 351
 307 [See
 Barâd v 510 See
 Barâd l. 489
 Barâd iv 93
 Barâd l. 103
 Barâd, iv 106
 Barâd l. 68
 Barâd il. 31
 Barâd, l. 123
 Barâd, l. 150
 Barâd samra, l. 190
 Barâd, vi. 49
 Barâd, iv 231
 Barâd, l. 337
 Barâd, l. 386
 Barâd, vil. 21
 Barâd vil. 50
 Barâd Bata, vi. 95
 Barâd vil. 261
 Barâd l. 496
 Barâd vil. 393
 Barâd, iv 47
 Barâd vil. 23 vil. 383
 Barâd vil. 428
 Barâd l. 66
 Barâd, il. 450
 Barâd iv 2, 76
 *Barâd (Barâd F) iv
 378, 391, 395
 Barâbâr il. 121
 Barâbâr il. 542
 Barâbâr l. 142, 577
 Barâbâr l. 578; vil. 81
 Barâbâr, il. 90
 Barâbâr, vil. 419 423
 Barâbâr, vi. 377 vil. 488
 Barâbâr, il. 61
 Barâbâr, iv 29
 Barâbâr, iv 391 416
 Barâbâr, iv 50 309
 v 422, vi. 295, 387
 431 vil. 422 vil. 81
 304
 Barâbâr-Kanauj vil. 46
 Barâbâr vil. 303
 Barâbâr, v 180
 Barâbâr vil. 109
 Barâbâr, iv 407
 Barâbâr, vil. 147
 Barâbâr, vil. 80
 Barâbâr vil. 311
 Barâbâr l. 50 256 297
 Barâbâr, vil. 10
 82
 ————— Jahânpâr v 408
 vil. 311
 Barâbâr vi. 315
 Barâbâr, iv 49 514
 ————— Barâbâr iv 49
 Barâbâr il. 416 483
 Barâbâr, l. 321
 Barâbâr il. 411 il. 415
 vi. 299 346 412; vil.
 29 51 411 412
 Barâbâr (Shabar
 ghân) v 223
 Barâbâr vil. 11
 Barâbâr vil. 51 240
 Barâbâr v 535
 Barâbâr, l. 144 178
 Barâbâr vil. 8
 Barâbâr, vil. 526
 Barâbâr (R) v 226
 Barâbâr, l. 24 308
 Barâbâr, l. 199 iv 205
 Barâbâr, l. 306, 309 v 215
 Barâbâr (R) l. 47
 Barâbâr vil. 229 vil. 80
 Barâbâr iv 221
 Barâbâr l. 46 64 65
 Barâbâr, iv 47 2 5
 281 v 80 94
 ————— Barâbâr, vil. 47
 Barâbâr, il. 293
 Barâbâr vi. 567
 Barâbâr, l. 61
 Barâbâr, iv 308
 Barâbâr l. 56
 Barâbâr (R) l. 47
 Barâbâr l. 77, 8 79
 Barâbâr il. 47 459
 Barâbâr il. 444
 Barâbâr, l. 429
 Barâbâr, iv 370
 Barâbâr, v 325
 Barâbâr, iv 399 478
 494 v 304 319, 507
 508
 ————— vi. 56, 189
 Barâbâr (Shabar
 ghân) v 223
 Barâbâr vi. 56
 Barâbâr, iv 419
 Barâbâr, v 453 vi. 189

- Sher-mandal, iv 477
 Sherpúr, vi 77
 ——— Mfrāja, vi 77, 79
 Sher Súr, iv 419
 Shethpur, v 514
 Shukákul, viii 392
 Shukárpur, i 386, vii 343
 Shikk Sár, } iii 463,
 ——— Sársáwa, } 514
 Shír-gáh, iv 79
 Shkárdú, vii 62, 98
 Shokal, iii 401
 Sholapúr, vi 416, vii 31,
 54, 322
 Shor, i 207, iv 72, 76,
 v 469
 Shor-kot, v 469
 Shughnán, v 229
 Shujá'walpúr, iv 532
 Shukohábád, viii 53, 280
 Shukr Khán, iii 354
 Shukr-taláo, v 335
 Shustar, iv 517, 525
 Stálkot, ii 234, 294, iv
 240, v 206, vi 198,
 viii 95, 166
 Sibá, vi 382
 Sibán, iv 106
 Sibí, i 386
 Sibí (R), i 385, 386
 Sibuda, i 238
 Sihlún, iv 519
 Sihnind, iv 6, 11, 248,
 vii 414, 415, viii 169
 ——— See also Sirlind
 Sihtá, i 145, 191
 Sihun (Jaxartes), i 50
 ——— (Indus), i 138,
 158, 163, ii 27, 41, 249,
 iv 516
 Sihwán, i 247, 250, 260,
 271, 496 ii 397, v
 208, 156, 161, 463, vi
 222
 Siyistán, i 14, 33, 54, 92,
 117, 386 417, 450, 467,
 468 ii 413 414, 578
 Sikandra, viii 110, 272,
 321, 366 381
 Sikasar, vi 308
 Sinán, iv 106
 Sind Sagar Dofib, ii 441
 Sind, i 19, 20, 21, 24, 27,
 33, 37, 45, 52, 240, 256,
 292, ii 301, 302, 326,
 364, viii 65, 96
 Sind (Indus), i 50, 52, 64,
 ii 388, 558, iii 36, 476,
 522, 587, iv 4, viii
 92, 96
 Sind (R in Málwa), iii 79
 Sind Rud, i 30, 40, 380
 Sind Sagar, i 49, 167,
 397, v 423, 425
 Sinda, i 511
 Sindábúr, i 21, 68, 89
 Sindán, i 14, 15, 27, 30,
 34, 38, 39, 66, 77, 85,
 89, 129, 402, 450
 *Sindghar (Sindhher), viii
 11
 Sindjak, i 511
 Sindhu (R), i 50
 Sindí (R), ii 369
 Sindica, i 511
 Sindíchar, i 234
 Sindike, i 511
 Sindikus portus, i 511
 Sindimona, i 497
 Sindis, i 511
 Sindomana, i 496
 Sindonaha, i 497
 Sindos, i 511
 Sindraba, vii 21
 Singaldíp, i 66 vi 519
 Singurh, vii 272, 373
 ——— (R), viii 92
 Singárpúr, iv 481
 Sinhaladíp, i 66
 Síní, (R), i 152, 385
 Síní } (R), iii 88
 Síní }
 Sinatu a Sin, i 71
 Sinuole, v 311
 Siolk, viii 161
 Sipri, v 291
 Sir, i 175
 Sir (Jaxarte) i 60
 Sira (R), i 526
 Sirám, vii 316 318, 321
 Sirhan, vi 368
 Siripalla, i 356
 Sirján, i 418
 Sirkhatra (R), vi 225
 Sirmor, iv 8, 16, vi 185,
 225, viii 105
 Siro (R), i 526
 Sirohi, v 340, 341, 363,
 430, 440
 Sironj, v 330, vi 124,
 133, 155, vii 19, 371,
 viii 58, 59, 283
 Sirsáwa, i 61, ii 47, iv
 250 See Sarsáwa
 Sirsí, iv 531 See Sarsi
 Sirwár, iv 282
 Sirwu (R), iv 280
 Sísami, i 159, 160, 161,
 387, 397
 Sistán, i 386, 417, ii 131,
 175, 578, iii 64, iv
 166, vii 87
 Sít (R), i 50
 Sítu (R), i 50
 Sítápur, v 369
 Sítára, i 296
 Situnda, vii 25
 Sitúr, i 238
 Siu-ganw, vii 13, 499
 Sivápúr, vii 262, 272
 Siwálík, ii 279, 297, 325,
 352, 375, 380, iii 149,
 460, 513, iv 191, v
 108, 248, 267, 497, vi
 125, 198, 561
 Siwán See Sihwan
 Siwána, iii 78, 550 iv
 406, v 166, 382, 383
 vi 53
 Siwi, i 237, 306, 307, vi
 130, 568
 Siwi Supar, v 325
 Siwistán, i 138, 145, 160,
 224, 260, 310 317, 381,
 386, ii 216, 212, 59
 iii 165 iv 59, vi
 222, vii 236
 Siyah-ib (R), iv 256
 Siyahán v 205
 Siyahwán v 205
 Siyat i 52
 Siyan i 52

- Romnāt, i 42 61 63 66
 67 97; ii 19, 49
 403 iii. 4, 5 510
 iv 180 vi. 90
 Romānāth pīttan, L 355
 Ronhār v 83
 Rūpnat, jii 601 v 8,
 Rūpnat, j 31 303 viii.
 167
 Roobanrela (R) v 340
 Rorath, i 444
 Rūpnat, L viii. 6
 Rūpnat (Rūpnat) vi. 368
 Rūpnat (Rūpnat) iv
 494 v 100, 431 437
 — (Rūpnat) viii. 163
 106, 230
 — iv 27
 Rūpnat viii. 33
 Rūpnat viii. 419
 Rūpnat, i 1 7 39 7
 65 402
 Suchaksha (R) i 60
 Sūdan, L 44
 Sūdhara, vi. 200
 Sūfara, L 66
 Sūgām (R), vi. 96
 Sūhān (R) iv 31 23
 Sūhān, i
 Sūhān Sūpār v 104 3-5
 Sūhān, L 69
 Sūket, vi. 183
 Sulaimān mountain iii.
 300 480
 Sultān Kot, ii. 301 303
 Sultānpūr (in Baglāna) v
 2 6 406 431 viii. 61
 66 323 405
 — (Hundelkhand), iii.
 79
 — (near Dīpār) vi.
 28, 61
 — (near Dehli) iii.
 31 303
 — (in Panjāb) iv
 14 387 v 206 vi.
 240 263 270 297 367
 viii. 41,
 — (Warangal), iii. 233
 Sumārgān iii. 264
 Sumatra, viii. 389
 Sūmātra, L 0
 Sūnār-gānw } iii. 113 116
 Sūnār-gānw } 234 236
 243 303 iv 417 480
 vi. 45 3 76 106 109
 Sūndip, viii. 31
 Sūngar v 102 vi. 14
 Sūnja, i 72
 Sūnmān i. 623
 Sūpār viii. 36, 261
 Sūpār, v 220
 Sūpār, L 31
 Sūrabāya, L 30 402
 Sūra-jarh iv 309 v 331
 Sūra-jarh, ii 339 519
 Sūra-jarh, L 309 621
 Sūrat, L 309 v 19 331
 313, 314 300 601 vi.
 15 42 123 viii. 25
 216 238 37 viii. 202,
 390 390
 Sūrat, v 107 300 422,
 437 440 461 460
 Sūrat, L 31
 Sūratpūr v 296 301
 Sūratpūr v 423 vi. 316
 — (R) viii. 80
 Sūrat, v 5 7
 Sūrat, v 81
 Sūrat, iv 617
 Sūrat (R) L 49 ii. 62
 iii. 300
 Sūrat (Sūrat) v 450; vi.
 80 450
 Sūrat viii. 359
 Sūrat (R) iv 231
 Sūrat vi. 80. See Sūrat
 Sūrat (R) iii. 463 iv 509
 vi. 41
 Tāban L 76
 Tāban iii. 90
 Tāban d. 678
 Tāban, ii. 200 302
 302, 325 353 372 iii.
 36; iv 11 68, pass.
 v 266
 Tāban-tān L 487 ii. 2, 2
 Tāban, L 419 ii. 193
 vi. 665
 Tāban, v 219
 Tāban, L 13 21 25 76
 Tāban, 90, 360
 Tāban-tān L 272
 Tāban-tān ii. 277
 Tāban iii. 46
 Tāban, L 99 See Tāban
 Tāban L 39
 Tāban, iv 44 76 73
 Tāban vi. 71
 Tāban, L 276 iii. 64 iv
 160
 Tāban, iv 386 vi. 63,
 Tāban, 76
 Tāban, L 46
 Tāban-tān, ii. 274
 Tāban-tān, L 46
 Tāban-tān, L 303, 304
 Tāban-tān, vi. 141
 Tāban-tān ii. 281
 Tāban-tān, viii. 146
 Tāban-tān ii. 12, 71
 280 31 286 293 6 8
 iv 193
 Tāban-tān, vi. 63
 Tāban-tān L 46 601
 Tāban-tān, L 3
 Tāban-tān, vi. 19
 Tāban-tān i 410 ii. 141
 141 273 388 400 6, 8
 v 223, 227 228 229
 viii. 3
 Tāban-tān v 31
 Tāban-tān viii. 65 131
 Tāban-tān L 366 [138
 Tāban-tān, ii. 121 See Tāban-tān
 Tāban-tān, vi. 26
 Tāban-tān, vi. 148
 Tāban-tān iv 32, 40, 77
 v 603
 Tāban-tān, L 123, 366 iv
 70 v 6
 Tāban-tān vi. 303
 Tāban-tān iii. 623 vi. 366
 Tāban-tān, iv 391
 Tāban-tān, } vi. 303
 Tāban-tān, }
 Tāban-tān, L 369
 Tāban-tān, i 33
 Tāban-tān, L 24 60 61 66 6
 68, 80 116 416 iv 96
 Tāban-tān, iv 96
 Tāban-tān iv 310 307 v
 391 394, 416 vi. 46
 6 viii. 311
 Tāban-tān ii. 40
 Tāban-tān d. 391
 Tāban-tān, L 66
 Tāban-tān iii. 86
 Tāban-tān, ii. 333
 Tāban-tān, viii. 67
 Tāban-tān, L 89 See Tāban
 Tāban-tān, iv 76
 Tāban-tān. See Nuh o Batal
 Tāban-tān, ii. 2, 2
 Tāban-tān, vi. 567
 Tāban-tān (R) iii. 87 vi. 389
 viii. 406 495
 Tāban-tān, vi. 622 623
 viii. 69
 Tāban-tān, vi. 78
 Tāban-tān, L 293
 Tāban-tān iii. 636
 Tāban-tān, viii. 412
 Tāban-tān, iv 61
 Tāban-tān, L 87
 Tāban-tān, L 91 273 ii. 663;
 Tāban-tān, v 206 208 456,
 459 461. See Tāban-tān

- Tawádkar, vi 369
 Tawí (R), iii 87
 Taxila, i 46, 504
 Tekhar, } iv 56, 57, 67,
 Telhar, } 73, 74 *See*
 Tilhar
 Telingana, iii 49, 550,
 vi 104, 549, vii 25,
 58, 315
 Tenasserim, iv 96
 Teria-ghari, v 200
 Thálár, vii 362
 Thambor, vi 366
 Thánesar, i 54, 62, 520,
 ii 10, 295, 452, iv 174,
 176, 439, v 318, vi 536
 Thangur, } ii 226, 300,
 Thankar, } 304
 Tharr, i 403
 Tharrá, i 398, 446
 Tharri, } i 216, 218, 224,
 Tharri, } 344, 404, 486
 Tháti, i 310
 Thatha, } i 217, 273, 276,
 Thatta, } 374, 500, iii
 261, 263, 264, 319, vi
 523, vii 61 *Also*
 Tatta
 Thún, viii 360, 361
 Thurr, i 487
 Tritura, i 356
 Tibet, i 20, 33, 44, 45, 57,
 73, ii 309, vii 62, 73
 Tiháru, ii 310
 Tilák Ghumán, iii 401
 Tilang, iii 78, 231, 618,
 vi 549
 Tilangi, vii 16
 Tilhar, iv 415, viii 303
See Telhar
 Tiliagully, v 200
 Tiliampúra, viii 380
 Tilihat (Tilpat), ii 374
 Tilla, ii 450, vi 307
 Tilpat, } ii 374, iii 172,
 Til-pat, } 173, 203, 525,
 528
 Tilát, i 57
 Tímrán, ii 284
 Tír, i 29
 Tira, vi 106
 *Tirambak, vii 10
 Tirauri, ii 295
 *Tirbang, vi 333 *See*
 Trimbak
 Tir-girán, v 223
 Tirhárah, iv 29
 Tirhút, ii 375, iii 234,
 294, iv 29, v 96, 426,
 vi 551, viii 130
 Tíz, i 29, 30, 33, 34, 65,
 80, ii 568
 Tobra, iii 350, 351
 Todah, iv 49, v 362, 370
 Tohána, iii 428, 492
 Tolak, ii 296
 Tonak (Tonk), iv 49
 Tookaroi, v 386
 Tora, vii 502
 Torbela, v 561
 Torna, vii 376, 377
 Totak, vi 74
 *Trimbak, vii 10, 52, 59,
 60, 66
 Trimbáwatí, vi 353
 Tringalwári, vii 59, 60
 Tubarún, i 77, 81 *See*
 Turán
 Tughlikábád (Sind), i 313,
 351, 401
 — (Dehli), iii 234,
 235, 589, iv 257, viii
 11
 Tughlikpur, iii 354, 381,
 431, 452, 495, 508
 — i Kásna, iii 354
 — Mulák-i Kamút,
 iii 354
 Tubáí, viii 92
 Tukhárístán, i 44, 92, 419,
 443, 453, ii 125, 146,
 411, 578
 Tukhárístán, ii 32, 578
 Tulamba, } iii 413, 484,
 Tulambha, } iv 70, 73, 77,
 v 355, 359, 469, 508
 Túlíshar, i 65
 Tumbhadra (R), vii 377
 Támri, vii 538
 Táng, i 340
 Tungabhadra (R), vi 230
 Tánus (R), vi 394
 Túr, i 344, 403, 486
 Tárán, i 27, 29, 33, 34,
 38, 65, 77, 152, 382,
 385, 456
 — (Gulf), i 65, 378
 Turk, i 45
 Turkistán, i 46, 468, ii
 309, 353, iv 96
 Turmuz, i 49, iii 400,
 vii 79
 Tús, ii 136, 297, 491, 578,
 v 218, vii 87
 Typhaoma, i 514
 'Ubbád, ii 75
 Ubáro, i 523
 Ubáwar, i 231
 Ubrá (R), ii 41
 Uch, } i 67, 225, 229, 365,
 Uchl, } 406, ii 240, 241,
 259, 301, 302, 303, 325,
 344, 351, 554, 555, iii
 36, 480, 522, iv 32, v
 211
 Uch Multán, ii 241
 Udaipúr, i 210
 Udgír, vii 52, 55, 58
 Udháfar, i 208, 210
 Udhápúr, i 210
 Udípúr, v 171, 326, 402,
 vi 42, 59, 98, 110, 338,
 vii 299, viii 51
 Udyanapúr, i 47
 Ujah, vi 205
 Ujain, } i 59, 60, 126, 356,
 Ujjain, } 441, ii 328, iii
 543, iv 378, 385, 393,
 524, v 54, 291, 330,
 vi 15, 124, 134, 559,
 vii 19
 Ujaina, } vi 321, 411
 Ujjainiya, }
 'Úkba Ghuzak, ii 20
 Ulur, vi 305
 Umalná, i 66
 'Umán, vi 354
 'Umarkot, i 260, 263, 292,
 296, 297, 531, 532 *Also*
 Amarkot
 Umrí, i 93
 Unarpúr, i 251, v 463
 Undacha, } v 460, vi 58,
 Undcha, } vii 7, 48 *See*
 Urcha
 Undaran, i 87, 357
 Urásír, i 16
 Urcha, vi 58, 113, viii
 68 *See also* Undcha
 Urdabishak, i 55
 Ur-desa, i 16
 Urgand, iv 170
 Urihár, i 55
 Urtasir, i 16
 *Úsa, vii 52, 55, 58
 Ushkárá, i 64
 'Usmán Khátur, vi 368
 'Usmánpúr, v 430, 432
 Utarkol, vii 65
 Uzain (Ujjain), i 126
 Vandán, i 14 *Also*
 Wándán
 Vesákh, ii 549
 Vigo-gad, i 403, 522
 Vjeh Kot, i 403
 Vingar, i 522
 Viram-gám, v 440

- Tanjong *Perlah*, the Malay name of what we call Diamond Point, is a trace of the kingdom of Perlak or *Barlah* of the text, it is mentioned in the Malay annals and is Marco Polo's *Ferlec*—*Yule*
- Asahúhar, probably "Abúhar"
- Awantgar "The correct name is Ontgir"
- Bahra, }
 Bahrah, } properly "Bahíra"
 Bahíra, }
 Bhera, }
- Bahíkunda, a variant reading for "Nahr-kunda." See Journal Asiatic Society Bengal, 1873, p 223
- Báil, properly "Páil"
- Bakíálán, properly "Mákiálán" or "Mákiálá"
- Barmal Madrúf, ii 269
- Bátora "This is the same as 'Rola,' mentioned in vii 53 It is nineteen miles west of Chándor"
- Báwal (i 69) "For *Bdwal* read *Kdíl*, as in Binákati quoted in the editor's note *Káil* was a famous port in those days, to which Marco Polo devotes a chapter It stood a little south of Tuticorin, which may be considered its modern but far humbler representative"—*Yule*
- Bhábrewár, ii 468
- Byalár (i 72) "Bengal, of course, as the note shows"—*Yule*
- Bilwat is the same as "Milwat," or properly "Malot"
- Chaniot, generally pronounced "Chinot"
- Chhatramau, read "Chhabramau"
- Chhetra Perhaps intended for "Jhatra" in Sarkár Iríeh
- Dalmian (i 71) "This might prove to be the Dagroian of Marco Polo if we knew the proper reading"—*Yule*
- Darband Nias (i 71) "*Nias* is the name of a large island off the west coast of Sumatra, but it can hardly be referred to in the term *Darband Nias* or *Mands* The writer is noting points on the route to China Sumatra comes in beyond Lamuri, *Nias* does not fall into the route The term *Darband* perhaps points to the Straits of Singapore, and Singhapura was a Javanese colony"—*Yule*
- Dhárasiwán (vii 55) The exact name is Dhuasiwá
- Dín-Kasáí (v 385), properly "Rain-Kasáí," two *paraganas* in Orissa
- Dubláhan is "Dubaldhan," near Dehli
- Faj Hanísár, viii p xvii, Preface
- Faknár (i 68) "Probably the Maganúr of Abdurrazzak, well known in 16th and 17th centuries as *Baccanore*"—*Yule*
- Fatan (i 69) "The identification of Fatan and Mahifatan is a desideratum Fatan is mentioned by Ibn Batuta as a fine large city on the shore with an excellent harbour Either *Negapatam* or *Nagore* appears to answer best to these frail data As the names Nagore and Fatan alike signify "the city," perhaps it is to be identified with Nagore, which retained a large amount of foreign trade, especially with the Archipelago, fifty years ago, whatever may be its present state"—*Yule*
- Girnál, i 338
- Gondhána, read "Kandána"
- Gorakhpúr, in note 3, p 381, vol v, read "Karakhpur," south of Mungir
- Haitam (i 71) should probably be *Hainam*, and represent 'An-nam or Tonking—*Yule*
- Harís, in full, "Harischandargarh or Harichandargarh"
- Hilí (i 68) "The general position of this place is still marked by Monte Dely, a prominent landmark on the coast between Mangalore and Cannanore"—*Yule*
- Jampa (i 71) "The *Champa* and *Chamba* of medieval travellers, the *Sanf* of older Arab voyagers, and was then equivalent to Cochin China without Tonking"—*Yule*
- Janglí (i 68) "I doubt not it should be read *Chinkali* The name appears as Shinkala or Shinkali in Abulfeda Assemani tells us incidentally that Cranganore was also called *Scigla*, i.e. *Shigla* or *Shinkala* *Chinkali* is therefore *Cranganore*"—*Yule*
- Janíd This is probably "Jind"
- Jaráhí "The ghat of Jaráhí" is probably the pass behind Chandor, near which is the village of "Jarry," in the Survey Map
- Jhath, commonly "Chath"
- Jitúra, probably "Chittua," near Midnapur
- Júdí (i 70) "The application of the

- term *Jāh* to Adam's Peak is curious. Sir J. Tennent mentions that a Samaritan version of the Pentateuch, and an Arabic version of the same in the Bodleian Library both substitute Sardinia for Ararat in the narrative of the Deluge. As *Jāh* is the Ark Mountain of the Muhammadans it looks as if Rashidun did hold the same tradition. — *Jule*
- Jāh* r "Jhāl" — *Jule*
- Jāh*, in the Dakhin properly "Chā wād."
- Kāhal* (L. 7) "Again read *Kāh* which is the point of starting. — *Jule*
- Kāhāwāra*, or *Kā hāwāl* a large village on the plateau of Rorah or Khakhsāh.
- Kalida* correctly *Kāliyāl*.
- Kandihāt*, } i 415 n. 49 & 3. These
Kandihār } names all refer to the
Kandūn, } same place. Sir H. M.
 Elliot (L. 445) identified it with
Khandadār "on the north west angle"
 of *Kāthiwar*. But *Khandadār* is
 situated about eight miles N.E. of
 Goudal, almost in the centre of the
 peninsula 60 miles from the nearest
 coast, so that it does not answer to the
 accounts of the historians, or to the
 position assigned to it by Elliot. Mr
 Murray suggests *Kanthkot* or *Kanth-*
garh, in Kachh. It is a very strong
 place and was the fastness of the
 Chālukya kings in their days of ad-
 verty. The description given of the
 tide by Ibn Asir and the *Tārīkh* :
Asī evidently applies to the Ran and
 there can be little doubt of *Kanthkot*
 being the place. Mahmūd probably
 crossed near *Māla* where Nivāmu-d
 din Ahmad crossed in Akbar's reign,
 as described by himself in v 445
- Kanj* ferry read *Kicha*.
- Kanwāhin* read *Kāw wāhin*
- Karjāng* (L. 73) "The name applied
 by the Mongols to the great Province
 of Yunnan. The other name here
 applied to it, *Kendakār* is more
 obscure. — *Jule*.
- Kardārāy* (L. 72) Probably *Goderrey*
 in some form. — *Jule*.
- Karohā* (L. 68) Probably *Gheriah*
 in after-days the fortress of Angria." —
Jule
- Kayūla*, read "Kāyūla," in the Panjāb.
- Khāsar* viii. p. xvii, Preface.
- Khorand*, read *Ghor nād*.
- Kicha*, incorrectly *Kiehar*.
- Kidhār* read "Kidhar" in Dhā-walpūr
 District
- Kinkāta*, properly "Gangāt."
- K wāh* River properly *Godah* or
 "Gāh" i.e. the Gumti.
- Kāli* (or *Gāh*) The Gumti river
- Kālam*. The *Kā lam*, *Cal mām*
Calām, of many travellers from the
 ninth century downwards, surviving in
 decay as *Q lam*. — *Jule*
- Kant* viii. p. xix, Preface.
- Kārahār* probably "Gorakhār"
- Lākwarām* (L. 11) "This should no
 doubt be *Veludrum*, the *Neuerum*
 of Ptolemy's *India*. Their am-
 bergis and naked folk are standing
 topics down a long chain of travellers."
 — *Jule*
- Lāmārī* (p. 70) "The island of *Lā*
mārī certainly Sumatra, with especial
 reference to its north west extremity
 (not north-east, as in Sir H. Elliot's
 note) — *Jule*
- Mabāchin* (L. 71) "This is Canton.
 Olorne John Marignoli Warrāf Ibn
 Bistā, and Rashidun-din himself
 elsewhere give it the same name in
 the Persian form of *Chā-Kāla*." —
Jule
- Mālī Patan* (L. 60) *Mālisattan* is pre-
 sumably the *Manisattan* of Abulfeda
 mentioned by him as a city on the
 coast of Ma'bar. I find *Malipatan*
 marked in a map which accompanies a
 letter from Père Bouchet in the *Lettres*
Édifiantes. It there occupies a position
 on the shore of Palka Bay a little
 north of where our maps show *Dera-*
gar but perhaps identical therewith.
 This is very probably the medieval
Malisattan (*Lett. Édif.*, first ed. 1722,
 Rec. XV Lyons ed. 1819 vol. vii.)
 — *Jule*
- Mandal* and *Teri*, read "Mandal Pātri"
 in Jhālwar
- Mamūr* probably intended for "Man-
 dīor"
- Milwat*, properly *Malot*.
- Mūranjan*, now known as "Prabhal."
- Naghaz*, correctly *Naghar*
- Nāran-goo*, viii. p. xix, Preface.
- Nārkoṭi*, viii. p. xix, Preface.
- Nāh o Batal* (iv. 37) read "Noh and
 Tappal." See Elliot's Glossary vol. II.
 p. 87
- Nūrand*, read "Nira-nād."

Ojhar, "perhaps Wojhar on the Právará in Ahmadnagar 20 miles below Sangamnár"

Párgánw, probably "Parner" in Ahmadnagar, once a strong fort

Páyin-gangá. Kháfí Khán writes this "Bán-ganga," but "Páyin" is the right name

Ratbán and Arman (or Uman), i 72
"These I should guess to represent Arakan (*Rakan* or *Rakain*), and Burma under some form of Polo's name for it (*Mien* or *Amen*)"—*Yule*

Sadarsá (i 68) "This is perplexing as it stands, but the variation given in the note shows clearly what the name ought to be, viz Fandarainá, a port mentioned under that name both by Edrisi and Ibn Batuta as Bandirana. The place has long dropt out of our maps, but its position is fixed by Varthema, who says that opposite the port, three leagues from shore, was an uninhabited island. This must be the *Sacrifice Rock*, about thirty miles north of Calcut"—*Yule*

Sakrúdh is "Sakraudá" in Saháranpúr
"Salir and Máhir," "Salhír and Mulhír," properly "Salher and Mulher" "The hills on which these stand are over 4000 feet high"

Sang-i Surkh, viii p xvii, Preface

Sarandíp See Silán

Sarganj, } The correct name is "Sarkhej"

Sarkaj, } or "Sarkhech"

Sarút, read "Saror" in Sarkár Kanauj

Sewás, probably "Satwás"

Shadmábád properly "Shádiábád"

Silán and Sarandíp (i 70) "The passage about Lílán and Sarandíp is pro-

bably corrupt An article on Kazwini (Gildemeister, 203), as here, seems to distinguish between Silán and Sarandíp, putting the latter in the interior of the former"—*Yule*

Siláwar "For *Siláwar* read Niláwar, and then we get the northern limit of what was understood by Ma'bar"—*Yule*

Sindghar, properly "Sindkher" See Grant Duff, vol i. p 88

Sindabúr (i 67) "I believe it to have been identical with Goa"—*Yule*

Sindústán, viii p xvii, Preface

Sorath, iii 338 See Súrath

Súmútra "Mentioned with reference to Lamori in the same way as here by Friar Odoric The kingdom in question is the *Samudra* of the Malay annals, the *Samara* of Marco Polo (probably a clerical error for *Samatra*), and the *Sumuthra* of Ibn Batuta, who twice visited the court of its Muhammadan Sultan near the middle of the fourteenth century It lay along the north coast, west of Pasesi, and the capital probably stood near the head of the Bay of Pasesi."—*Yule*

Trimbak or Násik-Trimbak, also written "Trayambak" A hill fort and place of pilgrimage See vol vii p 10

Uśa, properly Ausá, and in the maps "Owsa" and "Owssa" It is about 15 miles W of the Manjirá river Ausá, Dhárúr and Parinda form a triangle in the map

Zaitún (i 71) *Chuncheu*, "probably in those days by far the greatest commercial port in the world Has often been written about"—*Yule*

GENERAL INDEX

Azru-d din Prince vii. 32^r 393, 434
 436 418 610
 Abba kha L. 443
 Abdal of Tibet vii. 6 6
 Abdu lla Khān v. 332, 354 393, 395
 396 408 409 413 416, 419 vii. 1
 receives title Firoz Jang 22
 Abdu lla Kutbu l Mulk vii. 286
 Abdu lla (Sayyid Kutbu l Mulk) sup-
 ports Farrukh Siyar vii. 435 42^r 661
 honours and promotion to *Shah* of *war*
 44 difficulties as minister 44 *pass*
 his diwan Natan Chand, 44 461
 4 9 480-7 601 606, 612, 619 671
 neglects his duties, 401 takes possession
 of the palace 476 seizes the royal
 property and ladies 481 differences
 with his brother 481-4 marches
 against Jai Singh 483 raises Mu-
 hammad Shāh : the throne 485
 opposition to, 501 ; struggles after
 Husain Ali's death, 507 puts Mu-
 hammad Ibrāhīm on the throne 509
 preparations for the struggle 510
 defeated 51 ; a prisoner 515 death,
 519 6 3 character 519
 Abdu-l Abbās as Naṭṭab Khālif i 442
 Abdu l Majid *See* Kasf Khān
 Abdu l Malik the Khān, i. 426
 Abdu-s Nābi, Shaikh, v. 570 631, 642
 Abdu-r Rahīm Khān Khānān, vi. 39
See Mirza Khān
 Abdu r Rashid Sultān, ii. 196, 267 274
 511 iv 202
 Abdu-r Razāk embassy to India, iv
 96 arrives at Hālikōt, 98 journey
 to Bijanagar 103 his reception, 112 ;
 return, 123
 Abdu r Razāk Khwāja, ii. 62 512
 Abdu r Razāk Lārī, vii. 327 331 to
 335, 351 360
 Abdu-s Samad Diler Jang vii. 455 491
 511
 Abdu-s Samad Khān, vii. 148, 169 267
 278, 279
 Abhang Khān, vi. 93, 99 100
 Abd Bakr Khālif i. 416

Abd Bakr made king iv 20 vi. 186 de-
 feats his rival iv 21 22, 23 vi. 186
 obliged to escape iv 4 death 23
 Abd l Bāsh, ii. 22 iv 169
 Abd Ja fur al Mansūr Khālif i. 444
 Abd l Abbās al Farāhī, ii. 486 488 ; iv 145
 Abd l Fair Fāzil. *See* Fāzil
 Abd l Fāzil, arrival at Court, v 511
 516, 522 his scepticism 6 1 629
 630, 643 memoir of vi. 1 services,
 90, 97 99 101 139, 141 142, 146, 164
 his murder 154 258, 442 vii. 6
 Abd l Hasan, Kutbu l Mulk of Hakkār
 Khād, vii. 257, 316 323
 Abd-l Hasan Khwāja, vi. 334 370
 382, 380 4 5 497 430 vii. 9 11
 Abd-l Khāim Sultān i. 297
 Abd-l Ma All, v. 60 61 65, 230 248
 63, 264 283, 286 286 *87
 Abd Nasr H. C., 106 190, 500
 Abd Sa id Mirza, i. 303
 Abd Sobal Zamani, ii. 61 89 509 612
 Abd 7 āhir Hasan Khwāja, ii. 612
 Abwābs introduced, vii. 238 243
 Adall (Mubāriz Khān) meaning of the
 name v 45, 490 pretensions to the
 throne, iv 496, 500, 501 ; murders
 Firoz Shāh, v 45, vi. 1 9 ; assumes
 the crown, v 48, vi. 180 his folly v
 46 contest with Andrām or Andardūn,
 46, 53 defeats Taj Khān, iv 506 vi.
 199 resumption of *adgira*, v 109 241,
 severity to his nobles, v 52 opposed
 by Ibrāhīm Khān v 52, vi. 109 de-
 feated and killed, iv 608, v 66 245,
 vi. 22
 Adam Khān Ghakkar iv 193, v 11, 14
 234 237 279 380
 Adam of Kashmir vi. 307
 Adham Khān opposes Bahram Khān, v
 261 sent to Hāthkānt, vi. 23 sent
 against Bāz Bahādūr v 270 ; keeps
 spoils, 271 vi. 24 returns, v 273
 murders Atka Khān, 277 vi. 26
 killed, v 277
 Adil Khān, of Bijāpūr vii. 23 *See*
 Bijāpūr

- 'Adil Khán, son of Sher Sháh, iv 478, 481
- 'Adil-Khánís, vi 95, 131, 344, 408, 411, 414, 416 *See* Bijápúr
- 'Adil Sháh, v 45 *See* 'Adali
- Adína Beg, viii 167, 169, 240, 265, 266, 267, 273, 278
- Afzal Khán of Bihár, vi 205, 321
- Afzal Bijápuri, murder of, vii 258
- Afrásiyáb Khán, viii 297
- Aghánís, iii 399, 480
- Agra, history of, iv 450, taken by Mahmúd, 522, the capital, 319, v 103, besieged by Sikandar Lodi, v 93, founded by Sikandar, 98, earthquake at, iv 465, building of the fort, v 296, explosion at, 491, siege of by the Saiyids, vii 483, temple at, viii 38
- Ahdád Afghán defeated, vi 343
- Ahmad Ayyáz, iii 254, 259, 264, Khwája-i Jahán, sets up a son of Muhammad Tughlik, 278, submits to Firoz, 285, death, 286
- Ahmad Chap, Malik, iii 139, 150, 156, blinded, 162
- Ahmad Hasan, Khwája bin Hasan Maimandí, ii 61, 487, 495, 496, 499, iv 150, 167, 196
- Ahmad Khán (Mansúr Khán), brother-in-law of 'Adali, rebels, v 54, defeats Ibráhím Sur, 56, assumes royal state as Sultán Sikandar, 56, defeated by Akbar, 58 *See* Sikandar Sultán
- Ahmad Khán Bangashí, viii 117, 118, 119, 121, 148, 279, 398, 407
- Ahmad Khán Bárhá, Saiyid, v 352, 353
- Ahmad Khan Bhatti, v 5
- Ahmad Khán Mewátti, v 74, 79, 85
- Ahmad Niáltigin, ii 58, 116, 122, 129, 131, 250
- Ahmad Sháh Abdálí, first invasion, viii 106, burns Sirhind, 107, battle with at Sirhind, *ib*, offers to treat, 108, 109, defeated, 109, retreats, 110
- Second invasion, 114, obtains cession of Láhore, etc, 115, returns, *ib*
- Third invasion, 121, gains a victory and retires, 122, 166
- Fourth invasion, 145, defeats Mahrattas on the Indus, 146, 272, 274, enters Delhi, 146, 241, 264, reviews his army, its numbers, 398, plunders Mathurá, 147, 168, defeats Mahrattas at Pánipat, 150, 170, 279, attacks Suraj Mal Jat, 265, destroys Mathurá, 265-272, 276, entrenches his camp, 401
- Ahmad Sháh Bághmaní, vi 232
- Ahmad Sháh (Emperor), viii 81, his father's jealousy, 105, sent against Ahmad Abdálí, 106, fights him, 107, becomes king, 112, 174, character, 112, a mere cipher, 113-116, poverty, 115, 174, deposed, 140-1, 323, blinded, 143, 323, attacked by Mahrattas, 322, 384
- Ahmad Sultán of Gujarát, iv 49, 85
- Ahmadábád, described, vi 358, taken by Humáyún, v 193, delivered over to Akbar, 343, struggles for, 360, besieged by Muzaffar Husain Mirza, 405, seized by Muzaffar, 431
- Ahmadnagar, Akbar's embassy to, v 460, obtained by Burhán-u-l Mulk, vi 87, at war with Bijápúr, 91, peace with, *ib* 94, operations against, 93, 95, 99, taken by Akbar, 100, 144, 241, 247, struggles for possession of, 241, 324, 380, 416, 434, 437
- Aholas, viii 258
- Aibak, ii 299
- Amáks, vi 267, 273, viii 146
- Am-i Jahángiri, vi 326
- 'Ainu-l Mulk, iii 246, 247, 248, 369, 619
- Átamúr, iii 133, 134
- Ajpal (Jaipál), ii 518, 533
- Ajit Singh, Rája, daughter married to Farrukh Siyar, vii 470-3, 483, submits and pays allegiance, 404, 420, account of, 446, made a *Maharaja*, 469, joins Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, 470, 473, 476, 485, 517, rebels, viii 44, killed, *ib*
- Ajmir, conquered by Muhammad Ghorí, ii 214, 225
- Akat Khán, attempts life of 'Aláu-d dín, iii 172
- Akbar, birth of, i 318, v 214, restored to his father, 222, retaken by Kámran, 224, exposed on walls of Kábul, 226, again restored, 227, defeats Sikandar at Suhind, 58, 238, succeeds to the throne, 241, 247, vi 180, marches against Himú, v 62, defeat and death of Himú, 65, 66, 253, accident with an elephant, 257, takes government into his own hands, 264, forgives Bairám Khán, 268, and takes charge of his son, 269, kills a tiger, 272, punishment of Adham Khán, 277, vi 26, conspiracy against, v 284, shot at, 285, restores Muhammad Hakim at Kábul, 294, marches against Khán-zámán, 297, leads his army against Muhammad Hakim, 313, campaign against Khán-zámán, 319, besieges and takes Chitor, 169, 324, goes on foot to Ajmir, 328, 334, 335, obtains Rantambhor, 175, 330, 332, obtains Káhnjar, 333, hunts wild

- a 336 campaign in Gujrat, 239
 victory at Surât 313, vi. 3; siege
 and conquest of Surât v 316 another
 campaign in Gujrat 361; his rapid
 rise 36; victory 366 provision
 against damage in his marches 371;
 siege and conquest of Patna, iv 319
 v 374 pursues Dâd, iv 312 conquest
 of Benârl, v 341 414 429 revenue
 arrangement 383, 613 vi. 61 hi
Adl-i-Adl v 320 409 61 & 8
 vi 69 provision for the pilgrimage
 v 396 at Udipûr 102 preaches as
 Khalif, 41 send envoys to Mâ
 warâ n n hr 413; abol. hostile and
 customs 413 assumes government of
 Kâbil, 419 attempts conquest of
 his hmr 459 journey to his hmr and
 Kâbil, 46 462, 464 conquest of Sind,
 i. 10 99 v 459 461 inspects fort of
 Surât 601 his use of *Shikâh Alâ*
 & 3 heretical associates, 341 religious
 difficulties 626 vi. 189 Christian
 missionaries v & 9 worship of the
 sun, 879 fire worship, 630 adopts
 some Hindû customs 631; his infir-
 mity 631 experimental exclusion of
 infidels 633 innovations 631 his
 "Divine Faith," 634 vi. 163; bores
 of charity v 634, vi. 111 illness v. 641
 coinage 611 vi. 63 his mints, 67
 encouragement of learning v 670
 his translations from Sanskrit, 60
 prisoners of war not slaves, vi. 23
 remits *jizya* and pilgrim tax 29
 receives Christians at Surât, 40 takes a
 census, 61, restrictions on widow burn-
 ing 68 defeated in Swât, v 460 vi.
 80 rebellion in Bengal, 78 79 106;
 Europeans at his court 85 conquest
 of Orissa, 85 88 dealings with Ibrâ-
 hîmî Mulk 70 87 conquest of
 Bihar 84 war in the Dakhn, 91 92
 95 106 111 112 132 taking of
 Ahmadnagar 90 grief for Abû-d
 Faal, 166 wounded, 193 203 throws
 a servant from a tower, 164 death,
 115, 168, 213 i. reign, 142; ex-
 tent of his dominions, 242 his
 character 180 242, 248, 290 tomb,
 110; portrait, 290
 Akbar Prince son of Aurangzeb, vii.
 196 sent against the Râsh, 299
 deserts 301; abandoned, 304; flight,
 308 with Sambhajî 309 312 goes
 to Persia, 312 361 dies in Garmsir
 313, 364
 Akbarshâhi rupees, v 370
 Akham Lohâna of Brahmanâbâd, i. 145
 146, 147
 Akibat Mahmûd Khan vii 141, 142
 300 31
 Ak Kufâ, iv 209; vi. 196
 Alam vii 488, 490 493 497
 Alam Khân son of Shahîr Lodî, v
 27 100
 Alamgir See Aurangzeb
 Alamgir II raised to the throne vii.
 140, 141 142 desires to take Oha-
 ri and din prisoner 139; incidents of
 his reign, 168 170 interview with
 Abûd Abdâlî 61 705 murder of
 147 170 211 268
 Alâddaula iv 300
 Alâ-d din Ghori ii. 259 256; attacks
 and burns Ghazni, 280 iii. 26 iv 208
 Alâ-d din Khiljî recedes government
 of Kara iii. 140; of Omdh, 148 his
 schemes, 140 149 170; murders
 Sultan Jalâl Firor 163; march to
 Delhi 168 scatters gold, 168
 shoots gold into Delhi, 41; ascends
 the throne 41 69 185 167 160 his
 conquests in Sind, i. 226 conquests
 Bengal vi. 40 7 Kamby and
 Fomâit, 42, 649 651; Chitor 189
 619 Gujarat, 163, 648 Telhâna
 and Dar Samundar 49 78 650 im-
 prison: Marghal ambassadors, 61, his
 buildings, 60 "the second Alexander"
 169 his vast projects, 163 attempt
 to kill, 172, 600 revenue arrange-
 ments, 179 182 severe government,
 187 his ignorance, 183 consults a
 lawyer on government, 184 hard-
 pressed by Mughals, 166, 180 army
 arrangements, 101 his "Regula-
 tions, 192, 598; battles with Mu-
 ghals, 42, 47 19-200 his sons, 204
 308 209 217 600, 801 slaughters
 "New Muslims," 205 his decline
 207; passion for Malik Kafûr 97
 655; death, 208, 65
 Alâ-d din Mûsâ Ad, Sultan, ii. 342, 365
 Alâ-d din Shâh Bâhmanî, vi. 233
 Alâ-d din Sikandar Sultan, iv 28
 Alâ-d din, Sultan, son of Muhammad,
 iv 86 v 4 76, vacates the throne iv
 88 v 8 death iv 88 v 68
 Alâ-d din Sultan, rival of Ibrâhîm, v
 25, 27
 Alâ-d din Sultan of Bengal, iv 260
 281 462
 Albarî, i. 320 360
 Ali the Khalif, i. 115, 431
 Ali Arghân, Sultan, i. 308
 Ali Beg Gurgân invades India iii.
 47 72, 198, 648 taken into service, 48
 Ali Gauhar See Shâh Alam

- Alí Jáh, vii 566
 Alí Khán Rája of Khandes, v 403, 406, 408, 411, 441, 449, 460, vi 84, 87, 89, 92, 131, 134, 136, 148, 241, death, 95
 'Alí Khesháwand, ii 486, 508, iv 193, 198
 'Alí Mardán Khán surrenders Kandahár, vii 64, reception by Sháh Jahán, 66, governor of Kashmír, 67, governor of Panjáb, 67, his canal, 67, in Balkh, 69, 70, 71, 81, death, 124
 'Alí Mardán Khiljí, ii 314, 315
 'Alí bin Mas'úd, ii 257, 274, iv 202
 'Alí Sher (Jám), i 228
 'Alí (Sultán), ii 257, 274
 'Alí Tabár, vii 567
 'Alim Khán, Bábar's general, iv 241, *pass*
 'Aliwardí Khán, viii 128, death, 210, 324
 'Allafis, or 'Allánis, i 156, 427, 428
 Alláhábád, building of, v 512, surrenders to Aurangzeb, vii 237, siege of, 486
 Almáns (predatory bands), vii 77, 78
 Almás Beg, brother of 'Aláu-d dín, iii 152, *et seq*, made "Ulúgh Khán," 157, subdues Multán, 161, Guzerat, 163, causes mutiny, 164, death, 179
 Almshouses, v 538, vi 111
 Alor, Muhammad Kásim at, i 192, destruction of, 256
 Alp Arslán, ii 274, 277
 Alp Ghazí, iii 539
 Alp Khán, iii 169, 208, 553, 554, iv 41, 60, 79
 Alptigin, ii 179, 267, 479, iii 23, iv 159, vi 569
 Altámsh (advanced guard), v 387
 Altúniya Malík, ii 335, 337
 Altuntúsh, ii 495, 497, 498, iv 171, 175, 178, 195, 196
 Amar Singh, Ráná, vi 335, submits, 339, sends son to court, 341, death, 367
 Amína Begam, viii 428-9
 Amír Anuk, ii 181, 267
 Amír Jadida, iii 252, viii 16
 Amír Khán, Nawáb viii 131
 Amír Khán, viii 352, 439
 Amír-i Sádah, iii 272, viii 16
 Amír Zú-n Nun, i 303
 'Amrán, i 450
 Amrán, i 258
 Amru bin Jamal i 444
 Amrú Laus, ii 172, 425
 Anand Pál, ii 12, 27, 31, 249, 403, 426, 446, 450, 452, iv 173, vi 218
 Anangpál, iii 565
 Ancient History, Firsihta's summary, vi 533
 Ancient Persian Kings of India, vi 548
 Anrán tribe, i 296
 Anwar Khán, vii 466
 Anwáru-d dín Khán, viii 391
 Appáji Garkawár, viii 400
 Appáji Mahratta, killed, viii 208
 'Arábas, iv 251, 255, 268
 Arab Bahádur, v 415, 418, 453, vi 47, 50
 'Arabí Káhi, i 319, 320
 Arabs in Sind, i 414, 434, trade with India, 468, fall of their power, 479, conquests, vi 564
 Arám Sháh, Sultán, ii 301
 Arangal, taken in 233, 558, lost, 245
 Arghúns, i 303, 497
 Ariyaruk (Hájib), ii 61, 100
 Arkalı Khán, defeats Malík Chhajú, iii 138, 538, at Multán, 156, 159, blinded, 41, 162
 Arml, king of Sind, i 223
 Armies, iii 50, 115, 191, 197, 241, 289, 305, 321, 327, 329, 342, 346, 347, 349, 439, 498, 576, iv 207, 248, 252, 415, 457, 459, 551, v 28, 86, 205, 515, vi 99, viii 50, 51, 53, 60, 147, 148, 170, 398, 400
 Arslán Jázib, iv 171, 172
 Arslán, Sultan, ii 199, 257, 483, iv 207
 Art, curious work of, vi 192
 Asad Beg, vi 150, 155, 161-2, mission to the Dakhín, 167
 Asad Khan (Jamdatu-l Mulk, Nizámu-l Mulk, Asafu-d daula), vii 363, at siege of Jinjí, 348, supports Prince A'zam, 384-7, 391, 396, 401, joins Bahádur Sháh, his titles, 401, arrests Jahándár Sháh, 440, interview with Farrukh Siyar, 444, arrested, 445, death, 460
 Asafu-d daula succeeds Shujá'u-d daula, viii 183, 369, plots against, 423, meets Warren Hastings, 230, and the Rohillas, 350
 Asaf Jáh *See* Nizámu-l Mulk
 Asaf Khán, 'Abdu-l Majid, raised to the dignity by Akbar, v 266, at Chunar, v 287, conquers Garha Katanká, 169, 288, vi 30, 117, government of Garha, v 297, visits Akbar, 297, 298, flight to Garha, 299, force sent against him, 309, flight and capture, 310, pardoned, 310, 317, 321, governor of Chitor, 328, last mention of, 363, 365
 Asaf Khán, Ghivásu-d dín receives the title v 369, services 397, 402, 404, vi 57 (died in 989 A H)
 Asaf Khán, Jafar Beg, v 467, vi 97, 130, 143, 144

Kasf Khān Yaminu-d dāra, brother of Nūr Jahān services vi. 318, 321 381 396 causes rebellion of Mahabat Khān, 470; attempts to recover Jahāngir 481, takes refuge in Atak 479 taken by Mahabat Khān, 479 released, 431; his measures on death of Jahāngir 433, vii 8 campaign against Bijāpūr 42-31 becomes Khān Khānān, 46 death 68 wealth, 69

As an account of vii. 761 war against, 141 63 67

Aḥmad dīn Mawlānā, i. 235

Alī Masūm, & Masūm Kābuli

Alī's siege of, vi. 133 description, 135

Aḥmads, the i. 63

Aḥmad Mirza, v. 33 141 182 190, 197

703 706, 216 707 711 712 713 714 715 716 death, v. 34

A phallum, vi. 466

Asa dīn Asaf i. vi. 485 67-, 673

Atā Khān, i. 201

Atā Khān, vii. 140

Atā Khān (Shamsu-d dīn Muhammad) accompanies Humāyūn in his flight, v. 211 31 35 766 mad Khān; a rum, 773 high in office 73 murdered, 77

Atir of roses invention of vi. 335

Adām Khān, i. 403

Aurangzeb birth, vi. 213 governor of the Deccan, 63 60 proposes to withdraw from the work, 60 governor of Gujarat, 60 sent against Bulkh, i. 72 76; dies there on return, 96; sent to Kandahār 68 99 fails 100 campaign against Golkonda, 109 receives Mir Jumla, 117 sent against Bijāpūr 119 121 takes Bijāpūr 121 takes Kalyāni, 127; Darā Shukoh intrigues against him 129 deserted by nobles, 130 makes peace with Bijāpūr 130, 215 his charity 166 character and habits, 166; illness, 180 266 prohibits Hindū teaching and worship 183 destroys Hindū temples, 181 183 visits Uḍipūr and Chitor 183 imprisons his eldest son, 180, releases his eldest son, 190 conduct during his father's illness, 17 treatment of Mir Jumla 217, 232 defeats Rājā Jaswant, 219 defeats Darā Shukoh 220 arrives at Agra, 226 confines his father 226 pursues Darā Shukoh, 228 imprisons Murād Baksh 228 ascends the throne 229; defeats Shujā 232 proclaimed Emperor 241 alters the calendar 241 remission of

taxes, 240, 243 abolishes pilgrim tax viii. 35; his correspondence with Shāh Jahān, vii. 31; has Murād Baksh killed, 266 war with Aurangzeb, 265 267 reception of Siraj, 6 forbids writing of history 282; his habits and manners, 83 renews the jizya 206, viii. 38; deserted by his son Akbar vii. 301 proceeds to the Deccan, 309 makes war upon Kutub i. Malik, 316 318; goes to siege of Bijāpūr 372 takes Golkonda, 374; tortures and kills Sambhaji, 311 grants privileges to English vii. 360 seizes English women and orders war vii. 350 army destroyed by Marhattas, 355; makes war on Marhattas, 363 besieges and takes Sittara, 365 obtains fortresses by bribery 372; fails to conquer Marhattas 374 overtures of peace with Marhattas 376 refuses to concede the *Asaf* viii. 463; his siege of Walsukera vii. 377 illness 381 dismisses his sons, 385 death and burial, 192 384 530 605 his family 105 character 385 post mortem title 407; some letters of, 562

Asaf Khān, i. See Shamsu-d dīn

Ayand, king i. 109

Aḥmad Humāyūn, a title v. 8

Aḥmad Humāyūn, Ahmad Khān iv. 46

Aḥmad Humāyūn, Lodi, iv. 415, 460 v.

8, 10 20 90 92 105 murdered, 21

Aḥmad Humāyūn Nāzi (Hafiz Khān,

iv. 441) iv. 428, 431 485 486 493

496 v. 488 killed, iv. 49,

Aḥmad Humāyūn Sarwāni (Hafiz Khān)

iv. 45 371 316 352, 369 377 398

397 399 51 Khān i. azam 416

v. 405

Aḥmad Khān (Mirza Asif Muhammad

Khan, Khān i. azam) v. 35-, 353 360,

361 365 in disgrace, 393 restored

to favour 419; in command in Bengal,

419 476-8 vi. 66 68 campaign in

Bihar v. 441 442 in Gujarat 447

458 459 vi. 87, 89 206 at Asir

97 143 recalled, v. 406 goes to

Mecca, 466 returns, vi. 120 patronizes

father of Abū-l Faiz, v. 517

conduct at Akbar's death, vi. 169 171

sent against the Rānā by Jahāngir

337 imprisoned, 338

Aḥmad Khān (Iradat Khān) campaign

against Nurām Shāh, vii. 11 pursues

Khān Jahān Lodi, 12; takes Dhārūr

20 attacks Parendā, 32 in campaign

against Bijāpūr 28

Aḥmad Shāh Prince Muhammad, makes

peace with Rānā, vii. 189 parentage

- and character, 195, sent against the Ráná, 299, campaign in Dakhín, 311, sent against Bijápúr, 321, at siege of Golkonda, 326, 328, 332, sent against Mahrattas, 337, illness, 358, jealous of his elder brother, 358, at siege of Sattára, 365, offends his father, 369, visits his dying father, 383, his pretensions, 384, dismissed by his father, 386, performs obsequies of his father, 194, claims the throne, 387, 537, jealous of his son Bedár Bakht, 389, announces his accession, 391, 537, marches against Prince Muazzam, 391-4, 538, defeat and death, 396, 545, character, 537
- 'Azímu-sh Shán, Prince, vii 384, 392, 393, 426, 428, 429, 438, 539, 541, 545 546, 550, defeat and death, 430, 439, his sons, 567
- 'Azdu-d daula, v 441, 443, 469, 540
- 'Azíz Muhammad Koka *See* A'zam Khán
- Bábá Khán Kákhshál, v 320, 345, 414, 416, death, 418, vi 38, 66
- Bábar, Bádsháh, at Kabul, i 306, attacks Kandahár, 307, his memoirs, iv 218, character, 219, 226, convivial habits, 225, invited to India, 324, v 23, 106, first invasion of India, iv 230, last invasion, i 312, iv 239, his advance force defeated, 241, defeats Ibráhím, 254, 290, v 26, at Dehlí, iv 256, resistance to, 263, army desires to return, 264, obtains Gwáhor, 266, forswears wine, 269, 226, cheers his men, 269, defeats Ráná Sanka, 268, takes Chanderi, 274, fights with Bengál, 283, v 34, destroys the Mundáhrs, 41, his last injunctions to Humáyun, 42, death, 43
- Bábirya, Jám of Sindh, i 226, attacked and defeated by Fíroz Sháh, 227, iii 322, iv 12, submits, iii 334, taken to Dehlí, 336, 338
- Bachgotí Ráputts, iv 457, v 93
- Badakshán, v 227, 249, vii 70, 71, 77
- Bádan Singh Ját vii 360-1
- Bádru-z Zamán, Mirza, i 305
- Baghrá Khán *See* Bughra Khán
- Baglár, conquest of, vii 65
- Bahadur Gauriya, v 429
- Bahádur Khán, minister of Akbar, v 260, 263, 273, rebels, 297, 301-5, 307 309, 318, 319, vi 24, taken and killed, v 321
- Bahádur Khán, officer of Aurangzeb, vii 245
- Bahádur Khan of Khándesh, vi 133-146
- Bahádnr Náhir, iii 449, 505, iv 25, 27, 31, 33
- Bahádur Nízámu-l Mulk, vi 94, 100
- Bahádur Sháh (Sháh Alam), accession, vii 387, march to Láhore and Dehlí, 393, 547, defeats his brother A'zam Sháh, 396, 537, rewards his supporters, 401, his coins, 404, receives submission of Jodhpúr and Udípur, 404, proposals to Kám Bakhsh, 405, defeats Kám Bakhsh, 407, character, 410, 550, his innovation in the *Khutba*, disturbances, 420, 427, war against the Sikhs, 423, 456, 555, death, 428, 556, vii 19, intrigues and quarrels among his sons, vii 429, 554, proposed division of the Empire, 429
- Bahádur, Sultán of Guzerat, takes Mándú, iv 351, threatens Dehlí, 351, shelters Mirza Muhammad Zamán, 351, v 191, takes Chitor, 189, vi 11, 13, defeated and pursued by Humáyun, iv 352, v 191, vi 13, recovers Champánir and Guzerat, v 197, vi 15, death, 18
- Báhar Deo, ii 367, 370
- Baháu-d danla, iv 202
- Baháu-d din, his revolt, iii 614
- Bahán-d din Tughrl *See* Tughrl
- Bahlol Lodí, Sultán, his extraction, v 71, rise, 71, defeats King of Málwá, iv 85, aspires to the throne, 86, becomes king, 88, 335, v 77, campaign against the Ráná, 4, fails to take Dehlí, 74, obtains Dehlí, 75, 77, attacked by Jaunpur, iv 306, v 2, makes peace with Jaunpur, 80, defeats Husain of Jaunpur, 86, 87, 88, takes Jaunpur, 89, makes his son Barbak king of Jaunpur, 90, divides his dominions, 90, death, iv 444, character, 436
- Bahlolis (coins), v 115
- Bahmani kings iv 259, vii 336, viii 15, recommended to Fíroz by Egyptian Khalif, vi 226, succession of, 229, their wars and slaughter of infidels, 230, 232 *See* Hasan Gánga
- Bahrám Gur, ii 159, 161, 184, vi 560
- Bahrám Khán of Kashmír, vi 307
- Bahram Mirza of Persia, v 218
- Bahram Sháh Sultán, ii 258, 279, 291, iii 36, iv 207, 208
- Bai, sister of Dáhir, i 154, 172
- Barám Khán, Khán-akháná, memoir of, v 215, services to Humáyun, i 319, iv 384, 385, v 218 219 233, 236, 237, at siege of Chámpánir, 194 at battle of Sirhind, iv 62 v 238, sent against Sikandar, 209, de-

- f the Sikandar 218 kills Tardi Beg
 Khān 61 231; defeats Hmd 65
 734 kills him 233 suspicion of
 Akbar 2 6; conspires, vi 3; marriage
 to a relative of the Emperor 246; is
 trigged again t him, 261 fall, vi. 23
 loves the Emperor v 63 and re-
 signs, 64 pursued, 65, defeated,
 66 submits, 67; forgiven 264
 departs for Mecca, 65 murdered,
 763 character vi. 1
 Rai saghar Prince vi 430
 Rai saghar a. 15
 Rai saghar iv 160
 Rajpur Akbar's attack on v 150 vi 80
 Rajra, son of Chandar i 133, 160
 Raji Rā besieges Jitgarh, viii 44 his
 forced into Hindustān 63, 64 re-
 treat from Delhi, 65 made give room
 of Mālwa, 67 62 defeated, 66, 6
 death 66 763
 Raji Rāo, son of Raghunāth, succeeds as
 Peshwa viii 363
 Raka i title of viii 187
 Rājghāt sold by Khān Jān Lodi vi
 Rājji Rāghu nāth, vi 466, 468, 47
 vi 60
 Rājji Rāo succeeds Rājji Rāo viii 263
 send Rājji Hindustān 273 death
 of, 243
 Raj rāh, ii. 534 513
 Rajban &c Ghuzn-d din
 Rajbark, the i 3 13, i 22 i 70 65
 67 201 351
 Rajh, attacked by Humārdn v 30
 his retreat 31 attack d by Shāh
 Jāhān vii 70 71 2, 5 7
 Rāletras, ii. 161 107
 Rānāna bn Hanzal, i. 161
 Rānjāras first mention of v 100
 Rānji Nāhārān ii. 282
 Rārbak Shāh, of Jaupdr i 455 456,
 461 v 90 abandons it, 93
 Barbaran the, i. 53
 Rārī Rāja vii. 424
 Rarge, etymology of, i. 539
 Rargyān (Maharāts) vi. 333, 313
 Rārān Sayid v 353 364 3 8 vi. 54
 1 0 298 vii. 235 394 434 437
 439 470 498 500 501 502 504 510
 513, 540, manners of, viii. 56
 Rārbtign, h. 9 403, 410
 Rārbmāris, i. 110
 Rārya caste, i. 75
 Rārya, the king i. 21 22, 23
 Rāwārij i. 65 339
 Rāyān, attacked by Sūkandar Lodi, iv
 455 v 93
 Rāyāzid, son of Sulaimān Kirāni, iv
 609 v 372, vi. 36
 Rāyāzid Jām, v 409
 Rāz Rāhār iv 331 v 163, 214 260
 270 a musician, 75; Socy, 270 re-
 covers Mālwa, 275-6; submits 270
 death 3
 Rādār Bakt, Prince son of Prince A zam
 vii 313 361 369 3 1 397 8-9 398,
 522 530, 537 510 500 death, 393
 400 516, his sons, 507
 Rādār Bakt (son of Ahmad Shāh)
 raised to the throne viii. 215 217
 Rag Lār i. 289
 Rānara, taken by Ghaznivides, ii. 59,
 122 by Khatb-d din, ii. 222, 30
 by Shēr Shāh iv 368
 Rāngal king f, iv 260 381 conquest
 of v 340 351; war in 399 414 479
 third conquest, vi. 66 disturbances
 in 98 war in, 3 5
 Rānī Rāhār Rāja, viii. 66, 10 220
 778, 318, 408, 409
 Rānām, term, how used, vii. 1
 Rātel iv 114
 Rādhānryas, viii. 53 763
 Rāghwān Dās, Rāja (also called Bhag-
 want) v 72, 346, 361 393, 402,
 422, 441 450 452 vi. 33, 58 death,
 v 455
 Rāghwant Khāhar, Rāja, viii. 311
 Rāghwant Singh, viii. 60
 Rāhā Pāran Māl. See Pāran Māl
 Rāhkar taken by the Sammas and
 by Alān d din, i. 226 occupied by
 Khān Khān 40 41, rulers of 241
 et pass., taken by Majāhid Ghāzi 282
 attacked by Jāh Tarkhān 321 taken
 by Shāmu-d din Altamash, ii. 153, 204
 Rāho (Sadashco) with Mahratta army
 viii. 145 at Delhi, 147 1 0 275
 reviews his army 309 its numbers,
 400 entrenches his camp, 401 pro-
 poses terms to Ahmad Abdālī, 277
 278; death, 154 171 251 266, 273,
 2 0 281
 Rāho the Pretender viii. 234 294
 Rāhā of Kach vi. 519 527
 Rārbpdr siege of, viii. 352
 Rāhāna, capture of, ii. 28, 248, 439
 in 61
 Rārbnir siege and reduction of, iii. 420
 487
 Rārbti, tribe, iii. 272, v 37
 Rārbti, ii. 245
 Rārbti, Rāi f Panna, v 93
 Rārbkhan Khān, Prince, v 81 101
 Rārbm, Rārbpāl, ii. 12, 47 402, 427
 451 451, iv 180
 Rārbm deo, Rāi of Nahrwāh, ii. 294, 300
 450 478
 Rārbm Rājā, son of Rārbti, vi. 410 413

- Bhoj, son of Surjan Rái, v 345
 Bhoj Chand, n 48
 Bhopál, rise of the State, viii 58
 Bhoslah family, vii 255, viii 258, 264
 Bhukiyál tribe (*properly* Bhúgiyál), v 278, vi 309
 Bhúngar, i 216
 Bhúpat, son of Bihári Mal, v 345, 367
 Bhut Sháh, i 46
 Bhutawariyas, the, i 46
 Bibí Rájí of Jaunpur, v 81 to 86
 Bidágh Khán, v 62, 274, 284, 296, 301, 304, 325, 330, 352, vi 124
 Bidar, taken by Aurangzeb, vii 124, history of, 126
 Bihár, under a separate ruler, v 22, 37, Muhammad Sháh, King of, 105, conquest by Mun'im Khán, vi 39, campaign of Muzaffar Khán in, 45
 Bihár Jíu, Rája, v 351
 Bihári Mal, Rájá, v 273, 504, 506
 Bijanagar, territories of iv 105, description of, 106, coins, 109, brothels, 111, police, 111, King, 112, 261, his seraglio, 114, wars against the Bahmanis, vi 230, 232
 Bijápúr, embassy to, v 460, at war with Ahmadnagar, vi 91, description of, 163, Princess married to Prince Dániyal, 111, 152, 162, 208, proposes peace to Jahángir, 334, attacked by Malik 'Ambar, 414, siege of, vii 28, army, 51, campaign against, 52, 54, 56, 95, 110, 131, peace, 57, Aurangzeb sent against, 119, 124, territories of, 256, troubles in, 257, campaign against, 277, siege raised, 278, 281, war with, 293, war renewed, 321, surrenders, 323
 Bijápúris, vi. 95, 110, 111, 131
 Bijí Rái, n 29
 Bikramájit, son of Ráná Sanka, iv 281
 Bikramájit of Gwálor, iv 257, 281, v 98, 486
 Bikramájit Bundela, vii 19, 47 killed, 50
 Bikramájit, Rája *See* Rái Ráján
 Bilkátgín, n 180, 181, 267, 479
 Billál Deo, iii 87, 203
 Bina tribe, i 292
 Bir Singh, vi 3, properly Nar Singh, 50 *q v*
 Biráhas iii 245
 Bírár, conquest of, vi 84, 241
 Bírbal, Rája, v 356, 507, 524, 529, 538, death, 541, vi 80, 84, 191
 Biswás Ráo, fights Ahmad Abdáli, viii 264, 273
 Books found by Babar, iv 246, at Nagarkot, vi 227
 Brahman caste, i 16, 76
 Brahman Pál n 33, 427
 Bráhmañabád taken, i 122, 182, account of, 183, settled by Muhammad Kásim, 184, destruction of, 256
 Brahmin, history of, i 105
 Bridge, over the Indus, iii 408, 482, iv 93, over Chináb and Jailám iii 413, 484, 522, over Ganges, iv 279, vi 20, over Mahi, 363, method of making, 371, over Indus, viii 80, over Rái and Chináb, 94
 British settlement at Bombay, vii 351, at Surát, viii 202, take a ship of Aurangzeb's, vii 350, obtain permission to build factories, viii 380, 390, trade, 390, 392, victory at Baksar, 182, 217, besiege Alláhábád, 182, obtain Bengal, 182, victory over Háfiz Rahmat, 183, 422, over Siráju-d daula, 211, defeat Kásim 'Alí and Sháh 'Álam, 215, obtain Chunár, 220, form alliance with Sháh 'Álam, 220, peace with Sháh 'Álam and Shujá'u-d daula, 223, 407, character of, 223, 229, Company, 411, defeat Shujá'u-d daula and the Mahrattas, 221, government of Bengal, 228, at Pána, 295, defeat Mahrattas, 308, defeat the Rohillas, 301, lose and recover Calcutta, 324 5, wars with French, 327, 437, win Plassy, 329, 426, defeat Rohillas, 351, sieges of Díg and Bhartpúr, 352, 367, arrangements with the Sikhs, 353, make peace with Mahrattas, 353, rise and progress of their power, 368, 437
 Brocade manufactories, iii 578
 Brothels, iv 111
 Bú (Suhál, etc) *See* Abú
 Buddhas, carried to China from India, i 7
 Buddhists in Sind, i 136, 147, *pass*, 190, 504
 Budhímán, minister of Chach, i 140
 Buddhites, i 38
 Búdhiya, Ránas of, i 160
 Bughrá Khán, son of Balban, iii 38, 111, made governor of Bengal, 120, loses throne, 124, becomes king of Bengal as Násiru d dín, 129, meets his son Kai-kubád, 130, 524, 525
 Búgiyáls (Bhugiyál), v 278, vi 309
 Bulakí, Prince, vi 438, raised to the throne, vii 6, imprisoned viii 19
 Buland Ikbál, title of Dárá Shukoh, viii 96
 Buluchis, i 217, 245, 286, 314, 336
 Bundelas, vii 61, 68
 Búrák Hájib, ii 398, 399, 401, 556
 Burhánpur, taken for Akbar, v 275,

- attacked by S ha vii 306; attacked
 by Mahratta 4 2; besi gril, vii 30
 Burhān i Mulk of Ahmadnagar v 429
 460 vi 6 87 91
 Burhān i Mulk of Gadh removed from
 Gadh and appointed to Mālwā, lii
 46; returns to Gadh 46 attacks
 Chāchbandi, 46; defeats Rheswant
 Singh, 52, 341 d feat Mahratta 81
 62; attacks Nāhir Sh h 61 taken
 prisoner 61 62, 81 negotiates with
 Nāhir Shāh 3 his treachery 63
 5 4 1; poison himself 61 171;
 his property seized, 81 hi mo sek,
 173; appointed to Gadh 1 3 death
 and character, 2 343 4 1
 But siege of vii 94 107
- Calcutta, taken by Sirāj-ud dīla viii
 374 recovered, 375 foundation of
 3 8 d description, 351
- Canal Firoz Shāh, li 300 433 iv
 8 11 vi 225 vii 86 All Mar-
 danā, 6 Mahr-gir in 405
- Castles, li 16, 17 6 183
- Cen nā, taken by Akbar vi 61
- Chāch, son of Hāshim i 140 chamberlain
 ascends the throne, 140 campaigns
 of, 140 marches to Ka hmīr 141
 takes Multān and Sīwī tūn, 143 fights
 with Akham Lohānā, 146 takes
 Bishmanābād, 147 marches to Kir-
 mān and Makrān, 151 and to Tārān
 152 dies 15 history of 202, 409
- Chaghātāi, v 130
- Chaghātāi Mughal, d 339 300 650
- Ch in of Ja tice vi 202, 281
- Chāhān, si ge and surrender of vii 67
- Chaks of Kashmir vi 307
- Chāhālyas, i 355
- Chāmpānir taken by Humāyūn 194
 recovered by Sultān Bahādūr 199
 vi 17 taken by the Mirzā, v 351
 343 vi 14 16 125
- Chāmpān Rājā of iv 540
- Champion, General, viii 305
- Chānār i 221
- Chānd Bibi vi 93, 99 100, 144 41
- Chānd the bard, vi 464
- Chānd Rāt, li 47 127 461
- Chāndāl Bhor li 47 468 462
- Chāndār succeeds Chāch, i 163 dies,
 164
- Chāndār Sen, v 382
- Chānderī siege of iv 201 274 305
 Rājā of, defeated by Babar v 38
 possession of 102
- Chāndernagore, viii 383
- Chāncār and Lalla, i 317
- Chāngiz Khān, in Khurāsān, li 324
- at Bakh rā, 38 pursues Jalāl-ud-
 dīn to the Indus 303, 359, 391
 his coins 431 Instances of, vi 257
 300
- Chāngiz Khān of Gujarāt, v 290 325
 murdered, 320 vi 175
- Charity houses of, v 638 vi 111
- Charnock, Job viii 3 8
- Chātera, M lik of Pādya i 141
- Chātral, Rājā, viii 46, 48
- Chātrā Singh, Rājā of Gohad, viii 290
 296
- Chāudhārī, viii 314 316
- Chānkandī, v 317 503
- Chānua battle of iv 375 v 113, 141
 403
- Chaurāgarh, capture of, v 160 285
 death of the Rānī 169 38 319
 vi 118 taken from Jajhar Bundela
 vii 49
- Chāds, v 167
- Chātrā, vii 262, 403, 409 42, 460
 462 463 467 527 528, 530 viii 60
- Chāwāras, i 207 263
- Chāz i 409
- Chāshā Rām, vii 435, 483, 486, 551
- Chāhys Malik, nephew of Balban, li
 8 u, ul 135 claims the throne and is
 defeated, 135 137 140 530
- Chāzā Amrānī i 253
- Chān Kalich Khān. See Kalich Khān
- China, embassy to li 45
- Chintāman, Brahman, v 201
- Chitor taken by Alā-ud dīn, iii 6, 160
 649 Akbar's conquest of, v 169 324
 description of 170 325 besieged by
 Sultān Bahādūr v 190 vi 11-13
 rebuilt by the Rānā, vii 103 sur-
 rendered and dismantled, 103, 104
- Cholera vi 346
- Christian missionaries, v 523
- Christians at Surāt, vi 4. See Euro-
 peans
- Chronograms viii 441
- Chronological Tables, iv 304 viii 31
- Chūnār taken by Eber Shāh, iv 343,
 besieged by Humāyūn, 350 confirmed
 to Eber Shāh, 351 taken by Humā-
 yūn, 350 v 129 held by Jamāl
 Khān, 494
- Chūrāman Brahman, iv 337
- Chūrāman Jāt, vii 511 512, 514, 521
 532, viii 360
- Olive Col. Lord, at Madras, viii 325 40
 retakes Calcutta, 325 wins battle of
 Plassey 328, 427 440
- Coins of Ghaznīvidas and Ghorīans, li
 478 in Sind, i 287; depreciation,
 li 183, Muhammad Tughlūk's copper
 coins, iii 240 of Firoz Shāh, 367

- tested, 359, values of, 582, discoveries of, iv 462, of Bijanagar, 109, of Gujarát, vi 11, Akbar's, v 541, vi 66, square, 57, Jahángir's, 287, 354, 357, of Aurangzeb, vii 241, of Bahádur Sháh, 404
- Colligation in fighting, i 537
- Columns, stone, moved by Sultán Fíroz, iii 350, examined by Timúr, 353
- Comets, ii 505, v 407, vi 363, 406
- Company, East India, iii 411
- Cornwallis, Lord, viii 370-1, 437, 440
- Custom duties, iv 96, 99, 421, vi 354, 498
- Customs of tribes in Sind, i 269
- Dábshulím, ii 500, iv 183
- Dágh Brand, iv 407, 411, 551, v 414, 614
- Dabíná Jádú, vii 347, 359, 376, 380
- Dáhir, King of Alor, i 119, 154, at Brahmanábád, 155, receives ambassadors from Muhammad Kásim, 165, kills a lion, 201, his battles and death, 121, 169, 170, 292, daughters of, at Baghdád, 209, 210, 211
- Dair Sál, i 318
- Dakhin, Akbar's invasion and conquest, vi 91, 95, 99, 131, 133, 240, states of, 131, Jahángir's wars in, 323, 332, 343, 376, 377, 411, 414, 432, 433, description of and its divisions, vii 58, famine in, 24, Sháh Jahán's wars with, 28, 35, 36, 51, 54, 55, *pass*, Aurangzeb's wars in, 254, *pass*
- Dalaka wa Malak, ii 348, 366
- Dalu Rái, i 258
- Danáik, iv 108, 116, 122
- Dámyál, Prince, birth of, v 340, services in the Dakhin, 467, 468, vi 91, 99, 104, 110, 133, 240, 247, marriage to Princess of Bijápúr, 152, 162, 208, his habits of drinking, 107, 112, 114, death, 114
- Daráb Khán, vi 386, 388, 389, 410, 412, 416, 417
- Darábars, ii 230
- Dará Shukoh at Kábul, vii 96, sent against Kandahár, 101-2, honours bestowed on, 104, 128, 143, 214, interferes in the government and against his brothers, 128, in command against Rája Jaswant, 131, acts as heir to the crown, 178, 214, his heresy, 178, 214, his intrigues, 179, defeats Shah Shujá', 215, defeated by Aurangzeb, 218, 220, flight, 225, 227, 229, 230, 231, 236, 237, obtains Surát and Kambay, 238, takes a position near Ajmír, 239, defeated, 240, flight, 240, 242, death of his wife, 244, betrayed, 244, prisoner at Dehlí, 245, condemned and executed, 246, his jewels, 253
- Dárijas, i 244
- Darohar Rái i 197, 199, 200
- Dáru-i Khiláfat, iii 589
- Daryá Khán (reign of Jahángir), vi 393, 409, with Khán Jahán Lodí, viii 15, killed, 19
- Daryá Khán Lodí, v 3, 79, 85
- Daryá Khán Lohání, iv 442, 454, v 105
- Daryá Khán Sarwání, iv 463
- Daryá Khán (of Sind), i 231, 235, 236, 275, 276, 309
- Dastam Kákshál, vi 77, 79
- Datta Patel, viii 146
- Datta Sindhia *See* Sindhia
- Dáúd, son of Sulaimán Kirání, becomes king, iv 510, v 372, character, 373, kills Lodí, iv 511, v 373, besieged in Patna, iv 512, v 374, escapes, iv 512, v 378, flies to Orissa, 382, 384, vi 45, pursued and defeated, v 384, 387, vi 41, makes peace, iv 513, v 388, attacks Tánda, 397, beheaded, iv 513, v 400, 525, vi 54
- Dáúd Khán Paní, vii 433, 446, 448, 466, viii 260, defeat and death, 452
- Dáúd Khán (reign of Bahádur Sháh), dealings with Mahrattas, viii 260
- Dáud Sahjúki, ii 274, 277
- Daulatabád (Deogir) made the capital, iii 239, 614, forced immigration, 239, 244, 614, siege and conquest of, vii 36
- Daulat Khán, iv 40-44, aspires to the throne, 44, submits to Khíizr Khán, 45
- Daulat Khán, of Bijápúr, vii 23
- Daulat Khán, patron of Sher Sháh, iv 321
- Daulat Khán Lohání, v 110, vi 199
- Daulat Khán Lodí, v 22, 469, invites Bábar, 23, 106, written to by Bábar, iv 234, 239, 240, waits upon Bábar, v 25, 106, death, 25
- Daulat Khán Ujlála, iv 492, 495, 533
- Dáwar-Bakhsh, Prince, vi 419, 435, 436, 438
- Debal, conquest of, i 120
- Debál, Rána, ii 375
- Deh (mortars), iv 401, v 132, 350
- Dehlí, historical account of, viii 10 said to be taken by Mas'úd, ii 631 conquered by Muhammad Ghori, 216, invaded from Ajmír, 225, revolt at, 237, besieged by Turk rebels, 341, attempt to surprise, 356, 377, bombarded with gold, iii 41, 'Aláu-d dín's

- buildings 69 Akand din beside Sir, fi 101 700 lower by Hewatt 106; attacked by Mu-hal 160 190 de- populated by Muhammad Tughlik 201 013 return of emigrants, 11 614 desolate 11-5 decorations 664 anarchy at, iv 31 buildings raised or repaired by Firuz li. 343 attacked and taken by Timor, 430 433 iv 35 sacked by Timor li. 415 603 described by Timor 417 604 pestilence at, iv 0 its territories divided is described by Amir Khusro li. 5 1 by Shahab-d din, 5 5 court of 5 0 described by Ibn Batuta, 589 614 Babar at, iv 8 39 at- tacked by Jaunpur 300 v 78 60 8; Sher Shah's buildings, iv 419 476 115m Shah's 499 held by Kal- gar Nasir 703 recovered by Humay- yun v 39 massacre at, viii. 23 04 63 put to ransom by Nadir Shah, 90 attacked by 8 flar Jang 123 Ahmad- Abulali at, 146 plunder of 146, 14, * 3 Old li. 410 447 603
- Dehli (Gila) (coin) li. 12
 Denarius, l. 461
 Deogra taken, li. 40 60 77 rebels and is reconquered, 200 701 14 named Daulatabad and made the capital 33, 614 revolt at, 207-8 lost, 261
 Deopal Harakma, v 101
 Deo Raj, King of Dipsagar iv 117 121
 Dewal Khan, li. 545 451 600, 655
 Dewar ruler of Ma bar i 60 li. 32, 5
 Dhalila, conquered l. 1 5
 Dhanal Singh, succeeds Ajit Singh, viii 41 310
 Dhar Raj, Raj of Jaisalmer l. 203
 Dharmya, son of Chach l. 164 dies, 165
 Dharur taken, vii. 70
 Diamonds, iv 37 vii. 81 mines, vi. 341
 Dih Yawaghut li. *1
 Dig taken by English, viii. 352, 3 0
 Dilawar Khan son of Daulat Khan, v 23 29 30
 Dilawar Khan, officer of Jahangir vi. 295-7
 Dilazaka, vi. 312
 Diler Jang See Abdus Samad
 Diler Khan, vii. 708, 272, 274 277 279 287
 Dinkar l. 461 viii. 31
 Din-panth, v 124 viii. 11
 Dirham, l. 461 viii. 31
 Dismounting for combat, l. 535
 Distances in Hindostan, vii. 162
 "Divine Faith," v 536, vi. 3, 163
- Diwaji King of Sind, l. 140
 Dowa path li. 120, 6 3
 Dows provision respecting l. 419
 Drake Mr viii. 241-5
 Drachma, l. 161
 Drinking habit of li. 108 139 141 145, 181 186 li. 102, 176, 127 171 180 21, 257 306 iv 225 vi. 70, 93, 311 3 7 381 409
 Durr Chaghatu, lii. 42
 Dade l. 210
 Dada li. l. 217
 Dabar defeated, l. 1 4
 Delah Rām Raja, viii. 325 426, 429
 Del Chaim (Chind) of Mainur lii. 422, 189
 Durrat tribe li. 413
 Durga D e, vii. 187 301 301 401
 Durratli Khan of Garha, v 169 214 254 vi. 31 118
 Durr Samundar conquered, lii. 40 87 703
- Earthquakes, iv 463 v 99 vii. 183 490
 Egypt, Sultan of, sends fleet to India, viii. 357
 Elephants, l. 5 li. 5 40 142 51 461 vii. 80 91 103 150, 203, 704 *19 231 705, 305 309 313 310 433 437 439 441 414 408, 499 502, 5 0 818 iv 105 109 1 8, 15, 397 424 651 v 23, 86, 8 262, 783, 80 391 701 300, 3 9 391 403, 460 vi. 62, 80 121 232, 330 463 viii. 60
 Ellora, Caves of, vii. 189
 English first use of the word Angrez, vi. 310 defeat Portuguese 310 See British
 European gunners, iv 703 sack and burn Thatta, l. 276 at Surat, 31, grant passes for ships to Mecca, 402, 620 at court of Akbar vi. 4, 5 89 85 capture ships, 237 European carriage, 314 destruction of at Hoggli, vii. 31, 42, 211, in Malabar viii. 355 settle- ments of various nations of 127
- Faizi, Shaikh, v 165 637 644 670 vi. 239 210 embassy to the Dakhia v 450 467, vi. 88 147 death 131 203
 Fauru Shah Khan Rohilla, viii. 302, 312
 Fakhru-d din Sultan of Sunar ganw li. 303
 Fanyab the l. 86
 Famine, l. 280 281 lii. 146, 238 244 245 246, 612 619 v 490 vi. 21, 94 187 193 vii. 24 263 328 666 viii. 36, 228 230
 Farhat Khan, vi. 46, 48
 Farid Khan. See Sher Shah

- Farid Bukhārī, Shaikh, afterwards Mur-tazā Khān, v 429, 452, vi 66, 69, 97, 116, 125, 135, 160, 182, 193, 265, 267, 270, 295, 301
- Faridūn, uncle of Mirza Hakīm, v 421-3-5, 448, 450
- Farmulis, iv 352, 444, 459, 547
- Farrukh Siyar, deputy of his father in Bengal, vii 438, claims the crown, 434, 439, 560, army sent against, 434, victory, 435, defeats Jahāndār, 437, 561, appoints his ministers, 442, character, 442, 471, his murders and other punishments, 443, epoch of his reign, 446, his rival princes blinded, 448, difficulties with the Saiyids, 450, deposed, 477, murdered, 480
- Farrukh-zād, Sultān, ii 275, 483, iv 203, 204
- Fārs, army of, invades Sind, i 139, 140
- Fārūks, vi 137
- Fath Jang *See* Nizāmu-l Mulk
- Fath Khān, Jām, i 229
- Fath Khān, son of Fīroz, death, iv 12, vi 228
- Fath Khān, son of Malik 'Ambar, murders Nizām Shāh, vii 27, 36, 39, 43
- Fath Mahka, iv 352, *et seq*
- Fathpūr Sikrī, foundation of, v 332, 334
- Fathu-llah Khān, vii 368, 370, 371, 392
- Fathu-llah Shīrāzī, v 441, 469, vi 84
See 'Azdu-d daula
- Fāzīl Kokaltāsh, Mīr, i 309, 311
- Fidāī Khān, vi 418, 420, 425, 427
- Firdaus-āimāgāh, title of Muhammad Shāh, viii 112
- Firdaus-makānī, title of Shāh Jahān, vii 213
- Firdūsi, iv 189
- Fire-temples, v 530
- Fire-worship, ii 163, v 530, in Upper India, 559
- Firings *See* Europeans
- Fīroz, Jām, i. 234, 276, 309, 310, 312, 313, v 193
- Fīroz Jang *See* Ghāzīu-d dīn
- Fīroz Shāh, Sultān, birth, iii 271, 273, 266, education, 274, offices, 274, accession, i 226, iii 266, 275, vi 221, rivals, iii 276, 278, fights Mughals, 278, vi 223, march to Dehli, iii 281, 287, plot to kill, 290, iv 9, his *khutba*, iii 292, edicts, 293, expedition to Lakhnauti, 293, vi 225, 376, returns to Dehli, iii 297, builds Fīrozābād, 302, vi 225, second expedition to Lakhnauti, iii 305, iv 9, caught tippling iii 306, founds Jaunpūr, 307, makes peace with Bengal, 309, marches to Jājna-
- gar, 312, iv 10, elephant hunting, iii 314, lost, 315, his buildings, 317, 354, 382, iv 7, takes Nagarkot, iii 317, vi 226, expedition to Thatta, iii 319, iv 12, retreats to Gujarāt, iii 323, iv 12, in the Ran of Kach, iii 324, returns to Thatta, 329, which surrenders, 334, encourages slavery, 340, invested by Khalifa of Egypt, 342, 387, vi 225, his court, iii 343, his happy reign, 317, 344, taste for gardens, 345, moves stone columns, 350, palaces of, 354, provides employment, 355, establishments, 356, cons, 357, hospitals, etc, 361, 385, his tonsure, 362, abolishes cesses, 363, burns a Brahman, 365, his "Victories," 374, abolishes torture, 375, treatment of heretics and infidels, 377, prohibits use of gold and ornaments, 363, 382, panegyric of, 536, his *khutba* read at Ghazni, 566, age and infirmity, iv 14, power in the hands of Khān Jahān, 15, death of his son, 12, vi 228, abdicates iv 16, resumes government, 17, death, 18, character, 18, his public works, 18, his canal, iii 300, 433, iv 8, 11, vi 225, vii 86, his *lith*, iii 350, viii 11
- Fīroz Shāh, son of Islām Shāh, succeeds Islām Shāh, v 43, vi 180, killed by 'Adalī, v 45
- Flood at Ghazni, ii 114
- "Foreign amīrs," iii 252-3-7-9, 260
- Fortune-telling, i 331
- French, vii 383, 391, 392, 437
- Fruits, vi. 348, 371
- Fūfi, son of Dāhūr, i 166, 178, 192-5
- Fulād Ghori Shansabī, ii 282
- Fūr, King of Hind, ii 157, vi 475, 557, viii 420
- Gabrs, iii 71, 76, 78, 83, 427, 431, 446, 450, 456, 462, 466, 471, 491, 494, 506, 507, 549, 551, v 562
- Gajpati, Rājā, v 377, 399, 418, 419, vi 41, 55
- Gakkars, (ii 233, 297, 322, 347, 444, Gakkhurs, } 447, 563, iii 70, iv 234, 389, 390, 415, 419, 493, 496, 551, v 37, 114, 147, 163-166, 278, 489, vi 219, 307, 309, 310, 370, 555, 568
- Gakkhar country described, v 278, conquered, 279
- Gardens of Fīroz Shāh, iii 345
- Gārdīs, viii 155, 221, 400
- Gargaj, iii 82, 146, 165, 174
- Garha-katanka, conquest of, v 169, 288, 309, vi 30, 118
- Garhī, v 200, 381, vi 67

- Garhāsp, Prince* vi. 428
Gaur taken by Sher Shāh iv 360
Ghahara. See Gahkar
Ghani Khān, son of Manim Khān v 250
Ghaṭ Begam viii 428 0
Ghāzāl Khān, iii. 1, 6 sends embassy to China, 45
Ghāzāl Khān iv 10 211 214 215 his library 216
Ghāzāl Mal (To bilik Shāh), his origin iii. 77; banner of the Mughals, i 341 iii. 109 at Deobālpur 221 marches again; Khwārd and kills him, 226 becomes king as Ghiyāṣ-d dīn, 228
Ghāzāl-d dīn Khān, Fīroz Jang vii. 100 3 1, 322, 327 331 333, 337 343 359 3 9 4 1 607 death, 4 6 character 653
Ghāzāl-d dīn Khān Nizām-d Mulk, vii 522 523, viii. 31
Ghāzāl-d dīn Imād al Mulk made Nizām and Amir-i umūd viii. 1 1 125 318 defends Delhi against Saifur Jang 126, 370 attacks Suraj Mal Jai, 384 deposes Ahmad Shāh 140 made *wasir* 141, 323 354 procures murder of Akbar Khān 14 blinds Emperor Ahmad, 143 323 raises Alamgir to the throne 323 mutiny against, 338 Emperor wishes to make him prisoner 339 seizes widow of Muṭau al Mulk 340 transactions with Ahmad Abdāl, 241 with Suraj Mal Jai, 363 marries daughter of Muṭau al Mulk 168 quarrels with Nijāb-d dāula, 168 169 268 leagues with Mahrattas, 169 170 60 268 orders death of Alamgir 170 212 with Shujā u-d dāula, 221 278
Ghāzāl Maḥdīs, iv 602
Ghazāl surrenders to Alptigin, ii. 1 8, iv 159 flood at, ii. 114 taken and lost again by Ghoriāns 280, 301 burnt, 288 taken by Oghai 568 669 plundered and destroyed, iv 211
Ghazni takes, ii. 55 206 end of, 281 iii. 37 iv 212 coins of, ii. 478
Ghiyās Beg I timūd-d dāula father of Nūr Jahān vi. 382, 397, 402, 403 404
Ghiyāṣ-d dīn Balban, Sultān (Ulugh Khān) iii. 38 97 646 603, kills his sovereign, 593
Ghiyāṣ-d dīn Ghori, ii. 258 202 22 ii. 37 iv 211
Ghiyāṣ-d dīn Sultān of Lakhnauti ii. 317
Ghiyāṣ-d dīn Sultān of Māndā, iv 654 vi. 349
Ghiyāṣ-d dīn Turkhik Sultān, ascends the throne i 341 iii. 228 606, vi. 185 marches against Lakhnauti, iii. 231 609 death 235 610
Ghor conquered by Maḥd ii. 100
Ghori dynasty ii. 208, 3., iv 145 coins of ii. 478
Ghulām Khādir, confined, viii. 303 his atrocious conduct to royal family 214 death 203
Ghuzz (Turk) ii. 20 80 203 iii. 65
Girāshur Rājā of Allahābad vii. 480 616
Girāshur Rājā of Mālwā, viii 48, 261
Gobind Pandit viii 149 69 280
Gobind Rājā of Delhi ii. 203 207
Gobri v 869
Gold, its absorption, iii. 583
Golkonda, embassy to, v 460 *far* *was* to vii. 51 63 territory 103 Aurangzeb's campaign against, 109 sees for peace 115 princess married to Aurangzeb's son, 119 siege and conquest 323 history of, 336 Siraji's connexion with, 386
Gond vi. 30 vii 60
Gopāl Dāi, viii. 287
Grain prices of iii. 146, 192, 214 314 543, 612, 619 iv 470
Gracian v 439, 446-7
Greek fire vi. 460
Gubree language, v 668
Gūjara, iv 231 234 236 240 4 0 vi 303
Gūjar Khān, minister of Dāūd, iv 611 612 v 378, 380 vi. 39
Gujarāt, } description of i. 67 revolts
Guzerat, } in, iii. 214 280, 289 262
Fīroz Shāh retreats to, 373 how governed, 326 revenues of, 328 iv 12, held by Zafar Khān, 37 at Bābars invasion 50 kings of 305 Albars campaigns in, v 339 361 vi. 37 Jahāngir's visit, vi. 353 Kings of, 236
Gulbadan Begam, v 301
Gulrah Begam v 348, 404
Guna, iv 255 268, 74 279 280 284 v 131 25., 350, 601 vi. 90 139, 455 vii. 101 viii. 74, 83, 400
Gunpowder early use in India, vi. 455
Gurpāl, Rājā, ii. 168
Gurshāp Shāh, ii. 310
Guraya, i. 204
Guru Gobind, vii. 666
Gwallior besieged by Mahmūd, ii. 467 taken by Muhammad Ghori, 227 surrendered to Kutbu-d dīn, 305, taken by Alauddin, 327 Bābars description, iv 261; surrendered to Sher Shāh, 385; 391, 466 besieged, v 20

- 167, surrendered by Suhail, 259, 493, taken by Sultán Ibráhím, v 486
- Habshís, v 353 *See* Sidís
- Háfiz Rahmat Khán, viii 146, 148, 221, 269, 270, 279, 303-312, 398, 410, 422
- Haibat Khán Gurg-andáz, v 8, 33, 89
- Haiderábád, conquest of, vii 111, 315, 318, 323
- Haider ('Alí) Náik, viii 288, 437
- Haider Dughlat, Mirza, iv 496, 497, 498, v 127, 131, 204
- Haider Kuli Khán, vii 483, 501, 504-7, 511-12-13-14-15-16-17-18, 520, 522, 527, 531, 572
- Haháj, King of Kandahár, i 22
- Hájí Khán of Kashmir, vi 307
- Hájí Khán (Akbar's reign), vi 21
- Hájí Maula, revolt of, iii 175
- Hájí, i 118, *pass*, death, 123, 157, 163, 171, 173, 180, 185, 186, 188, 189, 429, 430, 431, 437, v 159
- Hakím Abu-l Fath, vi 80
- Hál, King of Hindustán, i 106, 109
- Hamdís, ii 283
- Hámid Khán Habshí, vi 433
- Hámid Khán (uncle of Nizámu-l Mulk), vii 523, 527, 528, 529, 554
- Hamír Deo, iii 171, 179
- Hamíra, the title, ii 8, 428
- Hámun, i 216
- Ham-zabán of Snrat, v 349
- Hardás Rái, vi 287
- Hardat, ii 42, 460
- Hardwár, destruction of pilgrims at, viii 230
- Harpál Deo of Deogír, iii 215, 564
- Hárunu-r Rashíd, i 445
- Hasan Gángú, iii 258, becomes king, 261, 328, 339, viii 15
- Hasan, the Khalíf, i 421
- Hasan Khán Mewáttí, v 35, defeated and killed, 36, 37
- Hasan Naimandí, ii 189, 504, 509, 519, 520
- Hasan Mirza, Sháh, i 308
- Hasan Sabáh, first of the Assassins, ii 485, 490, 492, 573
- Hasan Sayíd, revolts in Ma'bar, iii 243
- Hashám, the Khalíf, i 441
- Hashám, in Sind, i 444
- Hasnak, ii 88, 497, 499, iv 151
- Hastings, Warren, arrival viii 229, at Benares, 229, his recall, 230, fights a duel, 231
- Hauz-i Kháss described, iii 441, 500, 501
- Hazar-dínári *See* Malik Káfúr
- Hazára tribes, i 239, 303
- Heads, pyramids and towers of, iii 48, 74, 197, 198, 297, 405, 504, iv 227, 272, 277, v 5, 368
- Hellenes, i 379
- Heretics, how dealt with, iii 377, 426
- Hijázi language, i 133
- Himmat Khán, Aurangzeb's general, viii 356
- Hímú, defeats Kíránís, iv 506, v 243, vi 199, title of Rájá Bikramájít, v 252, defeats Ibráhím Sur Sultán, iv 507, v 243-245, besieges Bayána, iv 507, v 244, 490, origin, 48, 241, vi 199, defeats Junaid, v 48, defeats the Mughals, 58, marches to Dehlí, 60, 245, 250, defeats the Mughals there, 61, occupies Dehlí, 63, 250, defeated, 65, 262, killed by Akbar, 66, 482, by Barrám Khán, 252, destruction of his family, vi 21
- Hind, } praise and description of,
- Hindustán, } iii 28, 562, 574, viii 3, extent of, iii 31, v 186, language of, iii 556, 562, Bábar's account of, iv 220, revenues of, *see* Revenues
- Hindál Mirza, v 36, 37, 38, 40, 144, 188, 190, vi 17, rises against Humáyún, v 201, 202, 203, flight, 205, 206, 207, 220, 222-228, 229, 230, 231, 232, killed, 234
- Hindi, } language, iii 556, 562, iv
- Hindúí, } 535, v 571, translations from, viii 207, books at Nagarkot, vi 227
- Hindú history, Firishta's summary, vi 532, kings, lists of, viii 207, 208
- Hindús, classes of, i 16, 76, 88, in service of Ghaznís, ii 32, 59, 125, 127, 130, 142, 448
- Hindú Beg, vi 15
- Hinaj of Ajmír, ii 219, 225
- Hisámu-d din Auz Khiljí, ii 315, 317
- Holkar, Jaswant Ráo, at siege of Bhartpúr, viii 352, 367, 369, 370, peace made with British, 353, 371
- Holkar, Malhar Ráo, attacks Málwá, viii 261, besieges Sámbar, 51, attacks Jaipur, 51, 117; in league against Suraj Mal Ját, 384, attacks the Rohillas, 118, joins Gháziu-d din, 266, 321, plunders the Emperor Ahmad at Sikandra, 142, 322, 384, marches with Raghunáth Ráo towards Dehlí, 266, joins the Bháo's army, 273, strength of his force, 400, with Adina Beg, 169, plunders the Rohillas, 272, routed by Abdális, 273, 274, in the advance against Ahmad Sháh, 146, flight from Panípat, 154, 171, in league with Jawáhir Singh Ját, 364, captures the impostor Bháo, 385

Holkar, Tókaji, transactions with the
 the British, vii 303 def. cited, 303
 Horses, import trade L. 62 fil 33
 Horrors and horsemen iii. 107 169, 197
 63
 Hoshan-Prince vi 430 437 439
 Hoshan-Sultán of Mándú iv 63 vi
 319
 Hospitals, iii. 361 vi. 393, 40
 Hugli, taken from Europeans, vii. 31 11
 Hulú Mú hál ii. 334 391 388 674
 in 39 40, 10., 103
 Humayún (Emperor) his first services,
 iv 19 3 0 60, 74 his
 father's last injunctions, 42 acce-
 sion, v 118 159 behaviour to his
 brothers, 3. state arrangements, 119
 obtains Kálinjar vi. 9 campaign in
 Gajrat, v 160, vi. 17 def. cit. and pur-
 suits Alán Bahádur v 191 takes
 Mándú 192 and Ahmad bad, 193
 and Champanir 194 defeats Sultán
 Mahmád, iv 319 v 189 besieges Chu-
 náir iv 300 307 v 199 takes Garhi
 201 action against Sher Sháh iv 308
 takes Chunar 300, v 135 makes
 terms with Sher Sháh iv 36 invades
 Bengal 303, v 700 vi. 11 19 oc-
 cupies Gaur iv 368, v 11., 141 re-
 tires from Bengal iv 369 defeated at
 Garhi, 110 def. cited by Sher Sháh
 at Chunar iv 33 v 113 141 300-3
 rescued from drowning at Chunar
 113 143, 203; his queen made pri-
 soner iv 375, v 113 bridge over the
 Ganges, vi. 20 defeated at Kanauj,
 iv 380 v 130 143 05 deserted
 by Kámrán, 130, 204 flight of, L.
 310 i. 333, 38 v 203 at Lahari,
 L. 316 marries Maryam Makání, v
 207 marches against Tatta, 08
 besieges Sihwán L. 317 v 208 re-
 tires to Jodhpúr L. 317 v 211, to
 Umarkot, L. 318, v 12, 218 at Jón,
 L. 318, v 214 birth of Akbar v 214
 goes to Kandahár, L. 318 proceeds to-
 ward Irák, v 217 at Hirát, 218 at
 Kandahár and Kábul iv 217 meets
 Sháh of Persia, v 218 at Kandahár
 210 17 obtains Kábul, 222 loses
 it, 24 recovers it, 228 at battle
 of Kábul 145 defeats and for-
 gives Kámrán, 220 attacks Balkh,
 v 230 retreats, 231 loses and re-
 covers Kábul, 232, 233 crosses the
 Indus, iv 493, v 234 blinds
 Kámrán 147 235 retires to Kábul,
 iv 409 v 234 marches again to
 India, 236 reaches Lahore, 23
 defeats forces of Sikandar 237 re-

gains Dehli, v 239 death 239 char-
 acter 10 called after death *Jannat*
Ashyáni 187

Humayún Sháh B. hmaní vi. 731

Husni Kásh Nobilla vii. 317

Husala Ali, Kalikál fights for Azam
 Sháh, vii 540 supports Farrukh
 Siyar 434, 439 501 severely wounded
 440 created *Amir-i umard* 442
 exaltation of 571 marches against
 Ajit Slagh, 446 claims the *sudadiri*
 of the Dakhin 418-9 threatens
 Farrukh Siyar, 449 in the Dakhin,
 41 secret orders for opposing him
 46., 461 476 defeats Dáúd Khán
 Paní 432 proceedings in the Dakhin
 461 struggles with the Mahrattas
 462, 460 makes a peace which the
 Emperor rejects 468-9 Emperor's
 opposition vii. 760 marches to Court,
 vii. 471 474 476 deposes Farrukh
 Siyar 476 differences with his brother
 481 487 besieges Agrá, 483 appro-
 priates all the treasures of Agrá, 484
 besieges Aláhabád, 486 quarrels with
 with Nizám-i Mulk, 489 49 his
 armies defeated, 496, 497 proceeds to
 the Dakhin, 500 murdered, 501 572
 character 481 510

Husayn Arghán Sháh treatment of
 Humayún v 206 208 compels him
 to retreat, 209-15

Husni Farmali, Mán iv 546

Husni bí Karúr, Sultán L. 304

Husni Khán Afghán vii. 491

Husni Khán Tukrya, v 483, 496, 503

Husni Kuli Khán Turkomán v 345-6
 created Khán-Jahán 352 governor
 of Panjáb, 362 governor of Bengal,
 393 besieges Nagarkot, 507 pur-
 sues Mirza Ibrahim, 507 cam-
 paign in Bengal 39, 399 defeats
 Dáúd and beheads him, 400 525
 death 410 vi. 64

Hu sin Langáh Sultán, L. 233, 316

Husni Nizám Sháh raised to the throne
 vii 27 taken and imprisoned, 43

Husni Sultán of Jan púr v 83, 86
 attacks Dehli, 8 defeated by Bahol,
 88, 89

Husni Sultán of Multán, v 47*

Hushang iv 60

[vi. 89]

Ibádat khána, Akbar's, v. 390, 406, 517

Ibn Batúta at Dehli, iii. 585 his history
 of India, 590 ambassador to China,
 600

Ibrahim Husni Mirza, v 315 330 331
 342, 344, 351 351 358, 503, 506,
 509 vi. 38, 123, 126

- Ibrāhīm Khān (Akbar's reign), v 295, 302, 305
- Ibrāhīm Khān (Jahāngir's reign), vi 344, 390, 108, 409, 410
- Ibrāhīm Khān Gārdī, viii 155, 264, 273, 275, 279, 400, death, 281
- Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, brother-in-law of 'Adalī, v 51, flies from 'Adalī, 52, defeats his forces, *ib*, 243, assumes royalty, 52, defeated by Sikandar, 56, 243, defeated by Hīmū, iv 507, v 244, 245, flies to Orissa, iv 507, v 245, taken prisoner and slain, iv 507, v 245
- Ibrāhīm Lodī, Sultān, reign, v 7, ascends the throne, 7, murders Jalālu-d dīn, 13, defeats Islām Khān, 15, takes Kālpī, 105, takes Gwāhior, 13, 486, flies to Bayāna, 490, his nobles discontented, iv 324, attacks Rānā Sankā, v 16, his cruelty, 23, 24, Bābar sends embassy to, iv 234, defeats Bābar's advanced force, 241, 242, character, 252, defeated by Bābar, 254, 290, slain, 256, 325, v 26, plenty during his reign, iv 475
- Ibrāhīm, Mirza, of Badakhshān, v 227, 228, 230, 231, 232, 249
- Ibrāhīm Nizāmu-l Mulk, vi 91
- Ibrāhīm Shāh, Sultān of Jaunpūr, iv 38, 41, 63, 85
- Ibrāhīm, Sultān (Ghaznawīdo), ii 198, 257, 276, 483, 510, iv 204, 522, conquests in India, v 162, 559
- Idols, destruction of, iv 447, v 486, vii 184, 187, 188
- Ikbāl Khān, iv 31, joins Nāsiru-d dīn, 33, becomes actual ruler, *ib*, defeated by Tīmūr, 35, recovers Dehli, 36, wars, 37, death, 40
- Ikbālmandā, Mughal, iii 199, 548
- Ikdāla besieged, iii 296, 308, iv 8, 10
- Ikhtiyār Khān, v 194, 195
- Ikhtiyāru-d dīn *See* Muhammad Bakhtiyār
- Ikhtiyāru-l Mulk, v 343, 353, 360, 367, death, 368
- Ilāhī era, v 247
- Ilak Khān, ii 32, 441, 443, iii 64, iv 166, 170, 172
- 'Ilmu-l Aktāf, i 331
- 'Imādu-d dīn Husam, vi 57
- 'Imādu-d dīn Rihān, ii 352, 354, 369, 370, 371-4
- 'Imādu-l Mulk (reign of Fīroz Shāh), iii 331, 349, 372
- 'Imādu-l Mulk *See* Ghāziu-d dīn
- 'Imādu-l Mulk of Gujarāt, v 195
- Impalement, iii 233, vi 268, 273, 301, 401
- Incantations, i 330
- India, Ancient, i 3, 13, 19, 44, vi 532
- Indus, crossed by swimming, ii 389, 552 *pass*, 571, bridge of boats over iii 408, 482, iv 93, viii 80
- Infants, experimental seclusion of, v 533
- Institutes of Jahāngir, vi 284, 493, of Changiz Khān, 287, 300
- Intemperance *See* Drinking
- Intizāmu-d daula, viii 135, 318-323, 384
- Intrenchments, iv 251, 268, 339, 370, viii 401
- Iraj, Mirza, v 464, vi 105, 111
- Isa Khān of Bhātī, vi 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 79, 132
- Isa Tarkhān, Mirza, i 276, 301, 307, 320, 322, 323, v 337
- Is'hāk, son of Alptigin, ii 267, 479, iv 159
- Iskandar Shāh of Kashmir, iii 409, 469, 470, 518
- Islām Khān rebels, v 23, death, v 16
- Islām Khān (Jahāngir's reign), vi 326 to 330
- Islām Shāh, Sultān, becomes king, iv 478, character, 479, regulations, 480, extent of territory, 480, plots against his brother, 481, cruelty, 484, attempt to assassinate, 495, 500, slaughters the Nizāis, 496, v 488, goes to Lāhore against Humāyūn, iv 499, wishes to kill 'Adalī, 500, 505, blows up prisoners, 500, vi 170, kills Khawās Khān, 531, death, 505
- Isma'il Beg Khān, viii 244, 246
- Isma'il Kulī Khān, v 450, 453, 455, 456
- Isma'il, son of Subuktigin, iv 163-5
- Isma'ilians, ii 258, 385, 442, 572
- Isrī Singh, of Jaipūr, viii 106, 109, 117, 344
- I'tikād Khān (Ruknu-d daula), vii 469, 471, 473, 475, 476 7-9, 509
- I'timād Khān, of Gujarāt, v 340, 342, 376, 428, 430, 431, 519
- I'timādu-d daula, father of Nūr Jahān *See* Ghiyāsu-d dīn
- I'timādu-d daula *See* Kamru-d dīn and Muhammad Amīn Khān
- Jabbārī Kākshāl, v 418, vi 40, 66, 68, 72
- Jādū Rāī, vii 10, 261
- Ja'far 'Alī Khān (Nawāb Mir Muhammad), viii 128, 172, 210-214, 328, 329, 379, 380, 383, 426-429
- Jagannāth, viii 439
- Jagat Seth, viii 426
- Jahāndār Shāh (Mu'izzu-d dīn), vii 392-3, 545-6, 556, claims the throne, vii 429, becomes Emperor, 432, 557,

hi di solate habits, 432 440 marches
 again t Farrukh Siyar 436, d feat and
 death 42 -8 440, 443 hi sons, 567
 Jahāngir Emperor (Prince Salim) birth
 of v 321; his tutor 413, vi. 318
 married to daughter of Rāi Singh v
 451 has a son born, 4 0, in camp
 402 cab l again t him, vi. 41 re-
 bellious spirit 3, 98 101 104 at
 Udipūr 98 110 203 rebels, 103
 05, offended by Abū l Fazl 107
 death of hi wife 11; self indul-
 gence 11^o on service in Dakhin
 133 quarrel with his son Khurūd
 164 plot t prevent hi accession
 169 succeeds to the crown 13
 remi son of taxes and duties, 14
 summary account of hi reign 245
 parures and defeat Khurūd 6
 69 imprison Khurūd, 7 272, 291
 imprl prisoners, 63, 72, 401 orders
 Khurūd to be blinded, 445 his char-
 f justice 62, 51 in total 281
 comments upon them, 493 habit of
 drinking 260 311 337 361 391,
 499 coins, 28 331 257 instigates
 murder of Abū l Fazl 443 a vna
 murder of Abū l Fazl 83 discus-
 sions with Hindā, 289 aboli hes
 transit duty 290 confuses hi son
 Khurūd, 291 death of his Hindā
 wif 112, 294 journey t Kābal
 302 knowledge of Turkī 315; treat-
 ment of Khurūd, 315 marries grand
 daughter of Mān Singh, 317 builds
 tomb of Akbar 310 his Regulations
 33 admiration of a turkey 331
 proceeds against the Rānā, 335 and
 sends Prince Khurām 335 visits
 Māndā, 343 110 of the chase 351
 36. prohibits use of tobacco, 331
 journey to Gajerkāt, 352 illn t, 357
 380 description of Ahmadābād, 358
 opinions on poetry and painting 359
 publishes his Memoirs, 360 renounces
 hunting 362, 381, journey to Kash-
 mir 367 417 visits Kāngrā, 380
 Shāh Jahān's rebellion, 383 394
 40 413 captivated by Nūr Jahān,
 398 marries Nūr Jahān, 402, 404
 great power allowed to Nūr Jahān,
 399 406, 461 upbraided by Mahābat
 Khān, 461 grants Surat to English,
 viii. 202 harsh treatment of Mahābat
 Khān's son in law vi. 396 420, 512
 seized by Mahābat Khān, 411 pro-
 ceeds to Kābal 428 escapes from
 Mahābat Khān, 429 illness and
 death. 423 vii. 5 character and habits,
 vi. 447 his cruelty 503 his Memoirs,

vi. 51 vii 4 called Jannat-makāni
 after death, 5
 Jahāngir Kālī Beg iv 378 v 701 2,
 vi 70
 Jahāngir Kālī Khān, vi 327
 Jahān Khān Abdālī viii. 263 267 363
 Jahān numā, iii. 432-3-4 403-6
 Jahān panāh, iii 445-6 501 503
 Jahān Shāh, Prince vii. 479 431 515-6
 550, his son 507
 Jahir Deo ii 331 368
 Jāhtal Rāi, i. 203
 Jai Chand, Rāi of Benares, ii 223, 300
 Jāmal defender of Chitor v 13333
 32 399
 Jāipal, ii. 12, 10 21 2., 24 15, 50 2 0,
 403 410 4 1 434, 401 iii. 61 iv
 161 10., 1, 0, 515 523 vi 561
 569
 Jāipal II., ii 476
 Jāipūr f undati n of, viii 44 attacked
 by Holkar 11^o
 Jai Singh of Nahrwālā, ii. 162, 161
 Jal Sīnāh, Mirza Rājā, viii. 8, 14
 22, 9 82 215 3 25 15 takes
 Sivaji 272, 2 6 sent against Mj pūr
 277 70 death, 782
 Jal Singh Sawāl, Mahārāja Rājādhirāj
 vii 405 420, 474 475, 480, 483 485
 511 516, 5 1 532, 539 viii. 44, 40
 50 51 55, 201 313 360
 Jālnya, son of Dahir i. 124 175 171
 174 pers.
 Jājhar Khān Hāshī v 330 313, 351
 Jājhar Singh Bundela, rebels, vii. 6, 10
 campaign against, 47 killed 50: his
 wif es and children, 4
 Jājugar subdued by Firoz Shāh, iii
 132 iv 10
 Jāklā, the sectary v 450, 455 462,
 467 vi. 101
 Jālāl Khān son of Sher Shāh, iv 350
 351-5-6 9 367 381 397 529 ascends
 the throne as Jalām Shāh, 4 8 de-
 scends Mughals at Ohari, v 112, 701
 vi. 19 20 See Jalām Shāh
 Jālāl-u-d dāula, iv 206
 Jālāl-u-d dīn Firoz Khilji, governor of
 Khalthal, iii. 133, 143 kills Kai lābād
 39 598 becomes king 40 135 his
 leality 139 140 character 141 54
 597 meets Abdu-llah grandson of
 Hulālā, 147 murdered, 41, 155
 Jālāl-u-d dīn of Bengal, vi. 34
 Jālāl-u-d dīn, Sultān of Jaunpūr v 8
 murdered, 13
 Jālāl-u-d dīn, Sultān of Khwārizm i.
 302, 324, 338, 393-401 484 549
 577, iii. 37 38
 Jām the title i. 495

- Jām, of Gujarāt, } vi 356
 Jām, of Kāthiawār, } v 438-9, 443, 459,
 vi 519, 527, vii 68
 Jāms of Sind, i 224, *pass*
 Jamāl Khān, of Ahmādnagar, vi 87
 Jamāl Khān, of Chunar, v 194
 Jamdatu-l Mulk *See* Asad Khān
 Jammū, taken by Timūr, iii 468, 517
 Jamnājī, vii 466, 468
 Jān Bābā, Mirza, i 293, 325-6
 Jānī Beg Turkhān, Mirza, i 245, 248,
 252, 262, 285, v 456-7-9, 461, 463,
 464, 466, 536, vi 143
 Janjāhah tribe, iv 232, 234, 235
 Janki, i 198, 210
 Jankū, Mahratta, viii 146, 154, 169,
 170, 241, 267, 271, 273, 274, 280
 Jannat-ushyānī, post-mortem name of
 Humāyūn, v 187
 Jannat-makānī, post-mortem name of
 Jahāngīr, vii 5
 Jānuba (Janūha) tribe, v 278
 Jānūjī Bhonsla, viii 286, 291
 Jasrat Shaikhā Khokhar, iv 53, *pass* 65,
 73, 74, 75, 85
 Jaswant Rāo *See* Holkar
 Jaswant Singh, Rāja, sent against Murād
 Bakhsh and Aurangzeb, vii 216, 218,
 defeated by Aurangzeb, 219, sub-
 mits to Aurangzeb, 231, deserts in the
 field, 233, war against, 237, intrigues
 with Dārū Shukoh, 238, pardoned
 and reinstated by Aurangzeb, 131,
 239, governor of Mālwa, 143, in cam-
 paign against Sivajī, 271, death, 187,
 296, his two children, 187, 297, 298
 Jats, i 14, 103, 128, 151, 167, 187, 188,
 Jāts, } 220, 286, 336, 450, 507, ii 133,
 217, 247, 409, 444, 477, iii 245, 428,
 492, iv 234, 240, 398, v 278, vi 370,
 vii 343, 413, 425, 513, 515, 521, 531,
 viii 55, 66, 133, 135, 137, 147, 208,
 209, 225, 226, 227, 320, 352, 360, 367
 Jāt Buluchis, i 218
 Jātrīya tribe, v 278
 Jauhar (the Hindu practice), ii 27, iv
 277, 534, v 173, 328, 565, vi 121,
 vii 50
 Jaunpūr dynasty, origin, iv 29, 37, 38,
 41, 53, 85, 86, 99, 259, 266, 305, 306,
 310, 356
 Jaunpur, Kings, iv 451, 455-6, v 2, 7,
 78, 80-84, taken by Sultān Mu-
 hammad of Bihār, v 37, 189, re-
 covered, *ib*, taken by Bahlol, 89,
 recovered, 90, Bārbak made king,
 90, abandoned by Bārbak, 93, con-
 quered by Akbar 259, buildings at, 307
 Jawān Bakht, raised to the throne, viii
 278, 363
 Jawāhūr Singh Jāt, viii 225, 226, 363
 Jāwēd Khān, Nawāb Bahādur (eunuch),
 exaltation of, viii 113, mobbed for
 pay, 115, 122, his power, 116, 120,
 133, murdered, 133, 317
 Jayajī Sindhiya, viii 266, 273
 Jayapa Mahratta, viii 321
 Jazīra, foundation of, vii 289, attacked
 by Sivajī, 290
 Jewels, vi 257
 Jews, viii 385, 388
 Jhanku *See* Janku
 Jhārejas, i 217, 218
 Jharokha, vi 525, vii 283, 296
 Jhils, v 355, 509
 Jihār invades Dehli, ii 225
 Jijera *See* Jazīra
 Jijī, siege of, vii 348
 Jizya, the, i 476, imposed in Sind,
 176, 182, levied by Fīroz, iii 365,
 380, not paid, 467, at Arangal, 560,
 abolished, vi 29, re-imposed, vii 296,
 310, enforced, 462, abolished, 479,
 516, 524, re-established, viii 38
 Jogis, fight with Sannyāsīs, v 318
 Jokīya tribe, i 286
 Jugglers, iv 118
 Juna, Jām, i 225
 Junāgarh, guns at, v 502, taken, vi 90
 Junaid, commander in Sind, i 125, 441
 Junaid Kirānī, v 385, 400, 525, vi 47,
 48, 49, 56
 Junaidī, Nizāmu-l Mulk, ii 201, 240,
 242, 304, 325, 331, 333, 334
 Jūnān Shāh, Khān Juhān, iii 371, iv
 12-16
 Junks, i 69
 Jurz, Juzr, i 4, 358
 Jwāla-mukhi, idol of, iii 318
 Kāān, the, i 71, 72, 73
 Kabak (*also* Kapak and Kank) Mughal,
 iii 73, 548-9
 Kabkalas, Brahman, vii 285, 305, 338-40
 Kab Rāī, v 356
 Kābul, Hindū Kings of, ii 9, 403,
 Turkish dynasty of, 403, 409, 411,
 old notices of, 412, invasions of,
 413, 414, gained by Humāyūn, v
 222, lost, 224, 232, regained 226,
 233, besieged by Mirza Sulaimān,
 249, state of, 280, 282, 293, 310,
 taken by Akbar, 424, restored to
 Mirza Muhammad Hākīm, 425, re-
 sumed by Akbar, 441, annexed by
 Akbar, v 449
 Kach, } war with, i 227, Jāms of, 268
 Kachh, }
 Kadar Khān, son of Fīroz, blinded, iii
 41, 137, 162

Kalar Ma, hal defeated, *il.* 0
 Kadir bi Hāb the Khalif *i.* 405
 Kāfād, King *i.* 105
 Kāid, the Hindū, *i.* 108; *viii.* 420
 Kāid Hāi of Bengal, *vi.* 100 111
 Kal Khā rd, grandson of Hūban *iii.*
 1 3 1 *i.* 653 murdered *i.* 7
 Kal Kūbād, Sultan, descent, *iii.* 1 *i.* 621
 male lin 38, 693 meeting with
 his father 130 621 re-*n* of 1-3
 murdered 30 135, 693
 Kāim Khān *viii.* 116 713
 Kākā Kotah, *i.* 160
 Kākā Pandit, *viii.* 149 *See* Gobind
 Pandit
 Kākara, *i.* 381
 Kākār Khān, *vii.* 306
 Kākā, *i.* 0
 Kākāhāla, *v.* 381 414 rebel, 416 410
vi. 40, 45 66 67 68 71
 Kākā Pahār (Muhammad Khān Farmāl),
iv. 35 43, 466- 612 *v.* 93 *vi.* 41
 45 67
 Kalar Ibrahim, *ii.* 403 421
 Kaleb Khān *vii.* 383, 391 394 431
 435-6-7 637 *See* Nizamu-l Mulk
 Kalij Khān, *v.* 301 317 336, 341 360,
 402, 404 413 435-6 7 440 441, 446
 45 462, 612 *vi.* 121 30th death,
 33
 Kālīnjar taken by Kutub-d dīn *ii.* 31
 by Humāyūn *vi.* 0 by Akbar *v.* 313
 Kālpi surrenders to Sultan Ibrahim, *v.*
 105
 Kalyān Mal, Rāj *v.* 66, 35-8
 Kamāl Khān Gakhār *iv.* 601 *v.* 272,
 278, 279
 Kamalava, } *ii.* 12, 172, 403, 420 4-3,
 Kamā, }
 K milā, } 078
 Kamān, Rāja of *v.* 611 *vi.* 332
 Kām Baksh, Prince, *vii.* 196, 376 at
 siege of Jinji, 348 arrested, 349
 opposed by his brother Azam, 364
 father's affection for 385, claims the
 throne 389 marches against Wākin
 kera, 390 violent conduct, 406 fights
 a battle and is killed, 406 character
 663 his sons, 668
 Kambāy taken by Alāu-d dīn, *ii.* 43
 account of, *vi.* 353
 Kāmran, Mirza, obtains Lahore *vi.* 10
 receives a *dgir* 189 recovers Kan-
 dahār 190 returns to Indū, 202
 opposes Humāyūn 202 receives Hu-
 māyūn, 204 deserts Humāyūn, 130,
 201 206 216, 220, abandons Kābul,
 222, 223 recovers Kābul, 224 fights
 against Humāyūn, 216, exposes the
 infant Akbar on walls of Kābul, 225

his cruelties, *ib.* escapes from Kābul
 is prisoner of the Ilākhān, 227 sub-
 mits to Humāyūn, 220 230 deserts
 again, 230 31 regains Kābul 232
 loses it 237; again in arms, 233 flies
 to Hindūstān, 31 takes refuge with
 Jalām Shāh, *iv.* 408 a poet, *ib.* *See*,
ib. his services, *v.* 30 37 takes
 Kābul *v.* 147 made prisoner by Adam
 Ghākar 147 234 blinded 147 335
 death, 235
 Kamru-d dīn Khān (Iltimād-d dāula),
vi. 60-, 603-7 appointed *wasir* 625
 631 *viii.* 46 services, 46 60 66 66,
 01 commands army against Ahmad
 Abdālī, 106 10 killed, 105
 Kāmrip, campaign in, *ii.* 31
 Kamurgha, *v.* 310
 Kānā, King *ii.* 10 404 403 410 4th
 Kānauj Kings of, *i.* 22 Arabs sent
 against 707 Hāi of, 708, *ii.* 10
 taken by Mahmūd, 45, 456, *iv.* 178
 attacked from Zabulistān, *ii.* 1, 0 by
 Mahmūd, 45 460 *iv.* 178 conquered
 by Masūd III., 626 Humāyūn's
 defeat at 380 *v.* 130 143 destroyed
 by Sher Shāh *iv.* 416 410 account
 of *viii.* 470
 Kandahār wonders of, *i.* 238 sickness
 at, 239 attacked by Bābar 20th,
 308 taken by Persians and recovered
 by Kāmran, *v.* 190 obtained by Hu-
 māyūn, 270 given over to the
 Persians, 221 taken again by Humā-
 yūn, 222 occupation of 249 316
 besieged by Persians, *vi.* 301 re-
 covered, 64 68 taken by Persians,
 87 89, 122; besieged by Prince Au-
 rangzeb, *vii.* 90 by Dārā Shukoh,
 101 falls 102
 Kanerka, *ii.* 410
 Kāngra, conquest of, *vi.* 674 382, 617
 Kanishka, *ii.* 410
 Kank (Kabak) Mughal, *iii.* 193. *See*
 Kabak
 Kankali Turka, *ii.* 661 666
 Kanwāra, *v.* 41
 Karā bahkam, *ii.* 266
 Karākah, Mallik, *ii.* 340 342
 Karā Kūlū, *iv.* 299, *vi.* 196
 Karan, Jām, *i.* 228
 Karan Rāj of Nahrwala, *ii.* 230
 Karan Rāj of Gwāllor *v.* 81 85 86 88
 Karan, son of the Rānā, receives a
mansab, *vi.* 341 succeeds, 367 438
 Karana, the, *i.* 63
 Karkadan the *i.* 61
 Karmatiana, *i.* 462, 469 491 *ii.* 91 *pass*
 335 441 449 671 dates regarding
viii. 32

- Károli armour, *n* 288
 Karrāchir Khān, *v* 207, 221-8, 232, killed, 233, *vi* 10
 Kashmir, ancient history, *i* 107, its exclusiveness, 63 Rāf of, 113, 178, Timur's arrangements with, *iii* 469, 518, described, 176, 321, Kings of, *iv* 93, 305 mission sent by Akbar, *v* 411, conquest of, 150, 152-4, destruction of temples, *vi* 468, religious troubles in, *vii* 492
 Kāsim 'Alī Khān, *viii* 213, 214, 215, 218
 Kāsim Beg-Lār, *i* 292
 Kāsim Khān (Aurangzeb's reign), *vii* 216, 218, 355
 Kāsim Khān (Mir Muhammad), *viii* 428
 Kāsra (Chosroes), the, *i* 86
 Kāstariya caste *i* 76
 Kataria caste, *i* 16
 Katlagh Khān, *v* title, *ii* 396, 554
 Katlagh Khān (Saifu-d dīn Aibak), *ii* 334, 354-6, 374, 376-8
 Katlagh Khān, governor of Deogir, *iii* 244, 247, 251-3, his death, 278
 Katlagh Khwāya, Chaghatai, marches against Delhi, *iii* 42, 166, 548
 Katlā Khān, Kīrānī Afghān, *iv* 511, 513, *v* 373, 429, 465, 511, *vi* 66, 67, 69, 71, 74, 79, 86
 Katōrs, *ii* 13, 128, 406 *pass*, *iii* 400, 407, their territory, 401, Timur's war with, 401, 480, *v* 425, *vi* 312
 Katormān, } *ii* 13, 403, 405, 420
 Katurmān, }
 Kāzu-l Kuzāt, *iii* 578, 590
 Keshu Rāf, *vi* 269, 275
 Khādīm Husām Khān, *viii* 214
 Khafif, *i* 216
 Khai-Khūya, the, *i* 86
 Khairā, *i* 216
 Khairu-d dīn, Jām, *i* 225
 Khākān, *i* 86, *iv* 99, 102, 292
 Khak-rez, *vi* 100
 Khalaf bin Ahmad, *iii* 64, *iv* 166-7
 Khalifas, Memoirs of, *i* 415, send robes to Mahmūd and other sovereigns, *ii* 24, 91, 243, 326
 Khalifa of Egypt, *ii* 91, 93, 97, confirms Muhammad Tughlik, *iii* 249, 567, embassy from, 249, invests Sultān Fīroz, 342, *vi* 226
 Khān-i 'ālam (Akbar's, Chalma Beg by name), *v* 377, 387, *vi* 39, 43
 Khān-i a'zam See A'zam Khān
 Khān-daurān (Shāh-Jahānī) defeats Jajhar, *vii* 50-2, 54, new titles, 60
 Khān-daurān (Aurangzeb's), *vii* 228
 Khān-daurān See Samsāmu-d daula
 Khān Jahān Bahādūr Kokaltāsh opposes Sivaji, *vii* 287, 290, Sūbadār of the Dakhin, 300, misconduct and disgrace, 307, 309, campaign against Kutbu-l Mulk, 316, in disgrace, 317, sent against the Jāts, 532
 Khān Jahān Lodi, memoir of, *iv* 537, notices of, *vi* 323, 333, 408, 418, 419, bribed by Nizāmu-l Mulk, 433-7, 452, sells the Bālaghāt, *vii* 7 removed from government of the Dakhin, 8 returns to court, 8, escapes, 9, 111, his flight, 13, 18, death, 20
 Khān Jahān (Jaunān Shāh), *iii* 371, *iv* 12, 14-16
 Khān-Khānān See Bairām Khān Mun'im Khān, Mirza Khān, etc
 Khān-i Kalān (Mir Muhammad Khān Atka), *v* 310, 364, 369
 Khān-Zamān ('Alī Kulī Shārbānī), *iv* 509, *v* 237, 239, 250-3, 257, 259, 272, 492, rebellion, 295, 301, 306, 318-9, killed, 321
 Khān-Zamān (Kāsim Khān), *i* 290, 293, 295
 Khān-Zamān Khān, *viii* 305, 306, 342
 Khān-Zamān (Shāh-Jahānī), *iii* 52, 54, 56, takes Junir, 58, and other forts, *vii* 60, death, 61
 Khān-Zamān (Shāikh Nizām Haidar-ābādī), *vii* 337, 342
 Khāndesh, rulers of, *vi* 137, annexed, 241
 Khāndī Rāo killed, *viii* 208, 321
 Khandu Dapbāriya, *vii* 462, 472, 477, 499
 Khangār Rāo of Kach, *v* 443-6, 466
 Khargā, of Katch, *iv* 14
 Khari (Khattri) tribe, *v* 278
 Khārjīs, *ii* 176
 Kharmils, *ii* 287
 Khatūrs, *vi* 312 See Katōrs
 Khawās Khān, *iv* 359, 360, 368, 371, 373, 378, 380, 381, 383, 387, 388, 406, 465, 476, 480, 482, 484, 502, memoir of, 528, 544, *v* 97, 201, *vi* 19
 Khulj, *ii* 146, 151, 303
 Khulji chiefs, *iii* 129, 135, 136
 Khizr Khān, son of 'Alāu-d dīn, quarrels with his father, *iii* 553, marries Dewal Rānī, 552-3, imprisoned, 554, 601, blinded, 209, 544, murdered, 217, 544, 555, 603
 Khizr Khān, Sayid, waits on Timur, *iii* 475, made governor of Multān, 475, 521, fights with Sarang Khān, *iv* 32, waits on Timur, 35, at Multān, 38, fights against Sultān Mahmud, 42-3, becomes king, 45, his titles, 45, death, 63

- Khilr Khān, Sultan Bahadur of Bengal
 iv 89, v 66 116 245
 Khokhars iii 416 436 4 3. 483 505
 510 510 520 52; iv 5 vi 108
 polyandry among viii. 702. *See*
 Gakhars
 Khudā-banda iii. 1
 Khul wand Khān of Surat, v 31 601
 vi. 13
 Khulwand Muhammad brother of Muhammad
 Tughlik, iii. 6 700
 Khul yar Khān of Kandahar viii 97
 Khul Chāin Shāh iv 2, 29 34 *See*
 Dul Chāin
 Khuld mahān, title of Aurangzeb vii.
 402
 Khurda, conquest of vi 303
 Fārram Prince (Shāh Jahān) sent
 against the Rājā vi. 337 subduces
 him 339 at court 331 *see also* f
 70000 302 receives title of Shāh
 Jahān, 35
 Khurram Begum, v 310
 Khusāi Khān, vii 43
 Khusāi Rājā Rājā, viii 300
 Khurā Khān, the favourite a Parwār
 iii. 211 16 marches to Ma'bar 116,
 10 559 601 601 murders the king
 702, 604 mounts the throne, 213,
 604 defeated and executed 706 607
 Khurā Mahā, Sultan ii. 231 701-5,
 483 iv 211
 Khurā (Prince) plot to raise him to the
 throne vi. 169 291 received by his
 father 173 besieges Lahore 70
 raises siege of Lahore, 701 709 297
 defeated 66 771 a prisoner 67
 2 2 291 293, 300 401 45
 partially blinded, 146 impalement of his
 followers, 203, 773 401 60 escapes
 291 death of his mother 112, 269
 704 treatment of, 316 33 336; a
 pretender assumes his name at Patna,
 703 3 1 death 383
 Khurā Shāh, Sultan, ii. 38, 780 463
 iii. 37 iv 211
 Khurā Sultan, a pretender at Patna, vi.
 705 321
 Khusā, iii 702, iv 46 vii. 420 427
 Khwāja Abd-l Hasan, etc. *See* Abd-l
 Hasan, etc.
 Khwāja Jahān, contrives death of Ghi-
 yās-dīn Tughlik Shāh, iii. 610
 Khwāja Mu'izzam, v 291
 Khwārizm, chronology ii. 4
 Kild-garhi, iii. 126 131 136 viii. 11
 Kipchak i. 304 v 145
 Kirānia, revolt of iv 606
 Kiriya language, i. 74
 Kirman, King of, a Buddhist, i. 161
 Ki ban Ballabh viii. 324
 Kirā (Nau birkān) ii. 162
 Kirā Khān at Bhakkar i. 40
 Kiwān-i Mulk Khān-i Jahān Makhbūl
 iii 279 783, male wazir 289 iv 7
 vicegerent of Firoz iii. 306 370, 325
 3 9 his wealth, 347 memoir of
 30, dies, iv 1
 Kirā Khān Gang v 215 259 263 70
 301 345 387 vi. 71 41
 Kīā, iii. 6
 Kokaltāh v 2 3
 Kokaltāh Khān, Khān-Jahān, vii. 558
 560
 Kokanda taken vi. 69
 Kars ii. 233, 31 v 165 *See* Kho-
 khars and Gakhars
 Kār Sikān Rājā, ii. 553, 563
 Kōli Padshāh vii. 517 523 525
 Kōli and Gwalior, v 439 44
 Kōli Rājā Pithaurā, ii. 200 14 210, 295
 Kombalpur taken vi. 68
 Kora Nāl, Rājā viii. 172, 167
 Kora Rājā, ii. 461
 Krishan Rājā of Bijanagar vi. 231
 Kūbā Khān i. 73
 Kōch, ii. 310
 Kōch Shāh conquest of vii. 65 144
 265 68
 Kōch Shāh, war in, vii. 65
 Kōch-sa-sulāmat, vii. 23
 Kōsi, i. 160. *See* Pōsi
 Kulchand, ii. 43 468 460 iv 1 8
 Kumbher siege of, viii. 321 2
 Kurka, i. 430, 608 ii. 46
 Kusān, vi. 510
 Kutb Khān, son of Sher Shāh, slain, iv
 379
 Kutb Khān, of Bengal, defeated by
 Sher Shāh iv 321
 Kutb-dīn Aibak, a slave of Muham-
 mad Ghori, ii. 216 iii 590 iv 146
 engaged against the Khokhars, v 165
 takes Nahrwāla, ii. 228 services in
 590 becomes king ii. 236, 300 iii.
 3 iv 146 takes Ghazni, ii. 301
 death, 237 301
 Kutb-dīn Aibak, preceptor of Jahāngir
 v 413 vi. 327
 Kutb-dīn Mubārak Shāh Sultan
 succeeds throne iii. 211 555 557
 marches against Deogir 214, 558, 602
 passion for a Parwār created Khurā
 Khān, 11 his sensuality 12 lax
 government, 212 murders his bro-
 thers, 17, 603 disgusting conduct,
 217 murdered 222, 604
 Kutb-i Mulk dynasty origin, vii. 334
 character of Abd-l Hasan, 316 A
 rangzeb makes war on, 315, 318

- peace with 321, war renewed, 323, surrenders and is imprisoned, 333 See Golkonda
- Kutub-ul Mulkis, vi 96, 101, 131, 311, 390-412, 411
- Kuwar Pál of Thangar, ii 227
- Lad Malika, iv 341
- Laddar Deo, iii 81, 201, 204, 231, 233
- Ladi, wife of Dahir, i 171, 181-2, 192-3, 196
- Lahore, dominions of Hindu rulers ii 140 becomes capital of Ghaznavides, 281, taken by Muhammad Ghori, 281, 294 taken by Mughals, 340, iii 102 rebuilt by Balban, 107 put to ransom by Timur, 473, 520 plundered by Timur, iv 35, its ruinous condition, 56, restored and called Mubarak-abád, 56-7, taken by rebels, 76, retaken, 77, destruction contemplated, v 108 besieged by Hindu chiefs 160, occupied by Humáyun, 237, besieged by Khusrú, vi 265, 269, 297, taken by Nádir Sháh, viii 60
- Láhoris, vi 370
- Lahúd, i 16
- Lake, General (Lord), viii 353, 368, 370-1, 439
- Lakhmaníya, Rái, ii 307
- Lakhmí Chand of Kamáún, vi 332
- Lakhnauti, account of, ii 318, attacked by Sultán Firoz, iii 293, 305, iv 7, 9
- Laktuzamán, ii 12, 405-6
- Langáhs of Multán, i 230, 314-5, iv 85, 306, 399, v 472
- Lingar Khán of Multán, v 472, 476
- Lárya language, i 24
- Lás (Law), M, viii 327-8, 330
- Lingam, ii 476
- Ling Mahádeo, iii 91
- Lasanu-l Ghaib, iv 510
- Lodhs, i 337
- Lodis, v 3, 71
- Lodí Afghán, Míán, iv 510, v 372-4, 511, vi 35, 39, 41
- Lohánas, i 151, 187, 362
- Lohánis, iv 320, *pass* 363, 547
- Lolis, i 337
- Loni, massacre at, iv 34 94
- "Lower country" Bengal, iii 309
- Ma'bar, i 69, invaded, iii 50, Kings of, 45, 52, conquest, 85, 203, 550, revolt of Sayid Hasan, 243
- Madhgarh taken, vi 57
- Mádhú Ráo Peshwá, viii 283-291, 295, 297, death, 369
- Mádhú Singh, } brother of Mán Singh,
Mádhav Singh, } v 155, vi 98, 172, 291
- Mádhú Singh, Rája of Jaipur, viii 117, 225, 321, 361
- Magh Rája, v 109, viii 66
- Mughribis, Westerns (mangonels), iii 171, 202
- Mahábat Khán, Khán-khánán, Yamínu-d daula, vi 173, parentage, 288, viii 190, defeats Asaf Khán vi 284, defeated, 219, pursues Khusrú, 299, promotion, 312, sent against the Ráná, 318, 336, 338, murders Rája Uchhaina, viii 191, introduction to Jahángir, 191, receives *mansab* of 3000, 192, made commander-in-chief, vi 385, sent against Sháh Jahán, 386, 393, 408, defeats him, 393, 413, 416 marches to Dakhn, 395, son-in-law beaten by order of Jahángir, 396, 420, 512, rebels, 396, doings in the Dakhn, 111, 118, called to account, 418, rebels, 420 seizes Jahángir 421, Jahángir escapes from him 130, releases Asaf Khán, 431, joins Sháh Jahán, 431, commander-in-chief, 438, remonstrates with Jahángir, 511, represses Jaghár Singh, vii 7, made governor of the Dakhn, 8, besieges Daulatábád, 36, death, 45
- Mahábat Khán (Aurangzeb's reign) Sháh Jahán writes to, viii 228, in campaign against Bijápúr, 126, retires from Aurangzeb's army, 130, his influence, 420, fall, 432
- Mahákál, i 69
- Máham Anka, protects the infant Akbar, v 226, note upon, 261, her influence and power, 273, vi 24, 26, death, v 277, vi 28
- Maháarta, iv 368-9, 371, 378, 380
- Máh Begam, i 320-326
- Máh Chochak Begam, v 280, 285, 286
- Mahdi Kásim Khán, v 309
- Mahdí Khwája, v 187
- Mahípál, Rái, ii 531
- Mahlak Deo, Rái, iii 76
- Mahmúd Khán, i 309
- Mahmud, Prince, son of Ibráhím, made governor of Hind, iv. 522, returns to Ghazni, 525
- Mahmúd Sultán of Bhakar, i 276, 321, 324, 325, v 384
- Mahmúd Sultán of Bengal, iv 355, 363-4
- Mahmúd Sultán of Dehlí, son of Muhammad, raised to the throne, iv 28, in the power of Ikbál Khán, iii 398, iv 33, defeated by Timur, iii 438, 498, iv 35, escapes, iii 442, 501, returns to

Dehli iv 34 41 how little territory
 1 ft. 42 death 41
 Mahmūd Sultan of Dehli, son of Sikandar
 iv 74 defeated 310 319;
 abdicates 350
 Mahmūd Sultan of Ghazni birth ii. 269
 serves under his father 19, 182
 iv 161; succeeds the throne ii. 69
 iv 161 receives a robe and titles from
 the Khalif ii. 21 91 70 4 1 491
 iv 166 169; defeats Jaip i. 1
 iv 170 & his against Khalif fil. 61
 defeats Ilak Khan, 61 iv 1
 releases Ghori ii. 75 fil. 63 iv
 1 4; expedition to Khwārizm, 176
 victories and conquests, ii. 3 131 iv
 170 173 1 6; takes Multān i. 16
 ii. 30 441 iv 170 419 attacks
 Anand Pal ii. 41, vi. 215 battle
 near Peshāwar ii. 442, vi. 10 forced
 to diverge to Multān, 70 lost in the
 desert, ii. 19 474 v 720; takes
 Kāshmir ii. 41, 445 Matharā, ii. 41
 466 Kanauj ii. 45 486 iv 1 8
 Samukt i. 93 ii. 10 463 conquest
 of Irāk, iv 186 his sons, ii. 409 iv
 187 death, ii. 270 iv 131, 167 185
 burial, 133 his person fil. 63 char-
 acter iv 125 liberality to learned
 men, fil. 63 parsimony iv 131 love
 of boys, 149 anecdotes of ii. 182,
 601 606 iv 136, 151 learned men
 of his reign, 183 Odes addressed to,
 616 general note on his expeditions,
 ii. 434
 Mahmūd Sultan of Gujārat, iv 378, 603
 vi. 236
 Mahmūd Sultan of Jaunpūr attacks
 Dehli, v 2 6 makes peace with
 Bahlol, 80; death, 61
 Mahmūd Khilji Sultan of Mālwa or
 Māndā, iv 65, 260 305 386, 653
 Mahmūd Khān, Sultan of Multān, v 469
 Mahra, the Persian, i. 109
 Mahrat, chief of Jaipūr i. 411
 Mahrattas, first mentioned, fil. 150 202
 314 characteristics of vii. 263 oppose
 Jāhāngīr's forces, vi. 333, 343 origin
 of, vii. 54 viii. 288 operations
 against, vii. 337; attacks upon Aurang-
 zeb's forces, vii. 347 362 destroy
 a royal army 365 campaign against,
 363; progress of their power 374
 464 revenue arrangements, 374
 465 terms of peace with Aurang-
 zeb, 376 obtain the *chawki* and
ser-dāst ii. 408, viii. 259 360
 attack Burhānpūr, vii. 422 Hussain
 Ali's contest with, 462; terms of
 peace with, 466, viii. 260 rejected by

Farrukh Siyar vii. 469 join Hussain
 Ali 47., 493-9 repulsed by Nizām,
 6 5; ravages round Ahmedābād, 629
 their progress to Hindustān viii. 73
 60 obtain Orre 1, 179 in Bengal
 1 7 129 take Mālwa, 48, 762 take
 Sambhar 61 at Udiipūr and Ajmir,
 62 in Bhārlwar 63, 62 defeated
 in the Doab 63 62 first approach
 Dehli, 65, 762 Bājī Rāo made go-
 vernor of Mālwa, 67 besiege Kota
 69 defeated by Nāir Jan- 66 67
 advance thron h Bundelkhānd to the
 Jamna, 67 approach Agra and Dehli
 every year 73 attack the Jāts, 308
 attack Rāthor chiefs, 209 defeat the
 Rohillas in the Doab 416 plunder
 the Emperor Ahmad at Sikandra, 142,
 drive Najib-ud daula from Dehli and
 set up Ghāzi-ud din, 66, reach the
 Indus and Multān, 76; inces-sue with
 Ghāzi-ud din, 71 321 attack Najib-ud
 daula, 12; defeated by Shuja-ud
 daula, 69 campaign under Ilwās
 Rāo and the Bhāo 272, 401 defeated
 near the Indus by Ahmad Abdālī, 146
 also in the Doab, 146 170 271 take
 and plunder Dehli, 276 treat with
 the Abdālī, 77, 401 take Kunjpurā,
 148, 378 retire to Pānpat, 148
 numbers of their armies, 147 1 0
 399 review of their forces, 399; defeat
 and slaughter at Pānpat, 143, 150
 279 called in by Jāts 275 attack
 the Jāts, 237 in the Rohilla country
 303 bold Zabita Khān's family 304
 transactions with Rohillas, 305; de-
 feated by English and Shuja-ud daula,
 303 peace with the British, 363
 Mahtas, iv 14
 Main, i. 161 170
 Maydād, Prince, ii. 131 iv 200
 Majid-ud din, Wazir, ii. 289 293
 Majlis Rāj Rājā, viii. 346
 Majnun Khān kākāhāl, 297 298 317
 320 333 379 384, 390 vi. 40 44 46
 Makamkam, i. 76
 Makashia, vii. 343
 Makhbāl, Malik, iii. 256-7, 264 311
 Makhbām Abdūl Asis Abhari, i. 235
 Makhdamu i. Mulk, v 619 620 631
 636, 642-3
 Māl Deo, Rājā of Joudhpūr i. 317 v
 241 265 335
 Malabar customs of iv 101 viii. 202
 Europeans in, 385
 Malhar Rāo. See Holkar
 Malik Amber vi. 101 defeated, 105
 attempts to assassinate 340 defeated,
 343 assists Shāh Jahān, 395 treats

- with Mahābat Khān, 111, defeats Imperial army, 411, death and character, 428
- Mahk Chihāq, nephew of Balban, aspires to the throne, in 135, 137, 141, made prisoner and confined, 138-9, 536
- Mahk Jiwan, in 244, 245
- Mahk Naib Kāfur, a slave, in 163, defeats Mughals, 17-73, subdues Dār Samundar, 50, 203, Tilang and Ma'bar, 78, 85, 203, takes Dugur, 200, and Arangal, 201 causes death of 'Alāu-d dīn, 208, his violent measures, 209, 555, 601, killed, 209, 555, 602
- Mahk Ratan, 1 224
- Mahka Zamāniya, in 215, 250-1, 384
- Mahku-sh Shark, in 29, 46, 47-8
- Malkā, in 380
- Mallu Khān, in 398, 434, 180, defeated by Timūr, 431, 440, 142, 600, in 30, created Ikbāl Khān, 71 in 31
- Mālwa, conquests of, in 76, iv 524, v 168, Kings of, in 260-1, 275, 305, 1 163 See Māndū
- Mamrez Khān, 1 11 See 'Adalī
- Māmūn, Khalif, 1 447
- Mān Singh, Rāja of Amber, v 312, 345, defeats Rājā Kikā, 397-8, in disgrace, 401, services, 121-2, at Kābul, 441, 449, 151-155, recalled from Kābul, 456, made governor of Bihār, etc, 156, becomes Rāja, 459, defeats Katlu, 465, annexes Orissa, 465-6, in command at Sarnāl, 345, vi 38; sent against Durgarpūr and the Rāna, 42, at capture of Kombalmīr, Kokanda and Udipūr, 58, governor of Bihār, 85, invades Orissa, 86, 89, in Bengal, 91, 98, recalled, 105, defeats Afghāns near Dacca, 106, defeats the Magh Rāja, 109, and Kaid Rāf, 111, his sister, wife of Jahāngīr, poisons herself, 112, conspires to raise Khusrū to the throne, 169, submits to Jahāngīr, 173, relations with Jahāngīr, 317-8, recalled from Bengal, 327, on campaign in the Dakhin, 333
- Mān Singh, Rāja of Gwālior, v 91, 92, 96, 98, 168
- Mān Singh of 'Umarkot, 1 297
- Mandahars, in 245, v 40
- Mands, 1 38, 79 See Meds
- Māndu, rulers of, iv 391, 552, description of, vi 348, taken by Humāyūn, v 192, vi 13, retaken, 18 See Mālwa
- Mangū Khān, in 344, 363-4, 384, 674, in 37-8, 47
- Manhīs, in 245
- Manjanīks, vi 461
- Mankinjas 1 213
- Mankutī See Mangu Khān
- Mansab, v 511
- Mansur Khān See Sikandar Sultān
- Mansura, founding of, 1 127, taken by Mahmūd, in 219
- Mansur garh, taken, vii 17
- Marām Makānī, marriage, v 207, rescued at Chinnā, 113, returns to India, 254, 262, 108, vi 99, 108, death, 113
- Ma'ruf Faruqī, Mīān, iv 518, v 16
- Mārāf, 1 260-1
- Marwān I, Khalif, 1 126
- Marwān II, Khalif, 1 141
- Masnād 'Alī, iv 15, 399, 137
- Masacres, in 70, 71, 77, 90, 119, 121, 197 by 'Isāmūr, in 31, 91, 135, 197, by Bābar, 227, 251, by Nādir Shāh at Delhi vii 23, 61, 88
- Mas'ud Husam, Mirza, v 508 510
- Mas'ud (Anur Sultān), son of Mahmūd, differences with his father, iv 187, reign of, in 61, 139, 266, 271, anecdotes of, 193, pass, 183, 499, 508, in 192, 191, deposition of, iv 137, imprisoned and killed, 138, character, 139, 191
- Mas'ud II 'Alāu-d dīn, Sultān, in 257, 278, 183, in 201
- Mas'ud Sultān III, in 206
- Mas'ud Sipāh-sālār, romance of, in 513, tomb, in 219, 362 [vi 130
- Ma'sum Bhakhārī, 1 212, v 431-6, 463,
- Ma'sum Khān Farankhūdī, v 417, 419, 420-1, 426, vi 72
- Ma'sum Khān Kābulī ('Asf Ma'sum), v 409, 413, 415-6, 418, 421, 427-9, vi 66, 71-3, 76-9, 132
- Mathurā, temples at, iv 447, vii 184
- Maudud, Prince and Sultān, 1 221, in 135, 144, 256, 273, 482, iv 137, 199, 200, v 160
- Maulānā Muhammad, 1 235
- Mawās, 1 286, in 355, 362, 366, 368, 375, 379, in 138
- Meds, 1 15, 24, 128-9, 430, 450, 519
- Medni Rāo, iv 275
- Mers, 1 523
- Meteor, fall of a large one, vi 378
- Mewāttīs, in 103, iv 60-1, 66-7, 75, 263, 273, vii 507, 513
- Mhers, in 228
- Mīān Bhua or Bhūdh, the minister, iv 451, 454, imprisoned and murdered, v 13, 25
- Mīānas, v 244
- Mice, plague of, vi 407
- Mich, in 310
- Mīlak Deo, in 327 [vi. 100
- Mines, used in sieges, in 424, v 138,

- Mial tribe iii 2 2
 Miats establihed by Akbar vi 57
 Mir Akher iv 6 7
 Mir Buz Kakhai, vi. 66 67 71
 Mir Jafar viii 324-9 *See* Muhammad Jafar
 Mir Jumla *See* Muazzam Khan
 Mir Jumla, favourite of Farrukh Siyar, vi 413-5 419 his great power and intrigues 41 371 sent as a *bedle* to Latas 419 retires from Patna, 459 troubles at Dehli 160 sent to the Laj b 460 made chief judge 480
 Mir Jumla Tarkhan viii 49
 Mir Kaim. *See* Muhammad Kaim
 Mir Madari viii. 1
 Mir Masud. *See* Mu'Inn al Mulk
 Mir Muhammad Khan. *See* Khan-i-Khalan
 Miran viii. 1 211 479
 Mirat taken by Timur iii. 450 606
 Mirza Haidar Mirza Jami Beg etc. *See* Haidar Jami Beg etc.
 Mirza Husayn Nizam Shah vi. 35
 Mirza Khan Khan khánám v 463 protected by Akbar 362 363 in command in Qajrat, 361 431 41 mad Khan khánám, 437 receives Jaunpur 455 made prime minister 4 5 made governor of Multán 459 his conquest of Sind i. 17 285 29 v 4 9 461 462, 466 on service in the Dakhin, 46 vi 91 2, 101 103 110 132 146 10-1 preceptor of Jahangir 318; under takes to subdue Nizam-shahis 318 in disgrace 3 332 again employed, 331 join in rebellion of Shah Jahán, 385 surrenders to Mahabat Khan, 385 a prisoner 412, 418 death, 434
 Mirza Muhammad Bakí, etc. *See* Muhammad Bakí, etc.
 Mirza the, v 180 318 323 330 1 318, 362 vi. 0 16, 122 203
 Miwattis, iii. 103 *See* Mewattis
 Miran Saiyid Ali, i. 278
 Mohan Lal, viii 427
 Moka Bishaya, i 164, 177 180 187
 Moudhis, } vii 185, 204
 Mundhis, }
 Money of Bengal, ii. 308; copper of Muhammad Tughlik iii. 210 hoard ing 581
 Mountains, description of, i. 44
 Mu Awiya, the Khalif i. 117 416, 422
 Mu Awiya II. Khalif, i. 426
 Muazzam (Prince Shah Alam) dis-obediant to his father vii. 183 im-prisoned, 190 3; released 191 3 9 his parentage and character 193; a leader of the Dakhin, 271 23 sent against the R ná, 290 supports his father against Prince Akbar 301 2 campaign in Kokan, 311 314; cam-paign against Kutub al Mulk, 318 takes Hakkardahad, 370 at siege of Golkond; 3 6; in disgrace 323; re-quires title "Bahádur Sháh" 359 claims the throne 391 317 greatly assisted by Mun'im Khan, 392, 315 obtains Dehli and Agra, 393 319 proposes division of kingdom 396, 312; defeats Aram Sháh, 397 312 *See* Bahádur Sháh
 Muazzam Khan (Mir Jumla) minister of Kutub al Mulk, vii 103 becomes an Imperialist, 103-9 waits on Prince Aurangzeb, 117 receives title "Muazzam Khan" 119 sent against Bijápur 119 121 disagreement with Aurangzeb, 120 campaign against Aram 144, 201 confined by Aurangzeb, 179 217 received by Aurangzeb, 231 defeats Sháh Shuja' 233 campaign against Shuja' 239 death, 260
 Mubarak Jam, i. 230
 Mubarak Nagar, Shaikh, v 493, 611 616 631 vi. i.
 Mubarak Sháh ascends the throne iv 63 fights against Jaunpur 63; mur-dered 79
 Mubarak Sháh, Sultan of Jaunpur iv 38
 Mubaris Khan, iv 496, vi. 179 *See* Adali
 Mubaris Khan, governor of the Dakhin vi. 3-3, viii. 44 slain, 48
 Mughals, invasions of, ii. 233 303 take Lahore, 340 at Uch and Multán, 344, 346 350 353 363-4 378, 380 send ambassadors to Nádir-d din, 381 2 punishments, 386 con-quests, 387 winter in India, 390 retreat from Multán, 391-6 inva-sions under various leaders, 0 2-4 95 102, 109 112-3 122, 147 162, 165 defeated by Alan-d din, 42 47 70 72-3 prisoners taken into service 48, 74 attack Dehli, 166, 189 precautions against, 191 prisoners, 197 battles with, 198, 224; favoured by Muham-mad Tughlik, 31, 264 attack royal army 266-278 ravages of, 303, v 483 invasion in Kal Kubád's time, iii. 526 527 described 528 inva-sions, 547, oppose accession of Firoz, vi 223 defeated by Firoz, iii. 278, iv 9 14 vi. 223 taken into service by

- Firoz, in 267, inroads stopped, 266, inroads after death of Firoz, 317
- Mughal helmet, i 532
- Mughlsh-d din, Sultán, in 137
- Mughula, iv 516
- Muhallab, son of Sifrú, i 116, vi 561
- Muhammad 'Adil *See* 'Adili
- Muhammad 'Ali, Nawásh, viii 392
- Muhammad Amin Khán, I'timádu-d daula, son of Mir Jumla, vii 108-9, 180, 391, 394, 537, in command against the Sikhs, 123, supports Farrukh Siyar, 437, receives title of I'timádu-d daula, 442, services, 419, 157, 159, 460, in disgrace, 473, conduct at deposition of Farrukh Siyar, 177, confirmed in office by Rafi-d Daryá, 480, quarrels with the Saiyids, 197, plots the death of Husayn 'Ali, 502-506, 572, *wazir* 507-8, 511, death, 517
- Muhammad Bakhtiyár Khulji, ii 232, 300, 305
- Muhammad Bakí Tarkhán, Mirza, i 270, 276, 278, 282, 284, 294, 324-6, v 315, 337
- Muhammad Ghorí, youth of, ii 292, on throne of Ghazni, 293, defeated at Nahrwála, 200, 294, overthrows Ghaznawides at Láhore, 281, 294, vi 198, invasion of Hindústán, ii 212, 226, vi 198, defeated by Kola Pithaurá, ii 295, defeats and kills Pithaurá, 200, 296, further conquests in Hindústán, 227-8, 297, vi 198, succeeds to the throne, ii 297, iii 37, takes Benares, ii 251, wars with the Gakkhurs or Kokhars, 232, v 163, death, ii 235, 297, 393, his slaves, iv 145, his coins, ii 483
- Muhammad Hakim, Mirza, brother of Akbar, v 249, 281, 283, 286, 293, 310, incited to attack India, 312, retreats, 313, 393, makes another attempt upon India, 421, retreats, 423, seeks forgiveness, 424-5, 440, 447-8, death, 449
- Muhammad Husayn, Mirza, v 315, 330-1, 343-4, 351-2, 360, 365, 367, vi 122-3, 125, death, 368
- Muhammad Ibrahim raised to the throne, vii 509, 515
- Muhammad Jauná (Sultan Muhammad Tughlik), iii 224, refuses allegiance to Khusrú, 224, 605, escapes from Khusrú, 224, 607, created Ulugh Khán, 230, marches against Arangal, 231, defection in his army, 232, retreats, 232, takes Bidr and Arangal, 233, conspires against his father, 609-10, causes his death, 610 *See* Muhammad Tughlik
- Muhammad Kásim, i 128, 432, 131, 137, sent to Sind, 119, 157, conquests, 119, takes Debril, 120, 157, at Nirua, 157, 163, defeats Dáhur, 122, 170, marches to and takes Brahmanábád, 123, 171, 180, at Alor, 192, at Multán, 123, 203, sends to Kanauj, 207, goes to Udhufar, 210, sent in a cow's hide to Baghdád, 124, 210, 437
- Muhammad Kásim (Mir Kásim), viii 330
- Muhammad Kásim Khán, v 154, 458, 462
- Muhammad Khán Bangash, vii 511, viii 16, 18, 49, 51, 261, 342
- Muhammad Khán Gauria, defeated and killed, iv 507, v 245
- Muhammad Khán, Prince, son of Firoz, iv 15, attacks Khán-Jahán, 15, made king, 16, flies, 17, 19, re-ascends the throne, 21, defeated, 21-3, vi 186, recovers throne, v 24, dies, 27
- Muhammad Khán Shaibáni, i 304
- Muhammad Kálí Khán, viii 172
- Muhammad Langáh Sultán, i 314
- Muhammad Makhul, son of Mahmúd, made king, iv 137, character, ii 191, 509, blinded, 271, reign, 256, 270, 182, iv 192, 198
- Muhammad Ma'súm, i 212 *See* Ma'súm Bhakhari
- Muhammad Muzaffar, Sultán of Gujarát, iv 259
- Muhammad Sádik Khán *See* Miran
- Muhammad Sádik Khán in Sind, i 244-7
- Muhammad Sálhí Tarkhán, i 300-1
- Muhammad Sam *See* Muhammad Ghorí
- Muhammad Sháh, Emperor, raised to the throne, vii 485, chafes under the control of the Saiyids, 488, arrangements of the ministers, 500, delivered from the Saiyids, 505, victory over Saiyid 'Abdu-llah, 510, 513, returns to capital, 516, guided by his mistress, 523, character, viii 42, incites opposition to Asaf Jáh, 42, kills Saiyid Miran, 48, his neglect, 53, 60, 73, 104, dissensions among his nobles, 60, marches against Nádir Sháh, 60, 74, his meeting with Nádir Sháh, 62, 63, 81, 85-6, returns to Delhi with Nádir, 64, 87, presents made to Nádir, 89, treaty with Nádir, 91, prohibits writing of history, 21, his poverty, 105, paralysed, 106 state of country after Nádir's retirement, 105, jealous of his son, 105-6, death, 111
- Muhammad Sháh, Bahmaní, vi 229
- Muhammad Sháh, son of Daryá Khán Lodí, v 105

Mahammad Shāh Kin of Jaunpūr v
81 d. 81

Mahammad Shāh Sultan becomes king
iv 80 death 86

Mahammad Shāh Sultan of Bihār il. 314

Mahammad Sultan son of Aurangzeb vii.
110 11 111 110 married Princess
of Golkonda 110 120 10 21 8
224 33 23; campaign against
Shahj 219 desert 219 returns and
is confined, 231 267

Mahammad Sultan the Martyr Prince
son of Bahān, iii 110; death of 35
104

Mahammad Sultan of Bihār v 2, 3, 37
Mahammad Sultan title assumed by
Bihār Khān iv 33

Mahammad Sultan Mirza v 170 201
201-6 270 315 vi. 9 1 173-1

Mahammad Sultān il. 2

Mahammad Tughlik Sultan succeeds to
the throne in 35 611 his character
and accomplishment 35, 540 544,
611 kills his brother 613 his grand
project 23 state of his kingdom,
23 depopulates Delhi, 213, 610 in-
creases taxes, 235 v 483 copper money
il. 10 defeats Tarnaharā Khān
v 486 revolts against him il. 12,
17 251 614 courts Khalifa of Egypt,
212, 567 corruption of his officials
200 his severity 235, 551 v 2,
611 vi. 181 takes Nagarkot 50;
disaster in the Himalayas, 241 617 in
Muzhar 243, 618 death i. 216, il.
63 anecdotes of, vii 135

Mahammad Zabid (Mirza) i. 40

Mahammad Zamān Mirza, i. 9 199
201 202, vi. 0 13 drowned at Chausā,
v 203

Mahabb Ali Khan, i. 40 v 338, vi.
74 76

Mahmūd-i Millat raised to the throne viii.
243, 268 deposed 278

Mahkam Singh, vii. 464, 503-5 511-3,
v 520

Mahmūd, iii. 5 9

Mahmūd-i Malik, viii. 108 in command
of army 110 cedes territory to
Ahmad Abdālī 115 122, 166 makes
terms with Ahmad, 167 his widow
240

Mu'izziya Sultān, ii. 203

Mu'izzu-d din Bahram Shāh, il. 33

Mu'izzu-d din Kau-Kubād. See Kal
Kubād

Mu'izzu-d din Prince vii. 392-3. See
Jahāndār Shāh

Mujāhid Khān in Sind, i. 240; besieges
Thatta, 241

Mujāhid Khān (Aurangzeb's reign) vii
301-3

Mukarrab Khān (Mahmūd Shāh) iv
25 30 33

Mukarrab Khān (Jahāngir) vi. 317 320
320 327 36 473 vii. 12

Mukarrab Khān Khān-Zamān Fath
Jan- (Muzākh Nizām Haidarābād)
vii. 23 31

Mukhlis-ud din, viii. 123

Mukhtār M-Allāh Khalif i. 432

Mul hida, il. 411 672

Mulshid Alamut, il. 290 5 4

Mulla Ahmad Bijāpūrī vii. 26

Mulla Muhammad Lari vi. 390, 405
412, 414-5

Multān taken by Arabs, i. 123, 203
taken by Chach, 143 by Mahmūd,
218 il. 30 15, 411 il. 61 seized
by Ashak Dik, il. 233 delivered
from the Karmitān, 203 be-
sieved by Mughals, 301 extent of
440; rebellions at, il. 4 214 be-
sieged by rebels, iv 0 troubles in
23 disturbed by the Lau-shā, 55
taken by Mir Muhammad i. 229 il.
41 496 falls to Langāba i. 230 iv
306 under Sher Shāh, iv 398-9; taken
by Shāh Husain, i. 314-5 Kings of
iv 306 v 400 472; siege of 472
annexed to Empire, 4 6

Multān, Idol of, i. 11 23 27 35 8.
203 460

Mumāl and Mendra, i. 315

Mumtāz Mahal, vii. 27

Mumtāz-i M. il. See Farbūlād Khān
Mundābir, il. 15, v 40

Mun'im Khān (Akbar's Khān Khānān)
prepares to desert Humāyūn, v 210
serves to Humāyūn, 212, 214 231
31 236 249 called from Kābul by
Akbar 267 made Khān Khānān
and minister 26-8 share in murder
of Atla Khān, 277 vi. 26 goes to
Kābul, v 278 280 governor of Kābul
282 services, 297 299 313, 315
governor of Jaunpūr iv 510 v 529
vi. 33 on service in Bengal, v 371
sent against Dādd, 372 vi. 39
besieges Patna, v 381 vi. 44 gover-
nor of Dengu, v 380 vi. 4 49 63
takes Garhi and Tānda, v 381 vi. 44
pursues and defeats Dādd, vi. 512, v
384 387 makes peace 383 vi. 4
49 63 death, iv 512, 304

Mun'im Khān (Khān-khānān of Bahā-
dur Shāh) sends Bahādur Shāh to the
throne, vii. 301 543 545 54 appointed *wasir* 392, 550 honours and
rewards, 400 his reforms 402 taxes

- and writings, 104, in battle against Kām Bakhsh, 407, territorial arrangements of the Dakhn, 408, in command against the Sikhs, 424, death, 425, 466, character, 425, 555
- Murād, Prince, son of Akbar, birth of, v 335, sent to Kābul, 124, appointments and services, 457, 160, 466, v 91, invades the Dakhn, 93, 96, 133, death from drink, 97, 133, 247
- Murād Bakhsh, Prince, brother of Aurangzeb, sent against Balkh, vii. 70, retires in disgrace, 71, declares himself king, 143, 178, 214, 216, Dārā Shukoh sends an army against him, 216, obtains Surat, 216, his valour, 222-4, treatment by Aurangzeb, 227, imprisoned, 228, at Gwālior, 237, mock trial of, 131, murdered, 132, 266
- Murārī Pandit, vii 23, 40
- Murattabs, iii 625
- Murīd Khān, Nawāb, i 350
- Murtazā Khān (Shaikh Farīd), vi 170-1, 182, 301, death, 374 *See* Farīd
- Musie, various tunes, iv 449
- Mustafā Rūmī, iv 268, 284
- Mustansir bi-llāh, Khalīf, ii 243
- Mu'tamad-alā-llāh, Khalīf, i 452
- Mu'tamad Khān, vi 170
- Mu'tamad Khān (Jahāngīr), vi 280, 372, 400, viii 191
- Mu'tasim-bi-llāh, Khalīf, i 448
- Mutilation, prohibited by Jahāngīr, vi 286, 503
- Mutī-bi-llāh, Khalīf, i 466
- Muzaffar Husain Mirza, v 348, 404, taken prisoner, 408, 410, released, 411
- Muzaffar Jang Nawāb, viii 391
- Muzaffar Khān (Akbar's reign), v 266, 299, 313, 323, 332, governor of Mālwa, vi 42, made *wazīr*, v 370, vi 43, sent to besiege Rohtās, v 380, vi 46, in disgrace, 46, 47, services against the Afghāns in Bihār, 47, 57, in charge of mint at Lahore, 57, sent on service in Bengal, v 398, governor of Bengal, 410, 412, harsh rule, 414, killed, 416
- Muzaffar Khān (Shāh - Jahān's reign), kills Khān-Jahān Lodī, vii 21, created Khān-Jahān, 22
- Muzaffar Khān Gujarātī, v 342, 353, revolts, 430-1, takes Barodī and Broach, 433, defeated, 433-7, flight, 437-40, in arms again, 433, killed, 465
- Muzaffar Shāh Habshī of Bengal, iv 261
- Nabūmiya tribe, i 292
- Nādir Shāh of Persia, sends embassy to India, viii 76, 126, invades India, 60, 71, 126, causes of the invasion, 60, 76, 126, march opposed by the Afghāns, 78, defeats Nāsir Khān, 77 joined by Nāsir Khān, 60, crosses the Indus, 80, defeats Indian army, 60, 80, 82, takes ransom from Lāhore, 60, 80, takes Burhānu-l Mulk prisoner, 61, 84, makes Burhānu-l Mulk his representative, 63, his retinue, 233, interviews with Muhammad Shāh, 22, 62, 85, 86, enters Delhi, 64, 86, attack upon the Persians, 64, 88, orders massacre, 23, 64, 88, his plunder, 64, 88, 233, 346, 347, marries his son to an Indian princess, 90, takes ransom from Delhi, 90, 346, 347, treaty with Muhammad Shāh, 91, his return home, 24, 65, 93, annexes part of the Panjāb, 95, letter to Zakariya Khān Nāzim of Lāhore, 96, treatment of Khudā-yār Khān of Amarkot, 97, further embassy to India, 132
- Nagarkot, taken by Mahmud, ii 34, 444, by Pīroz, iii 317, iv 12, vi 227, by Muhammad Tughlūk, iii 570, by Timur, 466, 515, siege of in Akbar's reign, v 356, 507, its name changed, vi 227, books at, 227
- Nāhid Begam, v 337
- Nahmraī tribe, i 286
- Nahrwālā, ii 162, taken 228
- Najaf Khān, viii 227, 297, 366, 410
- Najīb Khān Rohilla, Najību-d danla, viii 137-9, 146, 148, quarrels with Ghāzī d dīn, 168-9, invites Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, 168, 268, contests with Mahrattas, 169, 242, 266, 268, 363-4, relieved, 170, 243, 270, joins Ahmad Abdālī, 170, 270, 398, appointed *bakhshī*, 171, 265, services to Ahmad Shāh, 266, 276, 279
- Nanda, Jām, i 233
- Nanda bin Babūniya, Jām, i 273, 275, 276
- Nanda Rāja, ii 463-4, 467
- Naphtha, use of, vi 456
- Nar Singh Bundela, murderer of Abū-l Fazl, vi 3, 107, 108, 113, 114, 154, 160, 288, 316, 442, viii 6
- Nārāin Rāo, Peshwā, viii 291-2
- Nardajan Pāl, ii 12, 403, 461
- Nā-shudanī, vii 5
- Nasībīn, capture of by scorpions, v 560
- Nāsir Jang succeeds Nizāmu-l Mulk, viii 113, defeats Mahrattas, 66-7, resigns government, 69
- Nāsir Khān defeated by Nādir Shāh, viii 77-8, agent of Ahmad Abdālī, 115,

Nasir Khan (Khan-dauran), vii. 33
38 41
Nasru-d din title II. 5
Nasru-d din See Subuktigin
Nasru-d din Bahadur i. 131 II. 61
101 301 2 3-3.8 396 491 531
503 iv 146
Nasru-d din Mahmud Sultan II. 211
315 363, III. 39 99, 69
Nasru-d din See Muhammad Sh h
Prince
Nasru-d din son of Bahman, killed by
Hulaku Khan III. 34 1 2
Nasru-d din (Bahman Khan) Sultan
of Bengal III. 111 190-4 199 31
5 1 503-7
Nasru-d din Muhammad Shah of
Gujarat, iv 39
Nasru-d din Nusrat Shah iv 31-3
Nasru-d din Sultan of Mandu vi.
319 350
Nasir-i Mulk vi. 21 See Pir Ma-
hammad
Nathuji, vii. "6." 91 2
Nau bhawan i. 407 II. 162 186
Naval fights in Sind, i. 211 15 219 277
Nawab Jahadur See Jawad Khan
Nawab Kud iya. See Udbham Dal
Nawab Shah II. 3 413 461 III. 6
iv 172
Nasir Mansur Ali, vii. 41 216
Neku Siyar Prince vii. 308 49 9 509
New Amira (or Foreign Amira) iv 16,
18 20
New Musulmans, III. 76 197 145 161
172, 178-0 205
Nikria, iv 423 431 41 402 403
496, v 483
Nihai Sindhi, vii. 302 403 45
Nimā Sindhi, vii. 302 403 45
Nidār Bihm II. 39, 427 451
Nigodari Maghals, III. 48
Nimroz King i. 439 407
Nizam Ali Khan takes Pdas vii. 286
Nizam Shahi Kings, vi. 235
Nizam Shahis, vi. 0, 87 91 131 144
319 343, 379 412 416-6 423 vii.
11 king murdered by Fath Khan,
27 raises a child to the throne 51,
campaign against, 51 child taken and
confined 61 territories absorbed 230
Nizam-d din Ahmad, his services, v
178 at Kabul, 424 in Gujarat, 423
417 recalled 447 458 against Af-
ghans, 460-533, death, vi 130
Nizam-d din Auliyah, III. 531 7
Nizam-d din II., Jam i. 22, 233
Nizam-d din minister of Kai Kubad,
desires upon the throne, III. 126 his
murders, 127 poisoned 131

Nizam-i Mulk, Asif Jah Chis Kalich
Khan created Nizam-i Mulk vii.
41 authority in the Dakhin, 418
controls the Mahrattas 460-1 466
governor of Muradabad, 460 re-
moved, 469 473: joins the Palyids,
479 *sikandar* of Patna 480 made
subedar of Malwa, 483 differences
with Husain Ali, 483 obtains Kair
Barhampur etc. 490 1 defeats
armies of Husain Ali, 496-7 ap-
pointed *asir* 51; his difficulties,
518 51 departs for the Dakhin
600-5 ministerial plans, 524 drives
back Mahrattas, 525 crushes Ma-
bariz Khan, 525 receives title
"Asif Jah," 45 527 his administration
in the Dakhin 530; differences with
his father 551 returns from court,
viii. 41 governor of the Dakhin 45
removed from Malwa 67 his crafty
conduct in Nadir's invasion, 60-2, 74
79 becomes *amir-i-umard*, 62, 84
with Nadir Shah, 83, 84 80, 231
induces Barhampur Mulk to take poison
84, 421 returns to the Dakhin, 63
quarrels with his son, 69
Nizam-i Mulk Nasir Jang vii. 391
Nizam-i Mulk Taji II. 485 485
Nizam-i Mulkia. See Nizam Shahis
Nizamiana, i. 129
Nobles, grades of III. 576 allowances,
577
Nobis, II. 311
Nur Jahān, her parentage vi. 397 her
husband, Sher Afgan, killed, 402
married by Jahangir 403 404 gains
the love of Jahangir 398 called
"Nur Mahal" and "Nur Jahān,"
398, 405 her great power and in-
fluence, 398, 405 461 coins in her
name 398, 405 shoots a tiger 366
controls Jahangir in his drinking 391
endeavours to rescue Jahangir 421
effects the escape of Jahangir 429
her proceedings on death of Jahangir
426, favours Shahriyār vii. 5 death,
69 her tomb, vi. 311
Nusrat Jang title of Shah Jahān a
Khan-dauran, vii. 60
Nusrat Jang See Zai-1 Shāh Khan
Nusrat Khan, general of Alau-d din,
III. 167, 163, 164
Nusrat Khan, son of Firuz, iv 31 See
Nasru-d din Nusrat Shah
Nusrat Khokar III. 415 485
Nusrat Shah, of Bengal, iv 260
Nuzul Rai, Kayath, vii. 350
Nuzul Singh Jat, vii. 226-7 366

- Obelisks, moved by Sultán Fíroz, in 350, examined by Timur, 353
 Ogtri, Mughal, in 389-90, 559
 Ordeals, in 329, in 145
 Orissa, in 299, seized by Sulaimán Kirání, vi 36, conquered by Akbar, in 465, restored to Katlú, vi 79, recovered, 86, 88, summary of history, 88. made over to Mahrattas, viii 129
 Osteomanej, in 331
 Padres, at Akbar's Court, vi 60, 85
 Pahari Jíú, in 460
 Pál dynasty, in 12, 403, 425
 Pándavas, in 54, 105, vi 536
 Pandya Kings, in 32, 49, 53, 88, 91
 Pánapat, battles at, iv 251, v 28, 63, 252, vi 295, viii 145, 171, 401
 Páp Rái, viii 410
 Parama Deo, in 474
 Paras Deo Dalvi, in 88
 Parenda, siege, vii 22, 43, surrendered, 263
 Parí, Amír, in 268
 Parker, General, viii 305
 Parmár, Rái of Káhnjar, in 231
 Pársi language, in 556, 562
 Partáb Rái, in 85
 Parwáris, in 211, 218, 221
 Parwez, Prince, vi 301, 381, sent to Dakhn, 321, 323, sent against Sháh Jahán, 386, 393, 408, defeats him, 393, 413, 416, in Bihár, 417, marches to Dakhn, 395, doings in the Dakhn, 412, 418, death, 429, 432
 Páshíbs, in 75, 165, 174
 Patáns, vi 568
 Patna, foundation of fort, iv 477, campaign against, v 372, taken by Akbar, iv 512, v 379, outbreak at, vi 321
 Patwári, viii 315
 Peacock throne, construction of, vii 45 carried off by Nádir Sháh, viii 89
 Pehlvi language, in 133
 Persian Kings, Ancient, connexion with India, vi 548
 Peshrau Khán (Asad Beg), v 413, 420, vi 136, 150
 Pestilences, v 384, 395, vi 346, 357, 405, 406, vii 328, 337, 566
 Petroleum, vi 456
 Pilgrimage, Akbar's provision for, v 391, opinion about, 519, passes for ships, 520
 Pilgrim tax, abolished, vi 29, viii 38
 Piláji } (Mahratta), vii 528, viii 51,
 Pilují } 262, 282, 400
 Pindus, in 379
 Pír Muhammad of Balkh, v 227, 230-1
 Pír Muhammad, Prince, a grandson of Timur, in 398, takes Uch, in 229, in 399, 480, iv 33, at Bhathi, in 229, Multán, in 417, 486, at Delhí, 440, services, 457, 511, *pass*
 Pír Muhammad Sarwání, in 250, 254, 257, 264, 271, 275, vi 21
 Pír Roshanái, v 450
 Pithaura, Rái, in 200, 213, 295-6, 398, 418, 422, vi 198
 Pittlú, in 216
 Plassy, battle of, viii 329, 426
 Polyandry, viii 202
 Portuguese, v 347, vi 18, 340, 466, vii 344, 351, viii 127, 385
 Post, for news, in 203, for letters, 581, 587, iv 418
 Prestor John, in 498
 Prisoners of war, not to be slaves, vi 25
 Provisions, prices, in 192, 583, iv 475
 Pulád Turk-bacha, iv 68, 73, 74, death, 79
 Púna, taken from Sivají, vii 262, recovered by Sivají, 269, retaken, 272, taken by Nízám 'Alí, viii 286
 Pur Japál, in 47, 50, 427, 451, 461,
 Puru Japál, } 463
 Púran Mal, of Raisín, iv 392, 397, 399, massacre of him and his followers, 402
 Pyramids of heads *See* Heads
 Rafi'u-d Daraját, accession and reign, vii 478-9
 Rafi'u-d Daula, accession and reign, vii 482
 Rafi'ú-sh Shán, Prince, vii 424, 431, 550, defeat and death, 431, his sons, 567
 Raghují Bhonsla, viii 369-70
 Raghúnáth Ráo, viii 142, 169, 266, 273, 283, 286-292, 294-6, 364
 Ráhdarí, vii 467 531
 Rahma, Rubma, in 361 *See* Ruhmí
 Ráibál, v 159
 Rái Bhára, in 268
 Rái Dan, Jám, in 230
 Rái Har Chandar, of Kananj, in 208
 Rái Karan, in 561
 Rái Rayán, of Deogír, in 79, 87, 200, 551
 Rái Rayán (Hardás Rái), vi 107-8, 151, 160, 287
 Rái Rayán (Sundar Dás), vi 339
 Rái Sáhásí, succeeds Siharas, in 139, 292
 Rái Sál Khokar, v 163
 Rái Singh Rája, v 265, 335-6, 341, 450, 454, 462, 467, vi 53, 91, 107
 Raisín, siege and capture of, iv 397
 Ráj, son of Chandar, at Brahmanábád, in 154
 Rájas, lists of, viii 207 8
 Rajab, Sipah-sálar, in 544, in 271, 273
 Rágarh, taken and retaken, vii 342
 Rájputis, viii 226